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NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

THE *Calcutta Review* having now reached its forty-third number, its Proprietor begs to draw the attention of Advertisers generally to that work as a highly advantageous medium for Advertisements. From the names that appear on the Subscription list, it may truly be said that no Journal or Periodical in India can command a more influential class of readers.

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The *Review* is published quarterly, about the first of the months of January, April, July, and October. Advertisements intended for insertion in any particular number, must be forwarded to the Publishers, or Printers, MESSRS. SANDERS, CONES & CO., *No.* 65, *Cossitollah*, at least *ten days* before the date of publication: that is, about the 20th of March, June, September, and December.

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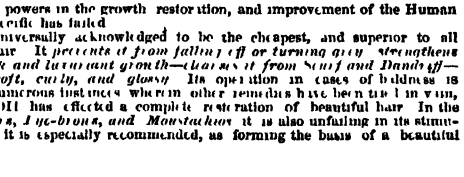

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XXII.

JANUARY—JUNE 1854.

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1854.

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4. *Printed Reports*, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853.

IT is a difficult and sometimes a dangerous experiment to attempt as a cotemporary to write history. We live too near the events to judge of their just proportions. There is a temptation to magnify some things which posterity will hold cheap, and to slur over others on which future generations might have been glad to know our impressions. There is the danger of partisanship and the danger of antipathy, and above all, on the shifting scene of India, there is the obvious fear that we may indulge in pœans which a few years will convert to wailing, give way to regrets for which there is no good foundation, or predict triumphs, social, political, and financial, which the change of a Cabinet, the caprice of a future Governor, or the mere instability of human events, shall prevent from being realized. Why then do we try to describe the Administration of Lord Dalhousie? We do so, because it has been fruitful of great changes, striking events, important reforms, and considerable improvements, because it is now time to review some of the remarkable points in the history of the last six years, and because it is often a good thing that the impressions of cotemporaries should be recorded in all their freshness, and even in all their exaggeration, in order that future writers, who take a calm and unprejudiced view of men and measures, may see where the sight of their predecessors has been defective or dull. The greatest critic of the present age, when republishing his criticisms on the works of its great novelist, tells us that posterity may be perhaps glad to know how the luminary appeared to ordinary mortals at its first rising, or before it had reached the meridian. In humble imitation of the above sentiment, we venture to hope that the future historian of India may cast a glance on this paper as detailing facts drawn from authentic sources, and representing opinions,

which, however open to correction, are formed on the spot. Would not a paper on the Administration of Warren Hastings, or Lord Wellesley, written by a cotemporary, be eagerly perused, though it contained much that was erroneous, many short-sighted opinions, and much that could interest only the men of those days?

The present Governor-General of India, then Earl of Dalhousie, landed in Calcutta on the 12th of January, 1848. He came to fill a place, where, since the last Charter, beyond which we shall not look back, had sat no less than five Governors-General, none of whom had been unworthily chosen, while all had taken part in great and striking events. We shall not preface this paper with a review of their several Administrations: we pass over the unflinching firmness, the unwearied eagerness in the pursuit of truth, the reforming, enquiring, analysing spirit of Lord William Bentinck: we pass over also the indomitable will, the profound statesmanship of that Governor, who was bred entirely in the school of the Company, but was selected to govern the two greatest dependencies of the Crown; and we leave the amiable Lord Auckland, with his private virtues, and his public errors, his zeal for education, and his political weakness, to the judgment of Mr. Kaye and to the verdict of posterity. To Lord Ellenborough, in spite of eccentricities which put his good qualities "to the foil," no man can deny the praise of much vigour and energy, and of that clear perception of coming events, which is one of the undoubted attributes of a statesman. If the conquest of Scinde has proved a drain on the imperial finances, we had still in that sandy waste a commanding position during both the Sikh campaigns. Lord Hardinge has owned himself obliged to the policy which humbled the Mahratta ruler, reduced the army, and dismantled the guns of the Gwalior Durbar. It is not inconceivable that, without Maharajpore, the roar of Mahratta artillery and the trampling of Mahratta cavalry might have been heard in 1846 or 1848, at the very gates of Akbarabad. No man foresaw with greater certainty than Lord Ellenborough, the inevitable struggle on the banks of one of the five rivers. His piercing, rapid, and comprehensive glance surveyed the dangers that might arise from the presence of one army unreduced in the very heart of India, and of another bristling on our most important frontier: an army strong in national feeling, abounding in resources, complete in organization, and longing to add to its old triumphs. It is to him that we owed the power of concentrating our forces against the Sikh army, instead of scattering them to observe the motions of a turbulent soldiery,

a wavering minister, a corrupt court. When his recal took India by surprise, it was remarked that he was "*capax imperii nisi imperâsset,*" but, while the cotemporary writer would say of him as was said of the Roman Emperor, that he was above a private gentleman only so long as he filled a private station, the calm and unprejudiced historian, we think, will eventually dwell on his rapid conceptions, his prompt execution, his indomitable energy, the clear, vigorous, and forcible language of his writings and his oratory, his indifference to patronage, and his fortunate selection of that lamented Lieut Governor, whose rule transcends the best days of Elphinstone and Munro

The career of Lord Hardinge, who succeeded to the *opera imperfecta* and the *ingentes minæ* of his near connection, and the career of Lord Dalhousie, afford materials for a comparison which might seem attractive to a Macaulay or a Mahon. In habits and in training, in their experience of the past, in their anticipations of the future, the two men were essentially opposed The one was born in 1785, and the other in 1812 Capt Hardinge had stood by the dying Moore at Corunna, and Col Hardinge, with characteristic decision, had let slip the fourth division at Albuera, when Lord Dalhousie was still unborn Sir Henry Hardinge had sat in Parliament, had held office, and heard "the Duke" recant his opinions on the subject of Catholic emancipation, when his successor might have still been thinking of the *literæ humaniores* and the class papers of Oxford Selected to govern India at a time of life when most men are thinking of retirement, and few can willingly contemplate a residence in the East, the old soldier had gone there to maintain peace, and within eighteen months of his arrival, had taken an active and personal part in war He had endeavoured in all honesty of purpose, to create or restore a free Hindu state, the rulers of which, forewarned by experience, awed by a power seemingly invincible, and conciliated by moderation without weakness, might interpose a barrier between the British power and the fanatic Mohammedans of Central Asia His experiment failed, but its failure, owing to causes perhaps beyond the control of human politicians, proved the sincerity of the Indian Government, and the turbulent character of the Sikhs. Nor was Lord Hardinge's Administration unmarked by measures of social or internal progress. He procured the active co-operation of native rulers to his measures for the abolition of Suttee he encouraged education, and he practically gave us the first Indian railway We may remember how Dominie Sampson, when reviewing the attain-

ments of Col Mannering, "a man of war from his youth," pronounced him to be possessed of erudition, considering his "imperfect opportunities" The most determined opponent of Lord Hardinge could pass no weightier censure on that gallant old General, whose timely presence in the field of battle probably saved the State

The previous career of Lord Dalhousie is well-known A younger son of an old and honourable Scotch House, he succeeded to the family title, or rather to the prospect thereof, on the demise of an elder brother, graduated at Christ Church after the school training of Harrow, and then betook himself to public life At College he was the cotemporary of Lord Elgin and of other men who, though higher in the class papers, and of ability as public servants, have hardly kept pace with our Governor General in the great struggle of life As a speaker, the capacity of Lord Dalhousie has been tried on the hustings and in the Upper House as a man of despatch and dauntless energy in business, he has been lauded by Sir Robert Peel on the last occasion when that great minister gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee With natural advantages carefully improved, with talents which had already commanded respect, and from which careful observers augured the highest results, at a period of life which unites the activity of youth with the experience of manhood, he was appointed to the situation of Governor-General by a ministry of political opinions not then in unison with his own. Lord Hardinge was the companion in arms of the Duke Lord Dalhousie had held office in the ministry of Sir Robert Lord Hardinge had unavoidably been General as well as Civil Governor, and had reminded us of the spectacle so common under the Roman Republic, when the civil and the military jurisdiction, the Seals and the Standard, on the Rhine, the Thames, or the Danube, were committed to the care of one and the same individual. But Lord Dalhousie, we were told, was to be the man of reform, of progress, and of peace of peace, unbroken in aspect, prolonged in duration, and important in results

We may, many of us, remember how, on one clear fine evening in January 1848, the steps of Government House were thronged by civilians, merchants, military officers, and functionaries of all sorts, eager to catch a glimpse of their new chief We may remember too, that on that date there was not a cloud visible on the political horizon, to warn us that, in fifteen months time, we should be talking about a rebellion, a protracted siege, two pitched battles, several

desultory engagements, and the annexation of a new kingdom. Lord Dalhousie having assumed his seat as Governor-General and Governor of Bengal, on the 12th of January 1848, was quietly making himself master of the somewhat intricate details of Indian business, and was beginning to talk to his Secretaries about sundry important reforms. There was no note of warlike preparation, no sound of the approaching storm, no voice that warned the helmsman to be ready. It is true that Sir F. Currie reported the formation of a regular conspiracy to expel the English, to have commenced as early as February 1848: that Col. Sir H. Lawrence, in the April of the year preceding, had clearly pointed out to Lord Hardinge the chances of a revolution at some future day: that even drawing-room politicians might anticipate for warlike men, rankling with defeat in four great battles, a career more stirring than labour in the fields, under a regency guided by a mere handful of foreigners. But at the time of which we are speaking, no person in office, at Lahore or Calcutta, openly expressed his apprehension of anything more serious than an occasional emeute at some high festival, a few gang-robberies, a good deal of cattle lifting, a refusal on the part of refractory villages to pay their lawful dues to the State. Already were civil and military officers beginning to travel over the country, under the orders of the Resident. There was a talk of expenditure on roads: lines for canals were being surveyed. summary settlements of revenue were in progress: the past history, the capabilities of the country, the character of the people, the climate of the Doabs, were matters for reflection, enquiry, and report. Things were, in short, going on smoothly enough. We know that there are always wise sooth-sayers who remind us, after the event, how they had warned you of the danger, predicted the out-burst, foreseen the hurricane, foretold the crash. But we shall be content to abide by the testimony of the Blue Book, wherein we find the Governor-General in Council, as late as March 1848, quietly writing to the Secret Committee in terms of congratulation on the "perfect tranquillity which prevails in the Punjab"

More stirring times were at hand. Early in April, two young but rather distinguished officers, the one a soldier, the other a civilian, were deputed to relieve the Dewan Moolraj, at his own request, of the important charge of the Mooltan province. At the close of that month, every resident at every station in India was startled by the announcement that these two officers had been attacked in a manner, the details of which are too familiar to need repetition, had been deserted

by their escort, had been fired on in the Eedgah where they had taken shelter, and displaying in their union in death the calm intrepidity of Englishmen, had been murdered and mutilated by a rabble of Sikhs

——— Hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hâc pœnâ carnit, ccecidtque Cethegus
Integer, et jacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

In the deaths of Agnew and Anderson there is nothing of which their surviving relatives, their friends, and the respective services to which they belonged, may not feel a mournful but honourable pride. It is true that there were several unfortunate circumstances in that expedition to Mooltan. The officers deputed went down by water, and their Sikh escort by land, so that the two parties had no mutual intercourse till within a very few marches of Mooltan The demand on Moolraj for the accounts of past years, and the refusal to assure him that his past Government would not be too strictly scrutinized, were certainly not judicious. The chances of what a Sikh ruler might do, at a distance from the capital, when called on to give an account of his stewardship, and the chances of finding staunchness and fidelity in a Sikh escort, in hour of need, were perhaps not carefully weighed But on the other hand such an outbreak might have occurred then or subsequently, at any time, in any part of the Punjab, amidst such a population. The materials for combustion would have been ready, though unseen, and there wanted nothing, but the spark. We shall not detain our readers with an examination of the case as against the Dewan on his trial. He may have acted with malice prepense, as many distinguished officers think, and as the famous letter of VINDEX to the *Friend of India* would have had us believe—or he may have been "the victim of circumstances," as the High Court of Justice at Lahore recorded, in a phrase which was used advisedly on a solemn occasion, passed into a proverb at Lahore, and long covered its unhappy authors with ridicule. In any case he was fairly tried, and not treated with undue harshness. But the die was cast: the Sikh calculated his chances, and within six months of his arrival, Lord Dalhousie had a great war on his hands.

This paper does not pretend to be a military history of the Sikh campaign. Lord Dalhousie did not command a division at Guzerat, like Lord Hardinge in his battles, and the striking events of the Punjab war are fresh in the memories of most readers, and have already been reviewed in previous numbers of this periodical. We shall therefore pass over with rapidity

the purely military operations of the years 1848-49, nor perhaps have our readers any desire to linger with General Whish before the fortifications of Mooltan, to flounder with dragoons on the quicksands of the Chenab, or to be sent head-long in company with brave and devoted thousands, through an almost impenetrable jungle, against the Sikh batteries on the Jhelum. A cursory review of the various turns of fortune, which brought about the desired consummation, and which after the event it is so easy and so pleasant to survey, will probably be thought sufficient. The tactics of the enemy, their wonderful discipline, their remarkable union, their fanatic courage, their mysterious resources, were not wholly unknown. The first Sikh war had more than proved the truth of a saying of General Allard in the year 1838 to the late Mr. H. W. Torrens, uttered, in spite of disbelief and doubts that were scarcely suppressed by other hearers, "*Les nôtres se battront bien—mais une fois, bien.*" The second Sikh war was destined to see that truth repeated in a manner so forcible as to convince the most incredulous. The first campaign had been decided in our own territories, in the short space of sixty days, into which were crowded, an invasion, four battles, a slight disaster, a rout and a capitulation. There was then little time to dwell on contingencies or to deplore results. The advanced guard of the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej about the 10th of December, and Sobraon was fought on the 10th of February. But the scales of the second Sikh war hung suspended, the balance inclining to one side or the other, for the greater part of a year. First there was the doubt whether the assassination of the two British officers should be promptly avenged, and the Fabian policy, which waited for a better season, and feared exposure to the climate: then came the opportune success of Major Edwardes, in the month of June, which excited differently in various quarters, honest exultation, hearty praise and ungenerous envy; and finally the march of General Whish, with what was deemed a competent force, at the close of July. We can well remember with what avidity the letters from that column, in its march, were caught up and retailed; how joyfully officers and men bore up against the heat by day and the occasional heavy showers by night: how they amused themselves, when the tents were being pitched in some grass-jungle, with knocking over hares with tent-pegs, and slaying wild hogs with bayonets: how false had proved the vaticinations of men who talked of disease: how the troops in admirable condition were encamped before Mooltan at the commencement of September. During the previous month the plot had thickened: there had been

disturbances in Hazara, and Chuttur Sing had risen—but as yet there was no general war. The appearance of General Whish, with a siege-train, to reduce the Dewan, was, obviously, one of the turning points in the campaign. Either he reduced Moolraj, avenged the murder of our officers, and smothered the flames of insurrection, or if he failed, we had to encounter our enemies, not merely shut up in a fortress, but in the plains of the Manjha, on the banks of the Indus, and even in the Jullunder Doab. We all know that the siege was raised, and we know, too, that the failure or check was owing to Shere Sing's secession, and not to the effects of the climate, or to casualties amongst the troops. But from the middle of September the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. The native army was at once recruited to its original full complement. The Jullunder column was ordered to be ready. Active preparations were made in every department The Governor-General left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces on the 9th of October; and a large army took the field under Lord Gough, at the commencement of the ensuing month. From this time, to the beginning of the new year, there is nothing for the historian to recount which can be termed decisive. Against the check at Ramnugger, and the partial action at Soodalapore, we have, certainly, to set the successful attack on the audacious enemy at Mooltan during the first week of November, the prompt and energetic measures of Mr. John Lawrence and Brigadier Wheeler to preserve the tranquillity of the Jullunder, and the well-timed occupation of the fort of Govindghur. The first of these operations vindicated our fame in the eyes of Moolraj and his adherents, the second preserved the peace of our frontier, kept down the turbulent spirit of the Manjha, and perhaps saved Simla, and the last rendered unnecessary another costly siege. But in spite of these partial successes, there is no denying that the first twelve months of Lord Dalhousie's Administration were singularly inauspicious and dark. He had been promised peace, and he found himself involved in a war which, undertaken on the most righteous ground, was yet neither prosecuted with energy nor terminated with effect. What was the aspect of India on the 12th of January, 1848, when Lord Dalhousie took his seat in Council, and what was it in the same day of the subsequent year, or on the eve of the battle of Chillianwalla? To these questions there can be but one reply. Profound tranquillity on the former date, and on the latter a combination of events, for which *disasters* is perhaps not too strong a term. Political gentlemen baffled: one large and well equipped army that had struck no one

decisive blow: another that had only just re-commenced active operations after more than three months of inactivity: the department of intelligence contemptible when compared with the minute and accurate information of our movements possessed by the Sirdars: the enemy insultingly burning a bridge of boats within sight of Lahore: officers and tender women in the hands of the rebels: a failing exchequer, adversaries increasing, friends standing aloof—such was the state of events within exactly one year after the arrival of Lord Dalhousie. Some signal success, some display of skilful strategy, some series of effectual operations—were now anxiously expected. The hopes of every European in India were divided between the Mooltan force and the fine army of the Punjab. General Whish was gaining ground before the fortress, Lord Gough was gradually closing with Shere Sing, and bets were even laid on the chances whether we should first be gratified by news of the fall of the citadel, or by the announcement of a second Sobraon. All at once came the startling results of Chillianwalla.

An immense deal of paper has been covered with explanations of this engagement. We have had the Journal of a Subaltern, the account of Capt. Thackwell, articles in reviews, leaders in every paper in India and in England, letters from intelligent eye-witnesses, attacks by the enemies, and vindications by the friends, of the Commander-in-Chief. About the main features of the battle there is therefore no doubt. We all know that, after the fall of Attock, Sirdar Chuttur Sing's advance in order to effect a junction with his son Shere Sing, rendered it almost imperative that something should be done. We know, too, that the Commander-in-Chief one day, about encamping time, finding a shot or two fired at his out-posts, and deeming that the enemy would advance his guns so as to reach the British encampment during the night, gave the order for battle after mid-day, with the ground before him quite unexplored. We know the results of that order. Men went onwards through a dense jungle, guided by the flashes from the enemy's batteries: the artillery did its part admirably,—as it always does,—during the one hour's time which the general allowed it: there was no want of conspicuous gallantry on the part of particular corps: deserted in the jungle, cut off from friends, and surrounded on all four sides by the Sikhs, several regiments displayed heroic firmness under these trying circumstances: the 24th regiment was half cut to pieces: the 14th Dragoons, in one of those unaccountable panics to which the bravest and best troops are liable, and acting, it is said, under orders, went "threes about:" night fell: an immense

deal of execution was done on the Sikh army. Some of their guns were captured, and some of our own, which had been taken in the early part of the day, were recovered; and thus ended a memorable engagement, which cost us between two and three thousand men, which literally gained us no advantage whatever, on which the first of Greek historians would have recorded that both sides erected a trophy, and which Livy perhaps might have set down as a *clades accepta*.

We must bear in mind, that our position in India, as the conquerors in a hundred fights, imposes on our armies the necessity of commencing the attack. Our Generals know this: our soldiers expect it: our politicians and statesmen regard it as a fundamental axiom in the maintenance of our supremacy. Whether the enemy be posted on the bank of a deep river, or be shut up in a stockade, or be securely entrenched, or be crowning some heights, or be lining the right side of some morass, we are expected to dislodge him by force, with as little delay as may be practicable and expedient. This was exactly the feeling under which Lords Hardinge and Gough ordered the attack on the Sikh entrenchments at Ferozshah, almost as soon as the British army, which is not a mathematical point without parts, could be got into position. There may be occasions when even rashness is the better part of valour. There are times when the delay of twenty-four hours would be fatal. At Ferozshah the Sikh battalions were encamped on British territory: Tej Sing was bringing up his reserve of 25,000 men: there was nothing to be done but to repulse and chastise the insolent invader who, without the slightest provocation, had crossed the boundary. But previous to Chillianwalla, Lord Gough had been following the enemy about from the Ravi to the Chenab, from the Chenab to the Jhelum, by combinations which resulted in nothing, by movements directed by no intelligence, by operations where the absence of system was the only thing systematic. A civilian will leave it to military men to say how, with the Sikh army posted at Russool, a prudent commander, after a few days' cautious examination of localities, would have stormed their position. With every allowance made for the difficulty of the ground, with an avowal of the principle that it behoves the British commander to open the ball, we can admit no excuse but that of intemperate rashness, for an action which cost us so many precious lives, dispirited our army, and left us just where we were.

Yet this battle was not as critical a point in Indian history as the night of horrors at Ferozshah, nor did it ever excite in the mind of any European resident in India any thing that

could justly be denominated a panic No province rose in rebellion . Nowhere was the revenue not punctually paid Patna did not resound with the Allah Akbar of the Mussulman Benares did not echo to the shouts of rebellious Hindus Lord Dalhousie was not seen to rush about frantically, calling on Varus to restore him his legions No Calcutta editor counselled the inhabitants of the metropolis to retreat to the merchant ships in the Hooghly No up country paper predicted the sack of Delhi by an enemy more cruel than Nadir Shah To judge from the leaders in the English papers, all this and even more must have passed through the minds of fund holders, Directors, and leading men in the state Napier was sent to rescue us, but the spirit of Napier—*ardor animus Catonis*—was not needed on this occasion, though the Sikhs were as warlike as any into whom Tegh Bahadur had ever breathed the spirit of fanaticism, or as those whom old Runjeet had disciplined and drilled

The best thing that can be said in favour of Chillianwalla is, that it was the turning point in the long lane the dark part of the night, which immediately precedes the day spring Within ten days of the battle, the fortress of Mooltan was in the hands of our troops, salutes were being fired, and General Whish was on his way to reinforce the Commander in Chief Then were hopes aroused, and dark faces grew bright, and men congratulated each other as they met, and the wounded looked up with smiles from their weary couches, and annexation began to be canvassed, and ECONOMIST issued his series of vigorous and animated letters There was still some little room for doubt during the time when it was thought that General Whish might be intercepted, that Sheir Sing might descend on Lahore, or that Lord Gough might not be able to come up with his dexterous and shifting adversary But every cloud vanished on the 21st of February, 1849, in the battle of Guzerat. This engagement, while it forms a bright contrast to, is at once a severe condemnation of, Chillianwalla It seems hardly credible that the General who judiciously planned and accomplished this crowning victory, who made such an excellent use of his heavy guns, who carefully guarded his soldiers from needless exposure or sacrifice, should five weeks before have petulantly ordered them to take artillery, the position of which they did not know, and to try and beat an enemy who lay *perdu* in the jungles. We are glad, however, at length to deal with operations of the Commander-in-Chief, which can be recounted in no qualified phrase The battle of Guzerat, well-planned and well-executed, and without serious loss on our side, broke the Sikh power, dis-

porsed the Khalsa, and virtually ended the war. It showed the Bombay and Bengal artillery to be completely superior to that arm of the service in which the Sikh had most reason to confide. It enabled Lord Gough to claim the honors, not of an ovation, but of a triumph, and to quit the warlike stage with grace, with dignity, with the congratulations of his many personal friends, and with redeemed fame. It almost atoned for all the previous delay and disappointment. It added one more to the great victories of the army of India. It sent the veteran Gilbert, that keenest of horsemen and first of boar-hunters, on a Raid to the Khyber, by which a united foe was allowed no breathing time, and forty pieces of artillery, with sixteen thousand stand of arms, were laid at the feet of Lord Gough And, lastly, it enabled the Statesman at length to come forward, and to show of what he was capable, in a series of papers, on the subject of annexation, as remarkable for classic diction and cogent reasoning, as for liberal policy and enlarged views.

The Punjab was annexed on the 29th of March, in a proclamation, the terms of which are widely known ; and the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab was formally established in a minute, dated the 31st of the same month. But before proceeding to allude to the measures taken for the settlement of the new province, we should wish to say a few words on one officer who played a conspicuous part in the commencement of the war, and who for a time divided the attention of dinner tables at the West end of London, with the Ban of Croatia. It is no part of our plan, as we have said already, in a paper which is a review of Lord Dalhousie's Administration, and not a military history, to detail the actions of the campaign, to dwell on blunders or successes, or to recount the honours deservedly earned by so many officers. We must, however, spare a little space for Major Herbert Edwardes. A chivalrous nature is no guarantee against detraction and envy; and when the *Times* talked of his finishing the war, by two successive blows, the progress of the insurrection could not have been foreseen in England, and the magnitude of succeeding operations threw Kineyree and Suddoosam into the shade. But the young subaltern was not a presumptuous "political," involving the higher authorities in a dilemma, nor a Clive, who could crush Moolraj at once. Nothing can be more unjust than to tax Major Edwardes with underrating the power of the Dewan,—a charge which his own writings disprove, "I am a terrier barking at a tiger,"—or more futile than to say that there are other officers in the

Bengal army who would have done what he did No doubt, there are : nor will such men ever be wanting as long as the Company lasts but history can only praise the victorious warrior, the successful statesman, the orator or the poet, who seize opportunities and make themselves heard Major Edwardes seized his opportunity. He saw that a slight insurrection unchecked, would spread like wild fire By his tact he smoothed down animosities, disciplined raw levies, and skilfully managed elements almost irreconcileable He never held Moolraj cheap, and he never thought procrastination any thing else but dangerous Finally, he fought two engagements, and was successful in both His book the charm of which, to an Indian reader, lies in the first volume, shews how he can handle the pen, nor will any future history of the Punjab campaigns be complete without a due notice of the manner in which he handled the sword

The feverish interval, the doubts and fears, were now all past We can remember how many lamentations were uttered, because, instead of peace for the first year of a new Administration, we had had a costly and prolonged war At this distance of time we can look back, and allow that everything, politically, was for the best There was no doubt that at some time or other, a knotty Punjab question would tax the powers of some British statesman The great Punjab case was, in fact, as ECONOMIST told us, "a mere question of time It might be decided summarily, like a trial before a Californian jury, or it might be protracted beyond the limits of the longest Chancery suit When our two officers were assassinated, it is possible that a display of energy might have crushed the insurrection, but the same thing might have happened again in the next year in any part of the Punjab When we see the result of the Lawrence Administration for five years, we can have little doubt that things are better for us now than if we had been just looking anxiously forward to the termination of the Bhyrowal Treaty, and to our handing over the Government to a young and inexperienced Prince, during this very year

The task now remaining for us is to describe the moral conquest of the Punjab The first thing to be done, was to determine the precise form of the Local Government, and to give habitations and names to the various departments and officers Lord Dalhousie, who from this time must be the prominent character in our picture, decided on entrusting the Administration to a Board of three Commissioners The first member, or rather the President, was Colonel Sir H. M Lawrence, an

officer possessed of mighty energies, large sympathies, and a most intimate knowledge of the Sikh character. He knew them, and they knew him, and their knowledge of him led them at once to confide in his willingness to protect and his power to quell them. It was a signal good fortune that gave Lord Dalhousie the disposal of the services of Sir Henry Lawrence The second, who was, however, called the *senior* member, Mr. C. J. Mansel, a man of originality, had filled some high posts in the Secretariat, and in the Financial Department, during the rule of Lord Ellenborough He had lately returned from furlough, and having rubbed off any old Indian prejudices by the contact of English Society, might be thought well suited to conceive and carry out a liberal system of Administration. Mr. John Lawrence was the junior or third member. This gentleman, till selected by Lord Hardinge to be Commissioner of the Jullunder Doab, after the first Sikh war, had never filled any post of extraordinary emolument or responsibility out of the regular line of the service. He had never been Secretary to Government, nor envoy to a foreign court, nor Governor-General's Agent at a native Durbar. But with energy equal to that of his brother, he had acquired in one of the best of schools, a rare amount of experience in the important subjects of revenue and police. In the tent for months in the cold season, at the head of the district of Delhi, on the disputed boundary, in the crowded bazar, wherever the character of the natives could be most intimately studied, he had gained a complete insight into the *common law* of the country. He was familiar with the minutest details of the village communities. he knew the value of all the various crops which the two harvests of the year produce, the whole system of irrigation, the mode in which land is acquired, farmed out, rented, and transferred : his love of work was inexhaustible, and he possessed the key to many points in the native character, in a manner which, to an unpractised stranger, appears almost inexplicable. Under this Board, then, were placed the country newly annexed, and the Cis and Trans-Sutlej provinces. The country was parcelled out into seven Commissionerships and twenty-seven districts, and by the 1st of June, or in some cases a little later, the Civil Administration was fairly set a-going.

We have so lately had occasion to describe the whole system of Administration introduced by the Board at Lahore, and the official report of the two first years after annexation has been so widely discussed, that it would be almost superfluous, in this place, to give a detailed account of the various measures introduced by the Local Government or by the Head

of the Empire. It is no new thing for an Indian Government to have thrown on its hands the settlement of a ceded or conquered province, or for a Governor to exercise his judgement in the selection of instruments well calculated to attain this important end. For upwards of a century we have been making experiments on a dozen different races, on all kinds of revenue settlements, perpetual, protracted, or summary, in territories marked by broad and striking distinctions of fertility, climate, and soil. We have made some blunders, but we have achieved some real triumphs, and we have laid up a vast stock of administrative experience. We were standing, at the annexation of the Punjab, in the position of men who are "the heirs of all the ages, in the foremost files of time." It was then well known that every theory had been tested in practice, that every crotchet had been analysed, every plan for the security of the land revenue, or the welfare of those who paid it, had been subjected to examination equally searching and minute. To investigate the nature of intricate land tenures of different denominations, to select the sites of Stations and cantonments, to establish courts for the administration of codes, technical, refined, simple, or comprehensive, to build jails, hospitals, treasuries, to teach a native population the difference between lawlessness and liberty,—all these things have attracted the attention and taxed the energies of many able and conscientious men in various parts of India, since the beginning of this century. There had, however, it must be confessed, been grounds for regret at the appearance in our system, when fairly consolidated, of evils which, either growing up with its growth, or not timely observed, or not boldly eradicated, a moderate degree of precaution might have prevented at first. There had been a neglect to preserve or to record, against future encroachment, the rights of the sovereign power, of the landlord of limited domains, of the village community, of the tenant proprietor: when hundreds of acres were lying waste and uncultivated, no portion had been appropriated for public purposes: a duo per-centage of the land had not been set apart for annual expenditure on internal communication and public works, a variety of petty taxes, vexatious to the payers and not very profitable to the state, had not been remitted as early as was just; adherence had been too long given to an unsound commercial policy or to internal restrictions on trade: some element of European Administration, congenial only to Anglo-Saxons, had been forced on the acceptance of a population who could neither estimate its value nor comprehend its scope:

some of the best instruments of the old native Governments, sanctioned by time, endeared to the Ryot by immemorial custom, and valued by the native administrator for their cheapness and their facility of application, had been contemptuously disregarded or prematurely crushed. But our latest acquisitions had been the scene of our greatest success. It was important that grievous mistakes should not be made in the settlement of our new and magnificent acquisition: that crude measures should not be attempted, that just reforms should not be delayed: that the shattered or dislocated fabric of good native institutions should be carefully put together: that every department which admitted of it, should have the benefit of the greatest amount of European science, and the truest maxims of Indian official life. How all this was done, we endeavoured to show in the October number of this *Review*. Lord Dalhousie, calmly reviewing the manifold claims on his time, wisely, as it appears to us, gave to the new kingdom the largest share of his attention. Its claims, though not "prior in time" to those of other provinces, were yet, to use the language of Burke, "superior in equity and paramount in importance." From the very commencement of the task, whether the Governor-General was watching the progress of the settlement from the heights of Mahasoo, or was visiting every thing with his own eyes during a cold-weather tour in the plains, the motto has been "forward," the maxim hard work, and the result prosperity. The Jat Sikhs, the disbanded soldiery, the warlike peasants, settled down at once under the new rule, not to growl at the foreigner, but cheerfully to irrigate their lands and to pay their rents. This rapid change, hoped for, but certainly not anticipated, except by a very few, is a feature which cannot be too often dwelt on. Had the cultivators stood aloof with sullen and lowering brows: had we had jails without occupants, or filled only by rebels, courts without suitors, and blank statements of revenue without rupees in the treasury chest: had no civilians ventured to proceed into the interior without an escort of cavalry and a six-pounder: had officers at every cantonment been shot at from the road-side, in the twilight, as they were returning from their evening ride: had there been barricades at Umritsir, or had Lahore streamed with blood: had communication by post been cut off for days together, and the possession of the Punjab been described as that of certain localities lit up by camp-fires—had any picture of this kind, we say, been true and accurate in its main features —we should then have acknowledged that we had annexed a loss, that a century's experience had taught us nothing of the

science of governing aliens in blood and religion, and that the Sikhs of the Manjha and the Mussulman of the Chuj Doab were beyond the reach of kindness, sympathy and control. But from the 1st of April, 1849, the very contrary has been the case. No guerilla warfare harassed our troops. No where did indignant patriotism or incensed nationality, hurl their defiance at us from fields of sugar-cane, bamboo jungles, or forts of mud. The settlement officer, the active magistrate, the civil judge, taught a lesson as enduring as the Bengal artillery or the famous Scinde horse. With few exceptions, the men selected to fill places in the Punjab, were equal to the task. Their service has been one of considerable exposure, constant toil, and even occasional risk. They have had to live in places in which the sleek, contented, and well-housed civilian of the upper or lower provinces would hardly condescend to keep his grey-hounds or his horses: in mat houses, between clay walls, and in the tombs of Mohammedan saints. They have remained out, under canvass, in the interior of the district, at seasons of the year when the fierce sun and the stifling hurricanes of dust severely tried the strongest constitution. The organization of the whole body of native officials, whether Punjabís or Hindustanís, has, in most instances, been the entire work of their hands. They have selected, where choice was but scanty, men suited for the responsible posts of Thanadars and Tahsildars, and have taught the inferior police officers the very elements of their duty, and the common routine of their work. Their mornings and evenings have often been consumed in actual field-work, in the survey of lands, and the adjudication of boundary disputes: their days have been devoted to the trial of cases of all kinds, and to the decision of those hundred conflicting claims, certain to spring up in such a country as the Punjab. This labour has gone on under all the inconveniences of climate, under the absence of comforts, which would be luxuries in England, but are necessaries here, and under periodical visitations of disease. No men have ever more nobly vindicated the character of their service, or more effectually disproved the calumnies thrown out against the officials of India, by men who either knew, or should have known, better. Moreover, the reward of this labour, though in some few instances not inconsiderable, has not to the majority been of that character which obviously excites envy in the less fortunate. Their reward has been that which springs from the consciousness of duty boldly and honestly performed, and from the gratitude of an agri-

cultural population, whose wonder has been visibly excited to a degree well nigh ludicrous, at the formerly unseen sight of courts to which the humblest has constant access, where the presiding officer is just without propitiation, strict without cruelty, and lenient without weakness, and where the rich and powerful defendant is compelled to liquidate just debts, to atone for violence, and to acknowledge the majesty and the supremacy of Law.

We sum up the things accomplished in the Punjab, under Lord Dalhousie's guidance, as follows. A revenue of more than two millions has been raised from the land revenue, from salt, from the excise, and from other legitimate sources, by means which fetter neither the resources of the country nor the lawful claims of the state. A surplus, in spite of all that the Napiers can say, lies at the disposal of the Government, amounting to one quarter of a million, after large disbursements on great public works. The Baree Doab canal, and the military road to Peshawar, are progressing towards completion. Other great lines for commercial and social purposes are in progress, and cross-roads are covering the districts in every direction. Violent crimes have been entirely put down : and secret ones have been traced to their source. Justice is dealt out in a fashion which combines the salutary promptness of the Oriental, with the scrupulous investigation of the European, court. The vexatious enquiries into rent-free tenures are fast drawing to a close. Churches and dispensaries, the medicine of the soul and of the body, may be seen side by side in many of the principal stations. In sanataria on the hills, the wounded or invalid soldier, and the worn-out civilian, can recruit their strength. Warlike subjects may enlist in our irregular troops, and find something better to do than to sit down and grumble at their lot. Not six months ago a grand meeting was convened at Umritsir, where measures were adopted to put down the fearful crime of infanticide, by the exercise of authority combined with persuasive influence and moral force. A civil code, sufficient to meet the growing requirements of a commercial and agricultural population, has been compiled by the joint efforts of Messrs. Montgomery and Temple, has been revised by the Chief Commissioner, who is now a sort of Lieutenant-Governor, and submitted for sanction to Government. The missionary is endeavouring to win converts at Lahore. An Agricultural Society is striving to improve the produce of the plains. Tea cultivation is being extended in the hills. The whole face of the country tells its own tale in expanding cultivation, secure highways, long lines

of camels, and carts laden with rich merchandise. There is not one of the above summary and downright assertions which we cannot prove incontestably by an appeal to printed papers, to written words, and to the testimony of hundreds of living witnesses. Had the Governor-General effected no other reform, planned no other great work, grappled with no evil, given to India no one single benefit, the pacification and prosperity of the Punjab would be enough, by itself, to place his name amongst the foremost of the benefactors of the East.

We pursue the thread of our narrative, not wholly losing sight of the maxim of Tacitus, when he wrote his annals—*singula quæque in annos referre*—but at the same time diverging from the course to mark the result of events whenever it may be expedient or necessary. At the commencement of 1850 there was the unfortunate affair of the 66th Native Infantry. It will be in the memory of our readers that the men of this corps, when marching into Umritsir, in February of that year, betrayed a mutinous spirit in regard to their allowances. The spirit of insubordination was promptly repressed, the corps was disbanded, and no symptoms of disaffection were ever seen in other regiments of the Bengal Army. Sir Charles Napier, who had succeeded, or rather superseded Lord Gough as Commander-in-Chief, took on himself to disband this corps. To quote one of Sir Charles's own phrases, "*this was wrong:*" and it was even worse to go and alter the compensation for the price of *atta* and other necessary articles, not merely in anticipation of the orders, but against the wishes, of the Head of the Government. The Government had very properly ruled that when *atta* was dear, and other articles, such as ghee and pulse, were cheap, the one should be pitted against the other, and the compensation be calculated on the value, not of *atta* alone, but of every article of food. The Commander-in-Chief decided just the other way, and told the sepoys, through the Generals or Brigadiers, that they were to get compensation calculated on the price of atta only. Both of these orders were however upheld. It had long been current that this produced a strong difference of opinion between the Head of the Indian army and the Head of the Indian Empire, and that much correspondence passed between the two men, both of whom are remarkable for a pretty strong will of their own. The particulars of this passage of arms were not of course made public at the time, but every one has lately read them in No. III. of the printed Selections of the Government of India. Under what deceitful planet, by whose injudicious advice, one Napier was led to bring on an *exposé* of the folly of another, we are unable to guess—but the result

shows that good sense, temperate but firm language, sound reasoning, logic and grammar, were with the Governor General, and the very opposite to all these qualities with Sir Charles Napier. Brian de Bois Guilbert did not receive a more complete overthrow from the lance of Ivanhoe than did the late eccentric Commander-in-Chief from the pen of Lord Dalhousie. This subject however demands separate treatment, and we say no more about it here.

Lord Dalhousie having assured himself of the tranquil condition of the Punjab, confiding in the Civil Administration of the Lawrences, and fully satisfied of the sufficiency of our military preparations to meet an outbreak, had any been intended, took a short trip to sea, to recruit his energies and his impaired health. He proceeded down the Indus, satisfied himself of the tedious nature of its navigation, visited Bombay, Singapore and the Straits Settlements, and the Tenasserim Provinces, and finally returned to Calcutta in the commencement of March, 1850. No Governor-General had paid a visit to Moulmain since Lord William Bentinck went there in 1829. By no other Governor-General could such a tour have been even contemplated. He was the first Indian statesman who could make the circle of India without exceeding the bounds of the Company's landed estates. It may be asked of what use are such rapid tours, during which no subject can be thoroughly mastered, and some can hardly be understood at all? A flying visit from the highest official in the East will not cover Guzerat with roads, or light Bombay with gas, or simplify the difficulties attendant on the growth and transport of cotton, or settle the land revenue of the Deccan on a prosperous footing, or fertilize Scinde, or increase the revenue of Tavoy and Mergui. The reply to this is, that personal conference may do a great deal in making the men acquainted with each other's views, and with the general aspect of great questions. Unfortunately oral discussion is never much in fashion in India. Nothing is done without long letters and bulky reports. But every one must admit that such letters and such reports are read with more interest, when the reader knows the locality from which they emanate, has heard something of the subject which they discuss, and has talked, though it be only for half an hour, with the persons by whom they are written. Preliminary discussion, knowledge of the parties interested, will go a great way towards smoothing difficulties, and leading the mind to go deep into the subject. And are not all subordinates, be they Governors, Councillors, or Commissioners, more likely to address with confidence and earnestness, a Governor-

General whom they have seen and talked with, than one who lives, as the late Chancellor of the Exchequer said, in a cloud, like one of the Homeric gods? It is our belief that such meetings, though transient, generate mutual confidence, invite fair discussion, and facilitate progress. The Governor-General will not be less likely than he was before to listen to a representation from Bombay, because he has seen its splendid harbour and received a deputation from its Chamber of Commerce; nor should the local functionaries be less backward in stating their wants, and expounding their various remedial measures. We could wish that every Governor-General or Governor had visited as much of his dominions, as Lord Dalhousie has done in the last six years.

One of the first objects to which Lord Dalhousie directed his attention during his short stay at the metropolis in March and April, 1850, was that of a reform in the Post Office. The abuses of this department, and the paramount necessity for a complete change, were universally acknowledged. To deny this is just as absurd as to deny to successive Indian Governors the credit of originating and maturing many excellent reforms in various other branches of the public service. He would be a bold advocate who should undertake to prove the efficiency of the Company's postal arrangements. We may even doubt whether in this matter we have not retrograded, and whether the *Cossids* of Akbar and Aurungzebe were not faster of foot and more punctual in their deliveries of letters than those of the present day. We adhere to the old fashion of travelling in palanquins, and of employing runners or walkers, as the case may be, to convey the correspondence of Government, as well as that of a community daily increasing in importance. But there were worse evils than the mere retention of human beings as letter-carriers. With very few exceptions there were no stations with distinct post-masters, appointed, paid, and supervised in a manner consistent with the importance of the work to be done. The ubiquitous civil surgeon of the station, or a subaltern with spare time on his hands, got through the duty of post-master, in some instances as fairly as could be expected, in others with absolute indifference to every thing save the pittance assigned to the office. The native clerks were over-worked and underpaid: the roads were bad: the postage was very heavy: the whole of the carriers along the line were liable to be fined for delay, which had occurred at some one single point, while the precise point thereof was never carefully investigated. The speed of the mails everywhere, except on the Grand Trunk Road, was not more than five miles an hour, and sometimes

as low as two miles and a half The mistakes in the transmission of letters the number of letters mislaid or locked up in a spare chest, owing to the culpable indifference or the dishonesty of the Dawk Munshi the frauds and peculations of clerks, and the absence of any redress—all this was sufficient to exhaust the patience of the community, engaged in commercial transactions, or much given to correspondence for obvious social reasons Before the establishment of a regular steam communication with England, such a state of things might have been passively endured The inhabitants of England in the reign of Charles II might positively be glad of the postal system as described in Mr. Macaulay's famous Chapter III The residents of India, in the days of Hastings or Wellesley, who were fortunate if they received an answer from their friends at home within the twelvemonth, might very well be content to spend four months on the river in a budgerow, or to creep up the old Benares road at the rate of three miles an hour, or they might post letters at Calcutta for Agra which should not take much more than eight days to reach their destination, and they might never even dream of sending a missive to Lahore But with inland steam communication, and with other departments more or less undergoing reform, with improvements in the civil, revenue, and criminal codes, in jail discipline and national education, the postal department was still unimproved. Yet there were no insuperable difficulties in the way no obstacles generated by climate or locality, which attention, energy, and a liberal disbursement could not overcome Something had been already done on the Grand Trunk Road between Meerut and Calcutta, where the mail has for some years been carried at a rate never under seven, and generally at nine miles an hour, over a first-rate road for nine hundred miles There are mail carts in the Punjab, Transit Companies competing for the public favour in Bengal, and carriages for passengers in some parts of the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies The Editor of one of the Calcutta newspapers had startled the good folks of Calcutta in January, 1849, with the intelligence of the battle of Chillianwalla, brought by a private express which beat the Government dawk by thirty six hours The distances which men like Sir G Clerk and the late Sir Walter Gilbert, and others, had accomplished by relays of horses in a wonderfully short space of time, proved all the talk about the heat of the Indian sun to be sheer nonsense, and showed that determination, even in India, will carry climate and everything else before it The

Post Office, in short, to be efficient, required simply liberal expenditure, systematic arrangement, and careful control. To effect this, Lord Dalhousie very wisely entrusted the preliminary enquiry to a commission composed of a civil servant for each Presidency, namely, Mr. Courtney for Bombay, Mr H. Forbes for Madras, and Mr. C. Beadon for both Agra and Bengal. We well remember how a cry was raised for the appointment of all sorts of committees and quorums, to be composed of men who should have had, somehow, an intimate knowledge of the working of Post Offices; enlightened and public-spirited individuals, with their several plans and crotchets, and their minds made up. We remember that the usual amount of indignation was expressed, because the enquiry was entrusted solely to members of the "favored service," and because Lord Dalhousie was too wise to appoint a body of independent men, who would infallibly have wasted a deal of time, have squabbled amongst themselves, have covered acres of paper with all sorts of impracticable schemes, and have attained no one definite result. No doubt, Mr. Beadon had had no particular insight into the working of a Post Office. He simply possessed thorough business-like habits, great energy and quickness, and had no wish to carry out a favourite theory, or to force some crotchet of his own on Government. He with his colleagues, only knew that many a district Post Office in India was very like that village Post Office in the Antiquary, which transmitted letters in the manner best calculated to air the correspondence thoroughly, to exercise the patience of the receivers, and to add a few pence to the revenue The Post Office Commissioners commenced their work at the right end. They overhauled the department. They made themselves masters of all the details of the work, and of the whole subject of the rates of postage. They drew up long but lucid statements of the number of covers received and despatched, and of the salaries of clerks and delivery Peons. they invited communications from all parties who had any thing to communicate, they took down evidence of Bengali Sircars, and merchants from Marwar: they visited local Post Offices: they repeatedly conferred together—for it was one part of the plan that the Madras and Bombay Commissioners should meet Mr. Beadon in Calcutta—and finally they drew up a report which has been so often quoted and commented on, that any minute analysis of its contents in this place would be superfluous. The main recommendations of the commission may be briefly set down as follows:—

1. Half-anna postage, for all distances, on letters not exceeding a quarter tola in weight.

2. Consolidation of steam and inland postage.
3. Compulsory pre payment by stamps, and double charges on unpaid letters.
4. Abolition of franking, and the introduction of a charge on official letters
5. General re-organization of the whole Post Office establishment in all its branches, from the head thereof down to the lowest delivery peon.
6 Extension and improvement of district dawks.

The above headings are taken, with slight alterations, from twenty-eight changes summed by the Commissioners as desirable, in the close of their report. Some of the less important headings we have altogether omitted: others we have grouped together under the comprehensive term of general re-organization of the department. Such a heading, if honestly carried out, will embrace everything that requires amelioration in every Post Office in India: it will affect the receipt, registration, and delivery of letters. it will give us better clerks and more attentive post-masters: it will simplify the accounts, and will result in the compilation of a small code of Post Office Laws. Other recommendations will provide rules for book and Banghy parcels, and for charges on ship letters. in short, whatever may be the opinions of individuals as to their own particular grievances, no one will deny that the report has embodied with marvellous precision and lucidity, every thing that could be devised in the shape of Postal Reform, and that it promises to give us eventually a practical and working scheme which will come home to the feelings of every resident in India. No department touches so many tender points as the Post Office: by none are domestic sympathies and fire side prejudices more effectually enlisted. Other departments touch only a class Manchester groans over the salt monopoly The genuine Anglo-Saxon inveighs against the Black Acts, the inefficiency of the police, and the corruptionof the civil courts: native land-holders cry out against the Sale and the Resumption laws. The Chamber of Commerce remonstrates against impolitic restrictions on trade, and imperfect repairs of road and bridges: every set of agitators can press for a removal of their own particular grievances in their own fashion and at their own time. But delay in the Post Office, and the expense of communication by letter, come home practically to the feelings of Europeans and natives, merchants and civilians, young cadets and old ladies. A delay in the dawk causes an anxious mother more real sorrow than any military procrastination along the Irrawaddy: a missing letter will excite a greater stir in a quiet gentleman's household than the report of a whole fleet of Commissariat boats missing on the Ganges or the Megna: the demand of

a delivery Peon for fourteen annas as the postage from Lahore to Calcutta will raise a greater storm of abuse at the exactions of Government than the opium monopoly of Behar and Benares, or the Moturpha taxes in Madras. The benefit of Lord Dalhousie's comprehensive and statesman like reforms will be felt and gratefully acknowledged by every one The debt will be thankfully paid by the Chunds and the Mulls, who, in the exercise of their large commercial business, write dozens of letters daily to their correspondents at Joudhpore, Muttra and Benares, by the young civilian on the eastern frontier of Bengal, who keeps up a gradually declining intercourse with his old college friend stationed at Khangurh or Mooltan, by the unhappy husband, who toils away during the hot winds at Agra or Cawnpore, while the sick wife is inhaling the mountain breezes of Mussoorie or Simla, by the English merchant at the head of a large firm at the Presidency, who wishes to know the prospects of the indigo crops on the banks of the Brahmaputra, or in the plains of Tirhoot, by the Editor, who looks anxiously for the details of the last inroad by the Shivaranees, or of the latest *fracas* at the mess room of the 100th regiment N I, by the Choudaries and the Chuckerbuttees, who desire their local agent to report faithfully every turn in the great suit for the possession of Chur Nilabad, or every item disbursed in the hire of *lattials* and the propitiation of the police, by the cadet, who calls on his father to aid him in the purchase of "a step," or the fitting up of a bungalow, by the Calcutta tradesman, who can dun his remote debtors with less original outlay, and by dozens of fair correspondents who mutually interchange light and pleasant gossip about the assemblies at the Town Hall, the rides along Jacko, the inconvenience of a Mofussil station in the far West, or the *agrémens* of the cold weather in the City of Palaces It is not every Governor that can please so many classes, or finds it in his power to effect such universal reforms at so moderate an outlay The Post Office Commission alone, had Lord Dalhousie done nothing else, would suffice to place his name in the list of Anglo Indian reformers, alongside of that of Cornwallis As we write, we are informed that the Post Office scheme has received the approbation of the Honorable Court, and that we are to have the half anna postage on letters, and the two annas on newspapers, as soon as the requisite number of stamps can be made and stored In six months time, from the issue of this number, then, every one of its Indian readers will be thanking Lord Dalhousie for his Great Postal Reform.

The second grand reform was entered on within a year after the organization of the Post Office Commission. In the commencement of 1850, the Court of Directors had earnestly pressed the Governor-General to appoint a committee to enquire into the whole system of public works; but it was not until the close of the year that Lord Dalhousie found either the leisure, or the instruments, to enable him to follow the advice of the Court. In December, 1850, however, he selected Major Kennedy, Consulting Railway Engineer to Government—Major Baker of the Engineers, who had lately returned from England—and Mr Charles Allen, of the Civil Service, to be members of a Committee for an enquiry of the kind recommended. The engineering skill of Major Kennedy had been proved by the roads which he had constructed in the hills, and by the advice which he tendered to Government on all matters connected with the railway; Major Baker was an officer of singular merit in a corps to which merit alone can obtain entrance; and Mr. Allen had had great experience in several departments of the North West Provinces, had secured the entire confidence of Mr. Thomason, and had given complete satisfaction wherever employed. These gentlemen were to reduce to some shape the thousand complaints which had been rife as to the superintendence and execution of public works in this Presidency; and they were invited to make their suggestions, either for the modification of the present system, or for the establishment of some other in its stead. Records were opened to their inspection, and the functionaries of the department were to afford them every possible aid. Other commissions were appointed for Madras and Bombay, by the Governors of those Presidencies, at the request of the Government of India. Our business will, however, be with the Military Board at Calcutta. We believe that, in this department, as in that of the Post Office, abuses had long prevailed, which could find no apologist, and could admit of no defence. A barrister, rashly undertaking to defend the cause of this incapable body, *versus* the community or the Government, would, we think, throw up his brief in despair. In the first place, the officers under the Board, termed variously executive officers and executive engineers of divisions, are not all scientifically trained. If the cry has been loud against untrained Civil Judges, how much louder should it swell against men without ability to conceive, or skill to direct, the construction of roads, bridges, and civil buildings. Moreover, besides the want of training in such officers, they were chosen by one department and paid for by another. They were selected by the Military Department

of the Government of India, and forced on the reluctant Civil Governments of Agra and Bengal, which could neither exercise any veto on the nomination, nor directly remove an incapable nominee. In short, as matters yet stand, the department, which bears all the responsibility, pays all the expense, and must take all the blame of works ill-devised, ill-constructed, and irregularly repaired, is not at liberty to select its own tools. No wonder that the system had contrived to exhibit in itself all the combined evils which result from inexperience, from inefficiency, from delay, from lost time and lost labour, from lavish expenditure without any good object, from niggardliness when really great objects were at stake. Bridges had been constructed on unsound principles; roads had been laid out on the lowest levels in the country, where rain water soonest accumulated, and was latest dried up. Regular repairs, on some roads nominally under the Board, were, as we can ourselves testify, literally unknown for years. Occasionally, if a work of some magnitude had been well executed at a very considerable expense, it was left without any one to look after it, until it became quite impassable. Thus a *via silice vel lateribus munita*, which, when originally constructed, had cost half a lakh of rupees, has remained without even a timely basket-load of pounded brick or granite, until the outcries of the civil functionaries, and the intercepted traffic of the district, might at length arouse the apathetic Board to life. Then, instead of the small sums, which, if judiciously and regularly disbursed every year, would have kept the road in tolerable repair for all ordinary purposes of communication, another good round sum of half-a-lakh of rupees was obtained from the reluctant Government; the road was repaired, and left to look after itself for the next five years, until the same reiterated complaints might bring about the same costly remedy. In other instances, estimates were made for works declared to be urgently necessary, and were never acted on when sanctioned, or else works, when completed, were found to have largely exceeded their estimates. Yet, with all this, no man can justly complain of any want of skill in the members of the corps of engineers. On the contrary, we might complain that so much real talent has been lost to the country, or is productive of no great results, owing to want of supervision, to the prohibition of able men from acting on their own responsibility, to too few checks in some points, and to a great deal too many in others. In both the Upper and the Lower Provinces, we have had plenty of clever officers, who have taken levels, bridged hill torrents or deep-running rivers, erected colleges of some archi-

tectural beauty, have constructed hospitals with every regard to ventilation, and have metalled lines of road connecting some of the important localities in the country with each other. But all this individual talent has been neutralised by the acts of inefficient subordinates, by dilatory superiors, and by financial considerations. We can do nothing without money; and in the department of public works, we have sometimes had skill without money, sometimes money without skill, and sometimes neither skill nor money. We could mention instances where the works constructed by the magistrate, with the aid of convicts, triumphantly beat those constructed by the executive officer and his native agent. The thannahs repaired by the civil functionary did not leak, his drains carried off the water, and his bridges did not tumble down, and we have known the only police building in the whole district, which was thought of sufficient importance to require the supervision of the executive officer, to be the only one that was repeatedly tinkered, and yet never water-proof. But as a testimony of what engineers can do, when untrammelled and liberally supported, we have only to look at the prosperous condition of the great works under the Civil Engineers of the Punjab. By Colonel Napier's magic influence, embankments are raised, coolies are found to work, canals are cut, civil buildings do not leak or fall down. Cross the Sutlej, come within the soporific influence of the Military Board, and you will find that all working men lie down and bask, like the Neapolitan, in sunshine, without caring for the remonstrances of the community, or the despairing cry of the district officers. All the above facts were elicited, and proved beyond a doubt, by the labours of the commission, and every reader of the newspapers has for some time been in possession of the views of the Governor-General on the subject. The Military Board, composed of an Engineer, who may be the ablest man in his corps, but who is harnessed to one officer, who knows nothing but how to supply beef and bullocks, and to another whose sole experience lies in the casting of guns, will soon cease to have anything to do with this great and important department. It will not be deemed necessary to fetter a really scientific man by the presence of an officer of the line, and a Brigadier of Artillery, who might be efficient men at the battle of Guzerat, or at the storming of a stockade in Burmah, but who are quite out of their element when calculating the estimates of a road, or when deciding on the respective merits of suspension and stone bridges. The new plan, advocated by Lord Dalhousie, which gives a Superintending Engineer to each of the Governments of the Punjab, of

Agra, and of Bengal, will doubtless rid us at once of all those doubts, delays and differences, which have literally paralysed the efforts of the Civil Government to improve this department. We know, moreover, from the minute of the Governor-General, which has been read in almost every newspaper on this side of India, that the Government of Bengal, in its anxiety to support all complaints by the fullest proof, ransacked the records of ten years, in order to demonstrate the evils of the system; and the array of facts, which were disclosed by this laborious enquiry, was something literally startling. Shameful waste, unpardonable delay, indecorous squabbles, no definite responsibility—instances of each of these evils, or of all combined, were forthcoming in abundance. A Superintending Engineer, carefully selected, backed by influential support, and allowed a liberal discretion in expenditure, will very soon rescue our roads, our bridges, our dawk bungalows, and our jails from the reproach that has been attached to them for the last twenty years. We wait anxiously for the arrangements which will complete this much wanted reform.

The third grand reform, introduced by Lord Dalhousie, concerns a department with which the public in general have very little to do—that of the Army Commissariat. Few people, except native merchants, can feel much interest in the feeding of bullocks, or the storing of flour; and had it not been for the celebrated trial of Jotee Prasad, many persons might have remained in entire ignorance of the manifold abuses under which European troops are victualled, and horses are purchased, and bullocks are reared Yet the Government for some time had been fully aware of the necessity for thorough reforms, and as far back as 1845, Mr. F. Millett, then a member of the Supreme Council, had gone into the subject with his usual laborious accuracy. It was left for Lord Dalhousie to put matters on an improved footing, and to save the state a considerable yearly expenditure, which can be much better applied to the improvement of other important departments of the public service. Accordingly, in March, 1851, the President in Council, under instructions from the Governor-General, appointed a commission to enquire into, and report on the system of the Army Commissariat, past and present, and on the arrangements adopted in the other Presidencies for the same end. Mr. Charles Allen was again a member of this commission, and has since reaped the reward of his important labours, in the post of Financial Secretary, in succession to Mr. Dorin. Another member was Major Anderson of the Bengal artillery, an officer who gained great distinction in the

Affghan campaign, during which he was the right hand man of General Nott at Candahar, and who consequently was excellently qualified to speak of the system by which a large force is fed and equipped in the field. These two gentlemen, aided by Colonel Sturt, who was unluckily called off to Arracan before the conclusion of the investigation, were occupied for a year or more in their enquiries, during which time they received reports from the Military Board at each Presidency; they obtained copious returns and papers, and considered them attentively; they circulated questions to officers of the department, to engineers, doctors, and colonels of regiments, and after examining several individuals, drew up a clear and valuable report, which fills fifty-three pages of rather close print, and with the appendices makes up a volume of very decent size. Our readers may, perhaps, not be unwilling to have a sketch of the multifarious duties which the Commissariat Department, as constituted in 1809, and as since improved, was expected to perform. It had to victual the European troops; to provide elephants, bullocks, and camels, and to feed them; to transport troops and petty stores; to procure draught and carriage cattle when required, over and above those maintained by Government; to supply magazines with small stores, and European soldiers with quilts It had, besides the above, its original duties, to victual native troops when on service, by land or sea, it had to supply harness, saddlery, camp equipage and buff accoutrements; to buy physic for the hospitals; to superintend sudder bazars; to collect the excise duties in cantonments, to look after the breeding of bullocks and camels, and to capture elephants in the jungles of Chittagong. The powers and constitution of the Commissariat Department have been several times modified in Bengal: in the other two Presidencies, they presented several differences, but we believe that the same objections were found to exist against the retention of the system in force anywhere. Without going into the minute details, with which the gentlemen of the commission were so long occupied, we may avail ourselves of their lucid summary, and extract thence a statement of the evils which they denounced, and the remedies which they proposed. Like the gentlemen of the Post Office Commission, they wanted a code of rules for the department, compiled with care, and published under authority. The whole system of audit and supervision should, they proposed, be entrusted to two separate officers, independent of the Military Board; the Commissary General to control the workings, and an auditor to check the accounts. The officers were too few, the establishments too weak, and the

salaries too limited. Warrant officers and serjeants were absolutely requisite; but it was not requisite that Government should rear its own calves, or that so many camels and bullocks should be maintained as Government pensioners. Contracts must be concluded in the places where the articles are required, with better securities, and under simpler, but comprehensive forms. This provision alone, if properly enforced, would prevent another such *imbroglio* as that of Jotee Prasad. An annual estimate must be prepared and submitted to Government, and the expenditure should show the actual outlay disbursed in the year, without reference to the period for which such outlay was incurred. Finally, the whole system of supplying an army in the time of war should be placed on an improved footing. The above recommendations, drawn up after mature deliberation, met with the approval of the Governor-General, and the reforms in this department have been carried out with greater celerity, and more completeness, than those of either the Post office system, or the Public Works. At the same time, it is admitted, that the abuses of the Commissariat are, like so many others in India, those of the system. Individual officers had done their parts well. It was the complicated machinery, the multifarious duties, the useless checks, the appalling delay, that did the mischief. Nothing could be more fatal than to entrust the Commissariat to a Board, and of all Boards to that one, which has found so many enemies, and not one single friend. Amongst the various reforms, which Lord Dalhousie has had the merit of effecting, none was more needed than the one just described. It is a dreary, unpoetical, unpromising subject, and we have neither the time, nor the inclination, to linger over it. But it will husband the resources of the state, provide for the public service at a reduced cost and with less delay, and will prevent contractors from being kept out of their just dues for eight or ten years. It is, in short, a reform by which Government is the first to benefit. But the community will eventually benefit by reductions in any department, which will allow Government to spend more money for the improvement of the country.

It will be seen from the previous pages, that in little more than three years, Lord Dalhousie had appointed three different commissions, for the reform of as many separate departments of the public service. The first commission—that on the Post Office—will be more for the benefit of the community at large than for that of Government, although the state will naturally gain, in authority and effectiveness, by an improved system of general intercourse, and by the rapidity and certainty with

which intelligence is conveyed. But every private individual will view the reform with approving eyes, when he can send letters across the Peninsula for half an anna. The remembrance of the Post Office reform is, we think, likely to be long cherished and widely diffused. The benefits of the second commission will be shared pretty equally by the Government and by the community. The Government will spend more money, and see its public works held in better estimation: the community will travel with more celerity and ease. The reform of the third and last commission will be at first appreciated by Government alone. In ten years more, not one private gentleman in a hundred, nor perhaps one public servant in fifty, will come to know any thing of the old commissariat system. Whatever is saved will benefit Government only, and if the community at large are ever reminded of the improvements, it will be by the reduced expenditure of provisioning the army, and the greater available surplus for works of peace. But whether the advantages be appreciated by the community, by the community and Government, or by Government alone, the foresight which dictated these reforms, and the energy and statesmanship by which they were carried out, are entitled to the warmest praise.

We have digressed from a narration of events to a discussion of reforms. We resume the thread of our history, and shall now treat of the political changes in native states, which engrossed the attention of the Governor-General. In the close of 1849, we had a tempest in a tea-pot in the little war of Sikhim. It will be remembered that Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, when travelling in the interior of the Hima'ayas, and while engaged in prosecuting his enquiries in botany and natural history, was seized by the orders of the Raja of Sikhim, bound and treated with indignity, and threatened with further severity, and even with death. A detachment of the Hill Rangers was pushed up to the hills from Bhagulpore: the native regiment at Moorshedabad was directed to support the Irregulars; when the Raja released Dr. Campbell, we are glad to say, without doing him any serious injury; and we were spared another of the little wars of a great country. The result of the affair was that the Raja lost an annual sum of six thousand rupees, which used to be paid by us for the occupation of the sanatarium of Darjeeling, while the British Government gained the whole of the Sikhim Morung, hill and plain, a tract which, adjoining the district of Purnea, and said to be not unfitted for the cultivation of cotton, has been assessed for 16,000 rupees, and incorporated with the tract

under the Superintendent of Darjeeling. Not a shot was fired: the operations were directed mainly by the President in Council, and the matter is now almost forgotten. But it has a claim to a few lines in a such a paper as the present.

The years 1850 and 1851 have left us no very remarkable political events to record. They were spent by the Governor-General partly in the hills and partly in the plains, and it was then, that by personal inspection, repeated conference, and continued study, Lord Dalhousie laid the foundations of an enlarged and sound administration in the Punjab, and reared on them an edifice which succeeding generations of statesmen may long look up to and admire. We think it proper here to give some little account of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal, which every one knows was administered, during the absence of the Governor General, by the President of the Council for the time being—all matters of importance, and all nominations to the high prizes of the civil service, being referred to Simla or Mahasoo for the vice-regal orders. It would be impossible, in a paper like this, to give an account of all that was done under the four subordinate Governments respectively, though each Presidency, theoretically, stands in one and the same relation to the Government of India. They are all subject to the same control in legislation: the power of the purse, in the hands of Sir H. Pottinger or Lord Falkland, is just what it is in the hands of Mr. Colvin: the intent of the Charter Act was that Bombay and Agra, Madras and Bengal, should remedy their respective abuses, and attain their peculiar reforms, by one and the same process. But our concern is with Lord Dalhousie, and with those divisions of the Indian Empire, in which his influence has been most felt. Of the late Mr. Thomason's Government we have already given a notice in our last Number, and no additional praise of ours could enhance the merit of that successful administration. But with Bengal the case is different. It is the focus of civilization: the commercial capital of the country: it has been the residence of the Governor-General for the last two years: it represents one-half of India in the eyes of the untravelled at home: it is here that we have the most influential bar, and the largest mercantile community: here the spread of education is the most acknowledged, and the effects of missionary operations are most visibly seen. Moreover, Calcutta, or rather Bengal, conceives itself to have a right to the presence of the Governor-General, at least for such time as he is also the Governor of this large and fertile kingdom. When then the administration of the

Lower Provinces was left for the whole interval, between October 1848 and February 1852, in the hands, first, of Sir H. Maddock, and next, of Sir J. H. Littler, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the fourth estate and by the community generally; and it was even asserted, that matters, instead of progressing, were actually going backward. For the time that Sir H. Maddock held the reins, from October 1848 to March 1849, these murmurs did not make themselves very loudly heard. Sir H. Maddock had had very considerable experience in civil business, and had been Deputy-Governor under Lord Hardinge. But when the administration was presided over by a soldier, who was not unjustly supposed to know more about platoon firing and advancing in echellon than about the excise code and the decennial settlement, the Government of Bengal was assailed by considerable obloquy, though the old soldier commanded respect by his kind manner and straightforward dealing, and though his responsible adviser was, in talent, integrity and uprightness, amongst the very foremost of the whole Civil Service. There is no doubt, however, that it is anomalous and unjust to hand over the Government of such a Presidency as Bengal to a man who has many other duties to employ him—to a man who may be somewhat worn out, who may be inexperienced, who, though a good councillor, may not be the fittest man for such a post. There is more work to be done under the Bengal Government than under any other Government in India. The land revenue, though assessed in perpetuity, is constantly giving rise to new, intricate, and perplexing questions. The manufacture and sale of opium creates a responsibility, of which the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra knows nothing. The Salt, the excise, and the sea customs, in themselves, form no contemptible addition to the work. The police is a heavy burden, where the population expect to be protected, and will not stir a finger to help themselves. The Bengal Marine Department, as at Bombay, requires a great deal of attention, and would be a hard task for any Civil Governor, were it not for the admirable manner in which ships and men are disciplined, and kept in order by the Superintendent of Marine. The whole of the judicial branch demands constant attention, in a country where there is valuable property to be contended for, and acute intellects that make litigation a trade. Education is making grander and more rapid strides in Bengal than in any other part of India, without a single exception, and the schools and colleges under the Council of Education are more than double those of any other Presidency. The non-regulation provinces, of Assam, Arracan,

Tenasserim, and the South West Frontier Agency, together with the Tributary Mehals, would, if geographically compact, form an area equal to that of a separate kingdom. Finally, Calcutta alone must occupy a large portion of any Governor's time and attention. It is unjust to blame those entrusted with the administration of Bengal for not having advanced its moral and material prosperity in the same ratio as that of Agra had been advanced. Great questions require undivided energies and uninterrupted leisure. A Governor of Bengal should be a person of "large discourse, looking before and after." He must be wholly unfettered by other duties, be a man of large experience and unquestionable ability, if he is to grapple with the question of improving the village watch, if he is to reform the police, to lay down roads, to simplify procedure, to establish Courts of Small Causes, to visit the different districts at intervals in the year. We think ourselves fortunate to have secured in Mr. Halliday a person equal to this task. If the routine and current work has been carefully and well got through, under the old system, if cases have not been slurred over, nor practical difficulties eluded, nor blunders committed, we ought perhaps not to expect much more. But we shall hope to show, that while all this has been done, the forward movement, as it is termed, the great cause of reform, has not been wholly forgotten. We proceed then to state what was done for the lower division of the Presidency, during the absence of Lord Dalhousie. In 1849 we had the commission on the police of Calcutta, which terminated in a very satisfactory reform of that department. The merit of this is due entirely to the Governor-General. In the same year, the Bengal Government took possession of the small state of Sumbhulpore, lying on the Bombay road, in the South West Frontier Agency. This little chiefship lapsed from failure of heirs, its last Raja having, in his lifetime, expressed a desire of seeing the administration made over to the British Government. The amount paid by this state as tribute, previous to 1849, was only 8,800 rupees. The amount now taken in the shape of direct revenue is 74,000 rupees, of which only 25,000 rupees are expended in the cost of collection and in the payment of establishments, including an European officer. The country, naturally rich and productive, but unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, was admirably ruled by the late Dr. Cadenhead. Not the slightest symptom of discontent has appeared, and one of the members of the Board of Revenue was to visit it this last cold season. But greater changes, with regard to some of the non-regulation provinces have been carried out. It was found that Arracan and the Tenas-

serim Provinces, as to revenue matters, were under the Revenue Board, and that Assam and the South West Frontier Agency were not. Arracan, under the management of Capt. Phayre, was giving in nearly seven lakhs of net revenue, while its grain was exported to all parts of the world. Sixteen lakhs worth of rice are exported yearly from the port of Akyab. The province is remarkably free from crime, the population are contented; a great stream of emigration is flowing yearly from Chittagong southward, the Bengali is pushing the native Arracanese aside. The Tenasserim Provinces, under the successive administrations of Major Broadfoot, Captain Durand and Mr. Colvin, had been gradually recovering from the distress and confusion into which they had been thrown by ill-advised measures, some ten years previous to the time of which we are writing. But of Assam little was known, and the same might be said of the district of Hazaribagh and Chota Nagpore, though much nearer in position to the seat of Government. Both these provinces were put under the Board of Revenue, and the good effects of this measure have been already made apparent in a better and more effective system of management. The mention of the Board of Revenue naturally lead us to record a change in the composition of the Board itself. For the first year after Lord Dalhousie's departure for the Upper Provinces, the two members of this body were very much opposed to each other in opinion. They differed—not as men often differ in India, from mere captiousness or unwillingness to yield points—but from honest conviction and after protracted enquiry. The result, however, of their antagonism, which never prejudiced the interests of either the Government or the landholders, was that an immense deal of additional work was thrown on the office of the Bengal Secretary. Several very knotty points of revenue law were referred to that office, and there set at rest. But it is obvious that an Executive Government should have something to do besides giving rules as to the party with whom lands in the Sunderbunds should be settled, or as to the precise meaning of some clause in Mr. Holt Mackenzie's famous Revenue Regulation of 1822. Accordingly, when one member of the old Board of Customs had retired, and another had been removed from office, it was found convenient to send the third and remaining member to the Board of Revenue. The advantages of this measure were, first, the saving of expense by the abolition of two appointments worth 52,000 rupees a year; secondly, the addition to the Board of Land Revenue of a third member, who had long been its Secretary, and was well versed in revenue law; and, finally, the union of all the great

sources of revenue under one well-selected body, the members of which were enabled to divide all current work amongst themselves, and to discuss all questions of importance in a full conclave. Indeed, it cannot be denied that the working of the revenue system in the Lower Provinces has, within the last four years, been greatly ameliorated. All the operations in the Chittagong division, which rendered the presence there of an officer with extraordinary powers indispensable, having been wound up by Mr. Ricketts, this gentleman was succeeded by an officer with the ordinary pay and powers of a Commissioner. Collectors everywhere were instructed to move about their districts in the cold weather, to examine the condition of Khas Mahals or Government estates, and to follow the example of magistrates in exchanging stone walls for canvass ones. A great deal has been done towards the arrangement of the records in various collectorates, and order and regularity has been introduced amongst a mass of confused or moth-eaten papers. The survey has engaged much attention; it has been manned by officers of ability, and has been pushed forward with the laudable desire of demarkating the boundaries of villages and estates, and of saving a very considerable expense in establishments. It is hardly possible, and it would certainly not be desirable, that the survey in the Lower Provinces should mark off every field, or designate every holding. The advantages derivable thence would not be commensurate with the vast expense and the fearful delay of such a measure. All that the survey professes to do is to record the boundaries of estates and villages, the natural features of the country, the area, and the extent of cultivation, the products of particular districts, the extent of the pressure of the Government revenue on each acre—and other statistical information which the surveyors may pick up in the course of their work. All this will be available in a few years' time, for every district in the Lower Provinces. With regard to the vigorous enforcement of law and the abatement of crime, much has not been done. We have, however, a Commissioner of Dacoity, who is doing his best; and we have seen a vigorous and effective police established on the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the Kurumnassa. The lower division of the line, it should be remembered, is the very opposite in features to the upper part under the Government of Agra. From Benares upwards, the road passes through some of the richest and most populous districts of the Doab. After leaving Burdwan, the Grand Trunk Road merely skirts the edge of the districts of Beerbhoom, Bhaugulpore and Gya, and does not go within fifty miles of a single station. The line selected lies, in fact, through

a hilly, wooded, and thinly populated country, which, though fertile in materials for the construction of roads, is equally so in places where unsuspecting travellers might be robbed and murdered by scores. An effectual protection to life and property has been afforded throughout the line. At every two or four miles there are stations, the police of which regularly protect the road from sunset till dawn. At certain parts there are sowars, and at every fifty or eighty miles there is a deputy magistrate. The whole force on the line is numerically about equal to a regiment of infantry, and it is as safe to travel along this line as it is to go from Calcutta to Baraset, or Kishnaghur. Besides the above reforms, the Bengal Government has commenced the very proper practice of publishing selections from its records, and the numbers, which already amount to more than a dozen, contain abundant information on the opium manufacture, on Teak forests, on several wild districts and their occupants, on the Electric Telegraph, on embankments, on the sanatory condition of Calcutta, and on other subjects. No doubt, when we have a regular Lieut-Governor, things will move at a quicker rate, and we may think little of reforms such as those just enumerated. But when we consider that current business alone is greater in Bengal than elsewhere, that the Executive, during the period of which we are writing, was burdened with some personal cases, relative to the conduct of Civilians and other officers, of a very serious and complicated character, it will be allowed that the Bengal Government has done, and done well, all that in common justice could be expected of it. Neither must we forget that its care has been to put into the highest court of criminal and civil justice, the very best officers that could be selected, and the Calcutta Sudder for four years was presided over by judges who, for energy and acuteness, long acquaintance with native character, with the procedure of the courts, and with the Company's law, were not approached by those of any of the courts at the other Presidencies. The contrast presented by the decisions of the Calcutta Court, with Mr. J. R. Colvin at its head, and by those of the Sudder at Agra, since it has been bereft of the judicial acumen of Messrs. H. Lushington and Deane, is something almost painful to contemplate. The files of the Calcutta court have been reduced to the lowest possible amount; the confidence of suitors and pleaders in its decisions has been increased by the new rules under which civil cases are argued before a full bench: the results of criminal trials appealed, or referred to the court, are widely made known, with the minutes of the several judges; and the good effects of a strict supervision by officers, whose

talents and character command respect, are visible in the additional care with which magistrates prepare, and judges in the districts dispose of the calendars.

We have reserved the great measure which originated with the Bengal Government, but which will be felt all over India, for the last. It is easy to acknowledge the utility of great material works, and to bless the name of the Government that paid for, and the engineer that planned, the long line of road, the noble arch, or the spacious college. A swamp drained, a whole tract protected from inundation, two great marts connected, a wide river bridged, an ubiquitous police—all this appeals to the outward senses. We have nothing to do but to travel, admire, and record. But the measure of which we are about to speak, is one of which the influence will be felt by degrees, and the benefits be more perceptible by the process to which the German school apply the term "subjectivity." Whatever improves the character, increases the official knowledge, and raises the tone of the Civil Service, must have a positive effect on the general Administration. That such will be result of the rules for the examination of assistants after they have passed the college of Fort William, no one who has studied those rules and watched their results, will attempt to deny. These examinations will act beneficially, not merely by excluding the incapable from important positions, and by stimulating the apathetic, who *can*, but *will* not work, but by making the really industrious and clever young men exert themselves to the utmost, and by rendering their knowledge of language and procedure complete and compact. A great deal has been written lately against the system of examinations in the college of Fort William; and, no doubt, the language and style with which Civilians are there familiarized, are not those of the court-house: nor does a certificate gained in Tank Square argue conversancy with any colloquial dialect. But no one ever imagined that any such attainments would be met with there. The college course only pretends to afford the means of acquiring a fair knowledge of the grammar and general structure of the language, and of one or two of its standard works. That which is obviously wanted after such an ordeal, will be supplied by the new half-yearly examinations of assistants, with their two standards of qualification. An examination for the lower standard, on passing which, the assistant is eligible for what are termed "special powers," will be a guarantee that each civilian can read official papers written in fairly legible running hand: that he can translate an English paper into the Vernacular in a style intelligible to a native: that he can hold a

conversation with two or three natives, and that he has a general acquaintance with the leading principles of the revenue and the criminal codes, and with the rules of procedure. He will also be able to decide a criminal or a revenue case, and write his judgment thereon. The second or higher standard, which is to confer eligibility to the full judicial powers of a magistrate and a collector, is similar to the one described, but greatly more difficult in degree. Assistants have to pass in both Bengali and Urdu: the papers are more difficult: the dictation and conversation are to be fluent, correct and idiomatic: the questions on law and practice are selected from the whole field of the duties in both departments. The facts elicited by the above system, which has for some time been in full and active working in the Lower Provinces, are, first, that such examinations were really needed, and, secondly, that they have answered remarkably well. Something of this kind was wanted to take up the college course where it terminated, and to add to book-learning the power of talking fluently with *bunneahs* and ryots. To the really industrious, such an ordeal will not perhaps convey any great additional stimulus. There have always been some men, who, without injunction from any one, will sit down on first joining a Mofussil station, to the study of the regulations, and will mix familiarly with the people till they can hold converse with them on all ordinary topics. But even to such men a little pressure from without is advantageous, while the effect on the idle, the undisciplined, and the improvident, is not easily calculated. It was of course at first asserted that the rules would never work well: that old assistants could not pass them: that the Bengal Government had flown at once from the extreme of laxity to the extreme of harshness: that examiners would favour: that men of active habits, sound judgment, and mild temper, would find these valuable qualities sacrificed at the shrine of philology. All these, and dozens of other objections, have proved nugatory. Philological niceties are not discussed by the divisional or central committees: the older assistants, whom the new system took somewhat at a disadvantage, as they were in charge of offices which left them little time for study, have all taken the test, and the men of less standing, who, from the first, have prepared themselves for this special end, have obtained very great and signal success. No unprejudiced person, who will consult the list published in the *Gazette*, can have any doubt that the scheme was wanted, and that it has fully answered its end. Under the orders of the Court of Directors the same system is now being introduced into every Presidency of the

Empire, including the Punjab, with such modifications as local peculiarities may require. Into the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab, the examinations can obviously be introduced with the utmost facility. Urdu in the one case, with perhaps an examination in Nagri running-hand, and Urdu and Punjabi, or perhaps Persian, in the other, will be the languages by which an assistant's knowledge will be tested. In revenue and criminal law the test will be mainly the same. At Bombay there may be some little difficulty, owing to the prevalence of Guzerati to the north, and of Mahratti to the south of that Presidency; and Madras labours under a plurality of tongues, Telingi, Tamil, Canarese and Malayalim, besides the ubiquitous Urdu; but there is nothing in either locality which determination and ingenuity cannot overcome. We shall expect soon to hear that examinations are held with signal success at Lahore and at Poona, in the Northern Circars, and in the Rohilcund division. The merit of this system belongs entirely to the Government of Bengal; and amongst the servants of that Government to Mr. Ricketts, who is not the man to let a good measure go to sleep, to Mr. Mytton, who had observed that some collectors would persist in employing young and unlearned assistants in duties, the best calculated to excite disgust and aversion, and to the gentleman on whose shoulder rested the whole weight of the Lower Provinces, Mr. John Peter Grant. It is not easy to estimate the invidious responsibility of such a position as was held by this last named gentleman, while Lord Dalhousie was absent from Calcutta. During his incumbency, several long, intricate, and perplexing cases, involving the personal character of officers high in the service, and ending in their removal, were taken up and most carefully investigated, and in *every single instance, without one exception*, the orders of the Bengal Government met with the entire support of the Home authorities. It is rather a wonder that, without a separate and unencumbered Lieut.-Governor, so much has been done in Bengal, than that more should not have been attempted. The manner of doing the work may, in part, be appreciated by a perusal of such papers as official form and secrecy have permitted to see the light. It has often been a subject of regret to us that there is no way of making important papers known, except through the somewhat laborious process of publishing them in "a selection." But to such as emanated from the Bengal Office, during Mr. Grant's incumbency, and under his signature, we shall not hesitate to apply the description given by the most judicious and grave of English historians, of the style of one of the most eloquent and sound of our divines, that there was

"no vulgarity in that racy idiom, and no pedantry in that learned phrase," and we have reason to know that Mr. Grant's official career is acknowledged by competent judges to have exhibited better things than mere style, however weighty and precise, such as inflexible impartiality, high sense of honour, undaunted love of justice, and unwearied search for truth.

The Government of Bengal, since February, 1852, just two years ago, has again been administered by Lord Dalhousie himself, aided by Mr. Cecil Beadon, a gentleman whose merits have deservedly gained him a high and important position at a comparatively early period of service. The principal measures by which these two years have been distinguished are, an important alteration in the law relating to the sale of estates for arrears of revenue, the promulgation of a new set of rules for the grant of waste lands in the Sunderbunds, which may, it is hoped, have the effect of inducing capitalists to lay out money in clearance and cultivation, the giving effect to the Mitford bequest to the city of Dacca, in accordance with the decree of the Court of Chancery: and the extension of English education by the establishment of a new college at Moorshedabad, and an English school at the principal station of every district where the inhabitants may be ready for such a course of instruction. Lord Dalhousie himself has also visited Arracan and Chittagong, and has sent grave Sudder judges and members of the Board of Revenue to report on unknown and unexplored districts, and to suggest measures for their improvement. The only drawback to the benefit derivable from these tours, appears to be that the deputation of two judges of the highest Court of Appeal tends to disorganize the machinery of justice. It is not always easy to supply the vacant places on the bench; nor, if judges are to have roving commissions over huge provinces, do we exactly see of what use is the office of Commissioner of Division. But when we have a regular Lieut.-Governor, we shall expect that for him the steamer will be ready, the tent spread, or the dawk laid, and that a beneficial personal intercourse will be maintained between the chief, his subordinates, and the influential landholders, many of whom have never seen a live Governor. We believe that no Governor-General has ever worked harder than Lord Dalhousie, and that no man is more sensible of the paramount necessity of entrusting the Government of Bengal to the undivided time and the entire energies of the ablest civilian that can be found for the post. All considerations of reduced patronage and diminished weight and influence, even if correctly stated, ought to give way to the public interests. A Governor-General comes out

here to superintend and direct the affairs of each Presidency, to master all the political and external relations of India, to set the financial system on a secure basis, and to see that the legislative, social, and commercial policy of the Empire be directed by adequate means, and on approved principles, towards one and the same end. It is not his business, overwhelmed as he is with references on every point, from the building of a barrack at Peshawar, to the repairs of a gun-boat at Rangoon, to grapple with the intricacies of land tenures, to promote Vernacular education, to infuse spirit into the police of Bengal, to enquire by whom village-watchmen shall be nominated and paid. Let the Governor-General but choose a man in whom he can place implicit reliance, whose talents and character will command the respect of the Services, and of the native and European population—and we will answer for it that no measure will be undertaken and carried out, in which the head of the Empire shall not be furnished with ample previous information. We have good reason to believe that the creation of a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal is due much more to the candour and foresight of the present Governor-General, than to the lugubrious declamation of Anglo-Saxon and Hindu reformers, who made a great stir about evils which no act of Parliament could remedy, and said very little about the one measure which it was in the power of the Houses to pass. If report is to be believed, Lord Dalhousie will make over the kingdom of Bengal to Mr. Halliday: an act which the services and the community will think fully justified by that gentleman's long experience, intimate knowledge of the country, renewed energies, acknowledged service and honourable name.

The years 1850 and 1851 were not, as we have already remarked, fruitful in great political changes. Lord Dalhousie was occupying himself with the consolidation of the new province, and the commissions which he had organized were busy at their work. But the year 1852 saw a new comet on the horizon: we allude, of course, to the second Burmese war. The causes and origin of this war are widely known. The Governor of Rangoon had "beaten a Venetian and traduced the state." In other words, he had tried the Captain of one vessel for a charge over which he had no jurisdiction, and had ill-treated another on charges which were denied. But we have no intention of devoting any part of this article to the origin, progress, and termination of the Burmese war. Its origin has been fully discussed already in our pages, and its consequences as yet are hardly appreciated. Its financial results are

uncertain, the capabilities of the valley of the Irrawaddy are matter for speculation. The organization of the executive system can hardly be termed complete. The development of the resources, the tranquillization of the country, have not attained that maturity which would warrant us in treating the subject in an historical light, as we have ventured to treat the Punjab. The very origin of the war is still occasionally disputed in the Senate at Home. We therefore purpose to leave the whole affair, from the sailing of Commodore Lambert to the return of General Godwin, and the late visit of the Governor-General, the conduct of Wyoons, Woondooks and Thyogyees, the achievements of Sir John Cheape, the storming of stockades and pagodas, the marches over swamps and through jungles, and all the other desultory operations, the loss of boats and steamers, the privations of men and officers, the temper of the inhabitants, the tone of the press, to some future writer. For our own part, we can only lament, like the Baron of Bradwardine at Gladsmuir, that the country and the armament were not calculated to display the true points of the *prœlium equestre*, and we are strangely tempted, at times, to apply to the war, from its commencement to its termination, a well-known quotation from a well-known play of the inimitable Moliere:—*mais que*, &c., &c., &c., &c.

We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the other political events of the years 1852 and 1853. At the commencement of the latter year occurred the deposition of Mir Ali Morad, the rais or ruler of Upper Scinde. It had been proved, on a lengthy and careful enquiry, that this prince, by the dexterous subtraction of one leaf of a Koran, and the substitution of another, had gained possession of certain districts to which he had no right or title. The trick played on the British Government consisted in the insertion in the new leaf of those *districts* of identical names with certain *villages*, which latter were rightly the appendages of the Turban or symbol of authority. His Highness had therefore got possession of extensive tracts, when he was only entitled to a few clusters of houses. It will be in the remembrance of some of our readers, that just before the conquest of Scinde, Ali Morad, by some means, persuaded his brother Mir Rustum to abdicate in his favor, while he himself remained faithful to the British power during that brief but eventful war. He was accordingly maintained in the undisturbed possession of the chiefship, and was formally acknowledged as rais of Upper Scinde. When it was discovered, through information given by his servants, that he enjoyed the revenues of the tracts which did not go with the Turban, to use the phrase current in the province, he was of

course called on to give them up. Opposition was useless, and the Mir saw this at once. A brigade was held in readiness to coerce him and his adherents, but the lands were given up to the British Commissioner, without the smallest resistance. The mercenaries of the rais were paid off and discharged: his most pressing necessities were relieved, and he was left in possession of the tracts devised to him by the will of his father, that is to say, of the younger brother's appanage. In an European kingdom, or even in some of the more fertile provinces of India, the land left to the Mir would have been considered a very pretty provision, especially to one of a dynasty that had neither long descent, nor meritorious exercise of power, to recommend it. But no part of Scinde, with the exception of land easily irrigated, can be termed remarkably fertile, and the character of Mir Ali's rule is not likely to develope whatever natural resources there may be. For a considerable portion of the year 1850, Major Le Grand Jacob and Capt. Stewart were occupied in the demarkation of Ali Morad's patrimony, and towards the close of last year, their report, transmitted by the Bombay Government with suitable recommendations, was duly received and considered by the Governor-General in Council. The terms conceded to the Mir were liberal. Old scores were cleared off summarily, and a doubtful claim he had against Government was allowed him as a set-off against our good claims for mesne profits on account of districts held by him without title. He was allowed to retain, not only what his father, but that which his uncle would have given him: he was even permitted to keep what it was *intended* by his father that he should have had; lands lying along a canal which had been dug, but never finished, in Mir Sohrab's lifetime, and along a stream called the Narra, which passes through a part of the patrimony, and which has been improved by the British Government, were left without stipulation in his possession, and if ever there was a doubt about the precise line of demarkation, the most liberal concessions were made in the Mir's favour. We regret to say that Mir Ali Morad is not likely to benefit by the lesson he has received, or to employ himself in the improvement of his patrimonial estate. Like grandees elsewhere, who have had a fall, he would fain keep up his ancient dignity on a diminished income. Fruitful tracts converted into hunting grounds: days and weeks devoted to sport —a whole population turning out to beat the jungles, and debarred from the timely cultivation of their fields—these are the main features of his paternal rule: and that the career of the late rais will be rapidly downward, there can be little doubt.

In the same year (1852) the tract in Central India known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, was transferred from the hands of the Supreme Government to that of the Lieut.-Governor of Agra. This fine province had been placed under the Governor-General in Council in 1842, by Lord Ellenborough, owing to the spread of disaffection there, which was said to require the constant attention of the highest power in India. But it was clear that the reasons by which Lord Ellenborough had been actuated, were of no weight ten years afterwards. The province, under the successive management of Colonel Sleeman and Mr. Bushby, was improving. There were no symptoms of discontent amongst its cultivators or its petty chiefs. The Government of India had other things to do than to administer directly the affairs of this province. The Lieut.-Governor of Agra, from position, experience and habit, seemed the proper person to introduce into the territories in question sundry improvements of which it stood much in need. The transfer got rid of the anomaly presented by a Commissioner or Agent, who was directly subordinate in political matters to the Governor-General, and not to the Lieut.-Governor, and who was yet, in revenue matters, placed under the Lieut.-Governor's subordinates, the members of the Sudder Board. The tract in question was to have been visited by Mr. Thomason during last cold weather, and though death interrupted this and other plans, we have no doubt but that the Jubbulpore school of thugs, the condition of the province, the necessity for a regular settlement, the denial of an appeal in civil suits from the judge to the Agra Sudder, while the same privilege is not denied to criminals, with other matters touching the welfare of the inhabitants, will be subjects of anxious consideration to Mr. Colvin next year.

In the commencement of 1853 an event took place on our North Western frontier, which, but for the sagacity of the head of the Government, might have been productive of most serious results. We are induced to dwell particularly on this, because it is the fate of Administrators to get very little credit for things which they have *not* done. The wars which they prevented, the mistakes into which they did *not* fall, the first false move which they did *not* make, are hardly dwelt upon by cotemporaries, and may escape the research of even the most laborious of subsequent annalists. The events to which we allude, took place within the independent native state of Bahawalpore. The late Nawab had been the ally of Major Edwardes in the operations against the Dewan Moolraj, had been thanked for his services by the Supreme Government, and had exchanged visits with the

Governor-General. He died and left his throne to a younger son. The elder brother of this prince, rejected by his father, was kept in close confinement, and fed on the bread and water of affliction. The British Government would not *interfere* to procure his release, and would do nothing, but simply recommend the reigning prince to treat his captive with generosity. This advice was not followed, and in the beginning of last year, the prisoner, aided by some Daoudputras, effected his escape, erected his standard, assembled a considerable body of adherents, and, after a very short struggle, made himself master of his brother's person and of his father's throne. In a brief space the pretender had vindicated his rights : the captive had exchanged a prison for a camp : the friendless and the disinherited one saw a nation stretching forth a sceptre for his acceptance, and a brother sueing on the Koran for life. Before this scene in the drama, the opinion of the highest local authorities had been that the British Government should interfere to support the reigning prince, to prevent disturbances on the frontier, and to put down rebellion in the palace. Brigades should be moved from Mooltan, the authority of the British Government should be manifested, and its determination to uphold legitimate power against upstart pretensions should be proclaimed to every native court in India. Without any knowledge of the rapid changes passing on the spot, with nothing to guide him to a decision beyond the bare fact of the escape of the prince, and his reception by a party of the Daoudputras, Lord Dalhousie at once wisely determined *to do nothing.* Against the advice of men on the spot, whose judgment, often tried, had been found correct, with the certainty that a heavy responsibility must rest on the head of a man who attempts to pull the strings from a distance, he at once proclaimed his conviction that the issue of the struggle would not long be left in doubt. Either the reigning Nawab, if he possessed the affection of his subjects and the confidence of his ministers, would make short work of his brother's attempt, or the fugitive, if called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people, would soon be *de facto* and *de jure* king. The British power should not force an incapable or unpopular sovereign on a reluctant people, nor lend its bayonets to the support of a puppet. The doctrine of non-interference was well and boldly avowed. There was no objection whatever on the part of the paramount power to uphold the younger son in preference to the elder. If the Nawab had deprived the latter of his birth-right, it was because he had thought him ill-qualified for sovereignty. If the nation thought

differently, after due experience, this was a matter with which the Government of India had no concern. Whichever prince could count on the support of the army and the good will of the people, would be acknowledged by the power which annexes kingdoms, pensions out-casts, and recognises just claims to the "umbrella" or the "cushion"—all the above was foreshadowed by the Governor-General with accurate knowledge of the position of affairs, and every mail that arrived from the North West served to prove the correctness and the sagacity of his views. The only interference exercised by the chief Commissioner, was in the shape of a recommendation to the successful adventurer to treat his brother leniently, and not, in the first flush of victory, to prepare for him the axe, the string, the hot iron, or the bowl! It is a gratifying tribute to the influence of the British rule to know, that although rumours were rife about a treatment in store for the ex-Nawab like that which Hubert had not the heart to inflict on Prince Arthur, not a hair of his head was touched. The prisoner ascended the throne, and the ex-ruler became his brother's pensioner, residing in the British dominions. Not a shot was fired, not a soldier stirred from his post. Had Lord Dalhousie, acting against the advice of the chief Commissioner, gone wide of the mark, had there been disturbances on the frontier, and had a rebellion in Bahawalpore proved a nucleus for the disaffected in the Punjab, there would have been no end to abuse of the Government of which he is the head and chief. But in what, if unsuccessful, would have been designated as rashness and obstinacy, in the same measure when successful, we see the clearest foresight, the soundest judgment, the most undoubted statesmanship. To divine coming events, when they do *not* cast a shadow, to tell officers on the spot that they are so near to the subjects of which they are writing as to be dazzled by the glare or stunned by the noise, to point to them, like a good pilot, the true course which the ship should take—this is, surely the highest political talent, and the grandest capacity for directing the complicated affairs of kingdoms. It is not the less worthy of praise that such measures leave no trace. We never can tell, in India, what one false step may not bring forth. The move of a regiment, or of a troop of artillery, the deputation of a single officer, the transmission of a mere piece of paper, may involve consequences, the end of which several generations shall not see.

As the year wore on, the affairs of the Nizam began to demand the serious attention of the British Government. The dominions of this sovereign, though certainly not well governed, presented no material for charges such as are justly brought

against the king of Oude. The Nizam's army, as it is termed, was never ordered out to support the misrule of a wicked minister, to curb the spirit of an oppressed population, to exact the taxes imposed by a vindictive tyrant. The main evil of the Hyderabad state was, that it was bearded by fanatic Arabs, by adventurous Rohillas, by independent Chiefs, who collected a band of unruly followers, shut themselves up in some mud-fort, and levied cesses on every passer by. The services of the contingent were constantly put in requisition to chastise or coerce some adventurer of this kind who had defied the king. The proceedings on such occasions were generally as follows:—The prime minister would inform the Resident that in some particular district, the authority of the Nizam was entirely set at nought: that cattle were driven off by thousands, and *bunneas* imprisoned by scores: that women and children were being helplessly plundered, and that the very communication by post was in danger of being cut off. The Resident, having satisfied himself that the crisis had not been produced by the oppression or the mis-government of the Nizam himself, and that the case was one to warrant British interference, would immediately order Brigadier Mayne to take a proper complement of cavalry and infantry, with guns, and proceed to reduce the rebels. Brigadier Mayne, with the spirit of the "illustrious garrison" still strong in him, immediately makes his arrangements with all speed and secrecy, starts at noon one day, marches the whole of the night, and in the grey of the morning, finds himself before the fort. A summons to surrender to the representative of the British power, produces nothing but a valiant defiance, and an intimation that the garrison will die in defence of their position. The Brigadier invests the fortifications, orders up a gun, fires a shot, which is responded to from the fort, and then proceeds to more active operations. After a slight cannonade, the gates are opened, the brave army are seen escaping at the back of the citadel, and over rugged ground, and the British commander, with no loss whatever, is in possession of the place. Many of the garrison get clear off: some are captured and sent for trial before the moonsiff, who in Hyderabad is a criminal as well as a civil judge, a host of captives are released, and have their property restored to them, the fort is dismantled, and the troops return to cantonments. We have known repeated examples of the above occur in the course of six months. The Nizam was not, however, always free from blame. It was a common practice with him to farm out a particular district to two people at the same time, taking a sum in advance, or a *bonus* from both par-

ties, and leaving them to fight for the collection of the revenues. The army was in arrears: the sum stipulated on account of the contingent was never punctually paid. The state was in debt to wealthy sahoocars. The administration of justice was venal or imperfect. The sums levied on goods in transit were in excess of what was permitted by the commercial treaty. But the most objectionable feature in the Hyderabad Government, was the dilatoriness with which the men and officers of the contingent were paid. Nothing could be more harassing to the British Resident than to assume the attitude of an importunate creditor, and to have to dun the minister every week. Nothing could be more humiliating and undignified than the subterfuges and the excuses, the shifts and the shams, to which the Nizam was put. At the same time that potentate steadily refused to permit the contingent to be reduced by a company. It was his safeguard against rebellion: the pillar of his state, the mainstay of his government. At length the arrears of pay, which amounted to about fifty lakhs of rupees, added to the growing inability of the Nizam to supply the current expenses of the force, appeared to call for decided measures. Promises of financial reform, assurances of a replenished treasury, and a sound credit, had been made and broken, been given and retracted, for the hundredth time. The only measure that could satisfy both parties, was an entirely new arrangement. This had been threatened in 1851. Its fulfilment was reserved for the year 1853. The departure of the Resident, General Fraser, for England, enabled Lord Dalhousie to appoint to this important situation, Col. John Low, C. B., of the Madras army, an officer who had served under Sir J. Malcolm, had been at Lucknow, and at Hyderabad, had great knowledge of native courts, had done excellent service every where, and was possessed of remarkable self-command, peculiar suavity of temper, admirable firmness, and excellent judgment. Col. Low quitted Rajpootana, where he had been performing the duties of Agent for those states for the last four years, came to Calcutta, and went to Hyderabad in full possession of the views of the Governor-General. He was instructed to endeavour to prevail on the Nizam to follow the example of Scindia, and to make over, if not in perpetuity, at least for an indefinite time, certain districts adequate to the payment of the forces. It may easily be conceived that the Nizam was reluctant to acquiesce in this proposal. It proved as hard to persuade him that such a step was for his benefit, as it was for Margaret of Anjou, in Anne of Geierstein, to cajole the poor old king Renè to abdicate his rights. Of course the

Nizam's kingly ire blazed forth at the proposal—he would reform his exchequer—he would not cut off his right hand—he was still a Sovereign Prince—he would endure anything, rather than this unmerited degradation. His pride could not submit to this fall. It is not easy to conceive, or to describe, the immense amount of tact, diplomacy and forbearance which the Resident displayed during this trying negotiation. If great results have ever been due to personal exertions, if an important object has ever been secured by the address and firmness of a single person, this is the occasion, and Col. Low is the man. The Nizam yielded to an officer whose temper was never ruffled, whom argument and the loud tones of the Nizam never betrayed into one single unguarded expression, who was firm without obstinacy, who reconciled diplomacy and candour, and joined perseverance to tact. A new treaty was drawn up, signed and sealed. It appeared that the force known as the contingent, was not mentioned in the old treaties concluded at the commencement of this century, and has never been formally recognised. The contingent had sprung up in 1816, when Sir H. Russell was Resident, and had gradually increased to an unwieldy size. It was, in fact, an addition to the force known as the "subsidiary force," furnished by the Company for the general defence and protection of His Highness, which consisted of eight battalions of sepoys, two regiments of cavalry, and a proper complement of artillery. The contingent, in addition to the above, numbered about eight thousand men, with an undue proportion of officers, some of whom were the servants of the Company, while others had only local rank. The whole sum due from the Nizam annually, on account of the above forces, was forty lakhs of rupees. The provisions of the new treaty were then, as follows:—The subsidiary force was still maintained. It was still to execute important services for His Highness, to protect his person, to reduce rebels to obedience, but it was not to be employed in the collection of revenue. The Nizam's army or contingent was replaced by the Hyderabad contingent, to consist of six regiments or 5,000 Infantry, four corps or 2,000 cavalry, and four field batteries, commanded by British officers, and under the Resident's control. The contingent, like the subsidiary force, will be at the disposal of the Nizam for emergent service. The subsidiary force may be employed in adjacent kingdoms, on the part of the Government of India, should occasion require it, or in time of war. To pay the above forces, and to satisfy other claims, districts yielding a gross revenue of fifty

lakhs of rupees have been made over to our management. They consist of the districts to the north of Hyderabad, known as the Berar Valley, comprising Amraouti, the great cotton mart: the western districts adjoining the principalities of Sholapore, and the Raichour Doab between the Toongabudra, and the Kistnah. The revenues of these tracts will go, first, to provide the regular monthly pay of the contingent, next, to the payment of the old Mahratta claim, known as Appah Desaye's *chout*, and of certain other allowances, and, lastly, to the clearance, with interest at six per cent, of the arrears due by the Nizam, which amount to fifty lakhs of rupees, or to about one year's gross revenue of the ceded territory. These districts are now administered by British officers, some of them officers of the contingent; they took possession of their charges without meeting any opposition. All last cold weather they have been engaged in surveying the condition of the inhabitants, the capabilities of the soil, and the varieties of the produce, and when we have a Railroad running up the Great Berar Valley, we may hope that the darling wish of Manchester will be at length gratified. The opportunity of reducing the expenses of the contingent was not thrown away. There had been five Brigadiers. There are now only two. It was at first thought that the one might have commanded the cavalry, and the other the infantry. But to avoid the obvious inconvenience of a divided authority, where infantry and cavalry are stationed together, it was subsequently deemed advisable to make two divisions of the whole. The most inefficient of the officers attached to the corps, many of whom had mere local rank, were pensioned. The best, as we have said, were placed in charge of some of the ceded districts. The staff was reduced. The old rate of pay was continued to all incumbents, a new rate was fixed for new men entering the service. The effect of these changes is a present saving of six lakhs of rupees, and an eventual reduction of nearly ten. The contingent, under such officers as Major William Mayne and Capt. Colin Mackenzie, will be more efficient at less cost; a great cotton mart will be opened to British enterprise; a populous and productive country will be rescued from misrule; the Nizam will, in reality, be more independent, and be saved from all the anxieties of a debtor's existence! and be "every inch a king." The British Government will assume the bearing, not of a troublesome creditor or a persecuting bailiff, but of a true ally, of a real protector, of a firm friend. This is another of the triumphs which place

Lord Dalhousie and Col. Low in the same rank with the Wellesleys and the Clives of our early days.*

We come now to a subject which is of as much importance as either siege, conquest, treaty, or material improvements, but which is not so intimately associated with the idea of the Governor General as others—that of legislation. We have preferred grouping all the improvements in our laws under one head and in two or three pages, to noticing them in detail according to the years in which they were passed. The influence of the Governor General over the course of law-making is not always practical or direct. His time is too much occupied with administrative or executive measures—with the organization of irregular regiments, the commencement of great public works, the reports of Commissions, and the suggestions of Boards The legislative department, moreover, is presided over, we may say, by an English lawyer, carefully selected and highly paid, whose especial business it is to peruse reports, to compare opinions, and to hammer out drafts of laws. In every department of the public service there are officers admirably qualified to explain what is wanting for the security of the public revenues, for the preservation of peace, for the punishment of crime. It is all we can expect if the Governor-General finds time to make himself acquainted with the general scope and tendency of every particular Act. He is not to cut and carve its several clauses, or to satisfy himself that it will be proof against the ingenuity of the English bar. Indeed, we think that the connection between the Governor-General and the legislative department might be made even more slender than it now

* We have inadvertently omitted, though we have not forgotten, the Electric Telegraph The origin of this work, we all know, lies with Dr W B O Shaughnessy, who, though he had never seen an Electric Telegraph in operation in his life, laid down a line from Calcutta to Kedgeree, which has been working for the last two years, invented a new alphabet, drilled a corps of Telegraphers, and triumphed over every difficulty of climate or locality Lord Dalhousie at once perceived the immense political and social advantages of such a measure, handsomely rewarded its author, sent him to England to make arrangements for the erection of lines connecting all the important towns in the Empire, and has now the satisfaction of knowing that the wires are already "up" along hundreds of miles of road. It may be said of the author of this project as was said of Franklin—

"Eripuit fulmen cœlo, sceptrumque *tyrannis*,"—

That is, from *native states* internal and external, of whose political movements the Telegraph will give us instantaneous notice, enabling us to curb disaffection everywhere at once But we have not time or space for a detailed account of this great measure, nor for an examination of Lord Dalhousie's Grand Railway scheme, either of which, when fully carried out, would signalize the administration of any Proconsul For the same reason, we are compelled to omit many other subjects—the annexation of Sattara, the confiscation of Ungool, the recognition of the independence of the Rajpoot state of Kerowlee. No man, in fact, can ever complain that Dalhousie has given us nothing to write about, and even with regard to Burma, we may hope that ere his *departure*, he may see *cuncta terrarum subacta*.

is, and that it would be quite sufficient, were he simply to give his assent to a proposed enactment, if consistent with the general policy of the Government, and with the spirit of the age. He ought to be spared the drudgery of comparing antagonistic theories, analysing doubts, and noting on sections. But, whatever be the precise amount of influence exercised by the Governor-General, a review of the most important legislative enactments passed within the last six years, may fitly find entrance in such a paper as this. Every one who ever looks into the *Gazette* must be well aware of the local and departmental character of many of our laws. Occasionally there will be seen drafts which can have no possible interest for any one, except the inhabitants of a particular district, the traders in some one kind of produce, the officials entrusted with the charge of some special branch of the revenue. Our remarks then will apply to such acts as bear a catholic character. For the first three months of Lord Dalhousie's Administration, the laws were forged by Mr. C. H. Cameron; for rather more than three years by the late Mr. Bethune, for six months by the late Advocate General, now Sir Charles Jackson, and from the commencement of 1852 to the present time by Mr. Peacock. We shall advert to the laws of any general interest in each successive year. In the year 1848 was passed an Act, which has been usually coupled with Mr. Dampier's name, and which enables a magistrate to take penal recognizances from British subjects, not convicted of any specific offence, whenever he may have good reason to apprehend any breach of the peace. In default of such recognizances, parties may be committed to the civil jail. The object of this very proper enactment was, to enable men charged with the preservation of life, property, and the public peace, in a large district, to prevent those disgraceful outrages, by which, in Lower Bengal especially, men have long insulted the civil power. Of course there was the usual amount of clamour raised against the Act by Europeans, who hate subjection of all kinds, and who only begin to discover the inefficiency of the courts when those courts are likely to check their turbulence and insubordination. But the working of the law has proved its own vindication. There is an appeal from decisions passed under this Act. No man has been unjustly confined under its operation. British subjects have been more circumspect and amenable to reason. Affrays have been more rare. No sensible man now makes this law his grievance. Act VI. of this year equalized the duties on goods imported to, and exported from, India, on British and foreign bottoms, and abolished the duties on goods carried from one Indian port to

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another, with exception to ports in the Straits, the Arracan, and the Tenasserim Provinces. By this law the whole of India has been made one port. Another law of this year reminds us that the small state of Mandree, in the Presidency of Bombay, had become an integral part of the British Empire. By successive enactments, the criminal courts were enabled to punish wandering gangs of thieves and robbers by imprisonment for seven years, without a Futwah from the law officer: the jurisdiction of the Court of Small Causes was clearly defined: the period of time within which suits might be brought to contest the award of the revenue authorities in the Bengal Presidency was limited, prospectively, to three years: the duty on salt entering the North West Provinces from other provinces of this Presidency was repealed: and, finally, the officers in charge of the revenue survey were empowered to compel the attendance of proprietors or farmers, with their accounts and documents, and to punish recusancy by fine. With the exception of an Act for improving the discipline of the Indian Navy, no other remarkable law was passed in this year. And, in all the above laws, besides the "Dampier Act," those for the equalization of customs, for the abolition of salt duties on Bengal Salt, and for strengthening the hands of the revenue surveyors, are the most important. It is an object to let the salt manufactured by the Bengal Government travel up the country without any additional impost; and the only duty levied at Allahabad is that on salt from Rajpootana, when it attempts to pass into Behar. As regards the survey, nothing could be done until Act XX. was passed. Zemindars and their agents stoutly refused to give the slightest assistance to one of the most useful and beneficial measures which the Government had ever devised, and from which it could derive no direct pecuniary advantage whatever. Public spirit is not often manifested in Bengal in the furtherance of public objects.

The next year commenced with a very useful enactment for the trial of offences committed by British subjects in foreign states. This law gives us one uniform course of procedure, in place of the diversity that had prevailed in the three Presidencies. It makes all subjects of the British Government, and all persons in the civil and military service of that Government, and for six months after leaving service, amenable to any Company's court, for felony, murder, and other aggravated offences committed by them in the territories of a foreign or independent Prince. A British subject committing a robbery in Oude, may, under this law, be tried by a judge in the North West Provinces, or by a commissioner or other civil

officer, presiding over any competent court in the foreign territory. This Act has worked well hitherto. Although the number of Acts passed in this year was not great, yet several of them are not unimportant in character. We then saw laws passed, which, severally, abolished the useless practice of branding and exposing convicts, protected the unfortunate shareholders of the Union Bank, provided for the safe custody of lunatics, and appointed an Administrator General for the care of intestate estates. We saw other Acts, which placed the excise system of Calcutta on a better footing, which checked smuggling of salt, and obviated a deficiency which was felt by the Government in dealing with mutiny and sedition in the Company's naval and military forces. This ends the catalogue of enactments for the year.

The year 1850 was prolific of enactments of various kinds. We made Aden a free port; we liberated the coasting trade of India; we saw courts established for the recovery of small debts in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, which deprive the law of its delay, the Supreme Court of a deal of business, and the honest tradesman of the metropolis of a great deal of annoyance. No more popular or efficient institution has been as yet established, as far as Calcutta is concerned. Without entailing great expense, without involving suitors in the mazes of the law, without accumulating records, it enables creditors to realize with cheapness and facility a host of minor dues. It is presided over by judges of ability, who possess the entire confidence of the community. Its business has been greatly on the increase. The cry is waxing loud for the establishment of such courts in the 24-Pergunnahs, and in the populous cities of Dacca, Patna, Moorshedabad, and others. If there is any complaint about the court, it is that its jurisdiction is limited to suits of 500 rupees in amount. It was one of the cherished projects of Mr. C. H. Cameron. Had that enlightened gentleman remained in India, he would have acknowledged that the success of the scheme has more than equalled his expectations. As the year rolled on, it was found necessary to amend the law with regard to the punishment of breaches of trust and misapplication of public moneys. The criminal courts of the Company were empowered to add fines to punishments inflicted on persons convicted of robbery and other offences against property, to levy such fines by distress, and to distribute the proceeds for the benefit of the injured party. Judges and magistrates were very properly protected against suits brought for acts done in the discharge of their duties, though without jurisdiction, provided they were done in good faith; and the virulence of rich and

disappointed individuals was to a certain extent baffled. A law regarding apprentices was promulgated. Any law or usage inflicting forfeiture of rights, property, or inheritance, by reason of loss of caste or change of religion, was for ever abolished. This great Act is known as that of liberty of conscience. The outcry against it has not been *very* loud. Of course some men are bound to contend for the sacred privileges of bigotry, for the luxury of revenge, for the indefeasible rights of Hindus to check the freedom of a strong will, the movements of a reasonable conviction, the workings of an enlightened mind. Of course, too, some men would proclaim that the Christian convert shall not have fair play, that Hindu intolerance shall always be respected, that the British power is pledged to support persecution against the dictates of humanity and sound sense. But in a case like this, we are content to take part with Mr. Halliday in preference to Counsellor Leith, with Dr. Duff rather than Sir Erskine Perry, the sentiments of Christian statesmen, husbands, mothers and wives, against the effusions of an undisguised rancour, and the sallies of a spurious zeal. There is a cant which is even worse than that of the Chadbands and the Stigginses.

We resume our notice of the course of legislation. The land revenue of the town of Calcutta was at length defined by law. An Act for the conservancy of towns, other than Calcutta, was actually passed, in order to give the inhabitants of Bengal an opportunity of proving their supposed capacity for self-government. We believe that this Act has had a very beneficial effect, though not exactly that which its authors intended. It was vainly imagined that the heads of the native population would consort to tax themselves for the lighting of roads, the purifying of drains, the cleaning of tanks, and general purposes of conservancy. With very few exceptions, the Act has not been put in force, and nowhere has it obtained more than a partial success. We believe, too, that in most of the large towns, such as Dacca or Moorshedabad, any attempt of the kind would end in the most complete failure. Let one-half the population be swept away by some tremendous visitation, occurring from the want of the most obvious sanatory precautions, let bridges break down, roads become impassable, and heaps of filth block up the approach to the main bazar, we do not think that the inhabitants would come forward to tax themselves at four annas a head, or divest themselves of the least portion of their hereditary right to the enjoyment of impurities. After all the talk about self-government, and the Anglo-Saxon model, we think that in conservancy there is nothing like the powerful arm of the

executive. Laws were about the same time enacted to encourage merchant seamen, to protect sailors from crimps, and commanders from sailors. Other laws were made to enable the Government to confine state prisoners in Calcutta or anywhere else, so as to get rid of any danger of collision by means of a *habeas corpus* with the Supreme Court: to improve the mode by which public inquiries can be made into accusations brought against public servants, not removable from office without the sanction of the Government: to allow the use of counsel to all persons accused of any offence, in all courts whatsoever, of the East India Company: and to enable lands to be taken for our Railway from Howrah to the collieries. Two Acts wind up the important legislative proceedings of the year. The one is for the registration of joint-stock companies, or partnerships, whose joint-stock is transferable in shares without consent of all the parties; and the other carries out the arrangement, of which we have already made mention, for the consolidation of the old Board of Customs and the Sudder Board of Revenue. Forty-five laws were enacted in this busy year—during which year, be it observed, the Governor-General was not two months at the Presidency; and many of the Acts, as will be seen from the above selection, were highly important in their principles and their bearing on the requirements of the community.

In the next year operations were somewhat delayed, owing to the late Mr. Bethune's long and fatal illness. We saw, however, the boon of deputy magistrates extended to the Presidency of Bombay, *only eight* years after the plan had been tried and found to answer in Bengal; we saw officers of the Salt Department in Bengal empowered to search houses, on information given, that such houses contained more than one *maund* of salt; and we saw Government authorized to levy an elaborate scale of tolls on public roads and bridges, of which no use has been made as yet. With regard to the Lower Provinces, it was jocularly said, but with truth, that the Act would be a dead letter, because no roads had been opened, and no bridges had been built. Gambling in Bombay was put down: the land revenue of Madras itself was attempted to be secured, but with what success we are unable to state. Various laws for the collection of the excise in the Straits' Settlements were consolidated by one comprehensive enactment; and, for the satisfaction of Manchester, endeavours were made to stop the deterioration of cotton at Bombay, by the confiscation of the article, and the fine or imprisonment of the offending party. There were only sixteen laws passed

in this year. The next year, however, swelled our code very considerably. We came in for the benefit of the time and toil given by Mr. Jackson to law-making during the latter part of the preceding year, the Acts hammered out in that period, making their appearance, spick and span, and in rapid succession, after the commencement of the new year The Act of Parliament for marriages in India was set agoing marriage registrars were appointed, official and non-official, and no person can now have the least difficulty in being married according to the forms and rules of his persuasion in any part of India. The cost of a light-house on Pedra Blanca, a rock at the eastern entrance of the Straits of Singapore, to be named after the great hydrographer, Horsburgh, was provided for, the jaghir of Bethow, in the district of Cawnpore, granted to the Ex-Peishwa, was placed under the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil and criminal courts, and we were thus reminded of the enormous amount of yearly pension which an ill-advised arrangement had conceded to this state idler The unlucky Municipal Act of 1847, for the improvement of Calcutta, was set aside in favour of another, almost as ill-fated in one point of view. An Inam Commission, or court, was appointed for the decision of suits about lands claimed to be held, wholly or partially rent-free, in Candeish, the Deccan, and the Southern Mahratta country. The Presidency of Bombay is swamped by these and similar burdens, and it is hoped that no foolish leniency will be shown in the working of the Act. The municipal commissioners were furnished with another Act, framed for their especial benefit, and if anything in the shape of varied legislation could improve our sanatory condition, Calcutta ought by this time to have become a model city. The police of the city was next amended the hands of its magistrates were strengthened, and the provisions for the preservation of public peace and morality, scattered over no less than eleven kinds of rules and ordinances, were lucidly brought within the compass of a single law. Three Acts amended the law of evidence, and the procedure of the Supreme Court. By another, an attempt was made to purify the Mofussil courts, by enabling judges to dismiss fraudulent pleaders, and by exempting pleaders from humiliating fines; and the excise revenue of the town of Madras was secured by a long and elaborate law. The same Presidency obtained its Act for the acquisition of land required for public purposes. In Bombay, deputy collectors were appointed, and patels or heads of villages in the same Presidency were empowered to try petty thefts and assaults, and to fine offenders in the sum of five rupees, or imprison them in the

stocks for forty-eight hours. Darogahs in Bengal were no longer allowed commission on the value of any stolen or plundered property which they might recover. The law for the prosecution of ministerial officers was amended; the province of Arracan felt the benefit of legislation, in a law which abolished the poll-tax in the towns of Akyab and Kyouk Phyoo, and substituted a tax on lands covered by dwelling-houses.

The first remarkable law of the year 1853 is one, against which there would have been a tremendous outcry formerly, but which passed without even a muttered growl. It is in reality the first of the Black Acts. It makes British subjects liable to the same duties, and the same punishments as natives, in respect of public charges and duties in aid of the police. This is the introduction of the end of the wedge; and we have no doubt, that in due time, planters and zemindars, native and European, will be placed on a much more equal footing in their respective dealings with the Mofussil courts. The third and twelfth Acts of this year remind us that we have a railway actually in operation in the Presidency of Bombay, and that offences which may endanger the persons of travellers, and frauds which may injure the Railway Company, require to be visited with penalties, while passengers on the other hand must submit to certain rules. The other laws are of no general interest; but as we write, we see the issue of a Draft of an Act for railways in this Presidency, which will protect the Company and passengers by the trains from annoyance and loss. We here conclude our notice of the legislative features of Lord Dalhousie's administration. The precise share taken by him, or by individuals in each particular law, it would be impossible to state; but we are quite certain that the working of the legislative system is, in a general way, as creditable to him as other parts of his rule, in which his ascendancy has been more prominently felt.

We have hitherto omitted all direct mention of one of the most distressing events of the past year: we allude of course to the death of James Thomason, the honored ruler of the North Western Provinces. This event, with the assassination of Colonel Mackeson, threw a gloom over the close of 1853. We have lately had occasion to present in this *Review* a notice of the late Lieut.-Governor's character and distinguished career, and the time is yet hardly come when those who loved his example in life, can talk of him with tongues that do not falter and eyes that do not fill. For his nomination to the Government of Agra, we hold that the country is under a debt to Lord Ellenborough, which may be a set-off to the song of

Somnath and to other eccentricities. The late Lieut.-Governor had been nearly ten years in office. He had done much there, though something still remains to be done: he died on the scene of his labours, amidst a people which he had benefited, with some beloved relatives not absent from his dying couch; and happy is the man, we would say, with all the solemnity that such a subject demands, who crowns a life of such ability by such a Christian death.

The allusion to Mr. Thomason's death naturally leads us to mention his successor, Mr John Russell Colvin. Of this gentleman we expect great things. His large experience, his acute mind, his great energy, his rapid decision, and his varied information, all seem to justify the choice of Lord Dalhousie. His nomination was celebrated by a public dinner at Calcutta, given by men who had nothing whatever to hope at his hands, and was favourably received by the unanimous Service of the North Western Provinces, as that of a new ruler without prejudice and without partiality. Mr. Colvin may be promoted to a higher post at Madras; but if he remains where he is, we are quite certain that he is just the man to take up the subjects to which Mr. Thomason did not entirely devote himself, especially the judicial system of the North West, and to introduce other reforms, for which even the model Government had not found time. The selection of Mr. Colvin, we doubt not, will be remembered as creditable to the nobleman of whose administration we are treating.

Two subjects have contributed to make the past few years of some interest even to Englishmen in England. The first is the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the second is the agitation on the Renewal of the Charter, during six months of 1853. At the time of the great national show, India seemed really to have been brought nearer to England. Without the trouble of the overland route, without reference to a single work on the East, without the perusal even of a Parliamentary Report, the public at home were enabled to contemplate, in one clear and comprehensive glance, the India of the Hindu, the India of the Mohammedan, and the India of the Company. We may remember how, when many of the articles destined for the Crystal Palace had arrived in our metropolis, we got up a minor exhibition on our own account, and owing to the admirable arrangements of the Central Committee, we were enabled, in a morning lounge, to see by what part of her resources India was to be represented in the World's Debate. We had no reason to be ashamed of the exertions of our local committees, or of the liberality of private individuals. We sent

home specimens of all the manufactures which had flourished under successive native dynasties, and of everything to which Anglo-Saxon enterprise had given birth. Accordingly, nothing excited more general attention than the Indian corner. Indeed, there was food there for the reflection of intellects of every calibre; for those who viewed India as a fit land for the application of a larger capital, a better Government, a more complete agency; for those who regarded the country as one where younger sons are sent to make their fortunes; for those who had read of it as a land of untold wealth and inexhaustible romance; for those who thoughtfully saw, in its connection with England, a series of noble triumphs, linked imperishably with the great Company and the British name. Nothing was wanting in that gorgeous spectacle, which could tell of its past history, or its present resources. Any partition might have been made the subject of a political treatise, of a commercial brochure, of a whole batch of reviews, of a long array of speeches, of a succession of memorials. There were dozens of subjects, the striking characteristics of which have since been skilfully alluded to by Mr. Campbell, or splendidly, but truthfully, drawn by Mr. Kaye. There were the products of the Indian mine and forest: of the flooded rice fields of Bengal, the loam of the Doab, the black soil of the Nerbudda valley: the evidence of wealth honorably acquired and securely held by natives in the Benares of the Hindu, or the Delhi of the Mohammedan: the returns of the English capital diffused, without let or hindrance, in spite of all demagogues may say, on the plains of Nuddea, or the banks of the Megna: shawls and canopies, indigo, gums and medicines, destructive weapons, rude implements of husbandry, matchlocks quaintly carved, armour splendidly chased, strange and uncouth instruments of discordant harmony, figures modelled to the life, showing the Rajah in his Durbar, the Anglo-Saxon with his factory in full play, and the official in his cutchery—all this presented a wide field for disquisition and thought. Untravelled Englishmen and Englishwomen, by thousands, looked on the curious distinctions of Hindu caste, and the minute sub-divisions of Eastern labour. Some of the best specimens of jewellery were perhaps almost coveted by the representatives of all the beauty and elegance of London. Political economists might look with indifference on dazzling or subtile fabrics, and argue that, if the labour to which they were owing was guided by exquisite skill, it was neither exerted with continuity, nor aided by the power of machinery. Manchester, with a contemptuous glance, saw there only the first fruit of

natural resources, of which the Company had failed to take advantage, and the last relics of a native industry which their rule had well nigh crushed. Philosophy pondered: curiosity admired: and pseudo-philanthropy might talk more than its average amount of nonsense. Retired Indians saw once more those familiar objects and names, which revived the recollections of thirty years of service, and told them, in plain language, that the great mass of the population, with their peculiarities, their employments, and their social habits, were still the same. The student of history gazed on arms, fabricated in the arsenals of Jeypore and Kotah, and was reminded of the chivalry and the independence of the Rajpoot. From the arms of the Mahratta horseman and his gay trappings, the thoughts reverted rapidly to Burke's tremendous description of the goading of spears, and the trampling of cavalry, when the Carnatic lay prostrate before the invader; and occasionally, some careful reader might recall the times, when amidst a galaxy of nobles, and with an empire still unimpaired, Shah Jehan, or Aurungzebe, the Augustus of the East, displayed tapestries as gorgeous, riches more unbounded, and magnificence more regal, to the wondering eyes of two European travellers—Bernier, that lively and entertaining French Doctor, and Tavernier, that "rambling jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well."

The recollections of that summer will not soon be effaced, and as the arrangements under which India was worthily represented in England, were carried out by the officers of Lord Dalhousie's Government, acting with other independent gentlemen, the subject may fitly claim some little space in a paper which aims at giving a rapid view of his administration.

It will not soon be forgotten, that during Lord Dalhousie's tenure of office, the Company was summoned to give an account of its stewardship. That a great Government should periodically be called to the bar of public opinion, that its doings should be rigorously scrutinized, that its defects and its merits should be permanently brought to light, is what every lover of quiet constitutional reform desires. But was this the course pursued by the public on the occasion of what may be the last renewal of the Charter? A cry suddenly arose, waxed louder, and ended in a prolonged howl. Without any system of rational investigation, without recourse to the publications which threw light on Indian affairs, the press and the public at home settled down into the belief that the East India Company had done nothing for the people of India, had abandoned their sacred charge, slurred over their duties, and

betrayed their trust. It would take a whole Number of this *Review* to expose the fallacies uttered regarding the Indian administration, and to expose to deserved ridicule the quack medicines by which the oriental disease was to be cured.

Scarcely anything was too absurd, or too contradictory, for credence. The Company had done nothing: they had done too much: they should take less money from the land and spend more on it: they should not run into debt: they should begin to educate the natives: they should provide honorable employments for the many natives whom they had educated. Every monstrous theory found a supporter, and we were compelled to listen successively to the wild and dangerous remedies proposed by Mr. Phillimore, to the inept effusions of Mr. Seymour, and to the sincere, but mistaken, reasoning of Mr. Bright. The whole agitation proves clearly the entire unfitness of Parliament to legislate in detail for India, to deal with great Eastern questions, or do anything but give a better form of Indian Government at Home. With these grand and primary features, some clear-minded men at home will always be found competent to deal. An infusion of what is called the English element into Eastern discussions will always be a great gain. But it will be a fatal day for India, when the great sources of her revenue, the welfare of her hundred millions, and the authority of her Governors, are to be made the sport of men, who either aim at a cheap popularity, or are bound to satisfy a pledge. The crowning proof of the danger to India, from direct parliamentary meddling, is to be found in the attempted abolition of the salt monopoly. A revenue of a million, voted away by Sir John Mittimus, to gratify his constituents at Dratwills, without one thought as to how the deficiency is to be made good. A few more mistakes of this sort, and we shall indeed, in the cant phrase of the day, have taught India the art of self-government. Meanwhile, the new arrangements for India are so far connected with Lord Dalhousie, that it is to him we shall mainly owe the boon of a separate Lieut.-Governor for Bengal. This, one of the real wants of India, or at least of that part of it where agitators can shout the loudest, instead of being prominently put forward in the memorials of Associations and Committees, was inserted at the tail of a whole string of fancied wants, or nearly buried under a mountain of imaginary grievances. It might have passed unnoticed, or have been honoured with the merited contempt assigned to so many other representations. It is known, however, as we have remarked, that the Governor-General brought to the notice of leading men at home the paramount

necessity that existed for making Bengal Proper a separate executive charge. A recommendation, coming from his clear and practised judgment, and expressed in his lucid convincing language, derived additional force from the fact, that if ever we had a Governor-General competent to the double task of presiding in the Supreme Council, and wielding the executive power of the Government in the Lower Provinces, Lord Dalhousie was the man. But the best horse may be over-tasked, and every one is now fully persuaded that the best security for reform and progress in Bengal is to entrust it to the ablest civilian that can be found.

We cannot here pass over one measure, which, although not, during the life-time of its originator, connected with the Governor-General, has yet illustrated his administration. We allude to the attempt made to educate Hindu ladies of rank and position, by the late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. Whether this gentleman's plan was characterized by sound judgment in all its minute details, may be questioned; but no one can deny that it was commenced with great earnestnes, aided by princely liberality, and prosecuted with unwearied zeal. The debased condition of the Hindu female, it is allowed, had previously attracted the attention of other philanthropists. Missionaries have never lost sight of the object. There is a Society, established by the ladies of Calcutta, with corresponding members in the Mofussil, which pursues this one aim alone. Mrs. Wilson—a name which should be as widely known in India as that of Mrs. Fry in England—had been the first in the good work, nor did she lack the co-operation of such a divine as Heber, or the aid of such a gentle and noble nature as the late Lady William Bentinck. But India had not been standing still for the last eighteen years. The foundations now laid were broader, the crisis more favourable, the scene of the experiment was perhaps on a wider sphere. Of course the plan met with opposition, with ridicule, with covert sneers, with open censure. We were not warned, indeed, as we often have been, that the British faith is pledged to maintain in their integrity the darkest superstitions, the most bloody sacrifices, the most debasing error, the foulest pollutions, the worst crimes. The arguments on this occasion employed against the measure were often contradictory. It was useless to deal with prejudices so deeply rooted as the non-education of women, for the Shastras had declared that they must neither read nor write, and centuries of experience had confirmed this decision. It was useless for a foreigner to dictate to wealthy Hindus regarding the economy of their household, or to teach in a public institution what all

enlightened natives were already teaching to the members of their families in safe and virtuous retirement. Education was a grand thing for men only. Education, for women, was a grand thing, but neither the hour nor the man had yet come. Of such kinds were the strictures on Mr. Bethune's favored plan. We may, many of us, remember the richness of illustration, and the heart-burning eloquence, with which, on a fine evening, in the commencement of the cold season of 1850, he opened the institution; and we know, too, that Mr. Bethune died in the next year, and that Lord Dalhousie has since generously supported the institution out of his own pocket, until the Court of Directors can determine regarding it. But surely that native women should become educated, refined, capable of social intercourse, ornaments of the household, and not household slaves, is not more unlikely now, than some years ago it was that Kulin Brahmins should become Christians, that high-caste Hindus should cross the ocean, that native Princes should proscribe Suttee. We have had of late signal instances in which natives have risen superior to the prejudices of caste; and surely, it will be a happy day for India, when its wealthy and influential gentlemen shall appreciate that indefinable charm, which the presence of a well-educated woman sheds in every household; or when at least they shall combine to abjure that false and frail philosophy, which, while it proclaims by old saws and modern instances, in popular poetry and prose, the irredeemable vileness of one of God's noblest creatures, consigns a being thus designated to some vain frivolities which can never satisfy the intellect, and to a fancied seclusion which can never guard the heart.

We have attempted to describe in this paper the political events and the legislative reforms which have characterized the present administration. We shall now say a few words about the financial measures of the same period. During the past year, it has been duly notified by the Secretary in the Financial Department, that large loans, bearing interest at 5 per cent., would be paid off, if parties in possession of paper desired it, the option of converting their paper into the lower rate of 4 per cent. being tendered to them at the same time.

There now only remains one loan which pays the high rate of interest. All cash subscriptions to the 4 per cent. loan have been discontinued, and a three and half per cent. loan has been opened.. Thus, at a time, when men in England were denouncing the irretrievable confusion of the Company's finances, were predicting more debt from the spread of territory, and were talking about failing supplies and increasing

charges, the Government of India was quietly disproving such rash assertions by notifying its perfect readiness to pay off large loans. It is calculated that the saving to the state by the transfer of the Papers, and the reduction in the rate of interest, will be about ten lakhs of rupees. Some foolish remarks have been made about this notification, as if there were any thing strange in the idea of a man's paying his just debt, or decreasing his liabilities, when he could afford to do so. But besides the above saving, we have had the falling in of the Ex-Peishwa's huge pension of eight lakhs a year, and of another pension of seven lakhs a year, which had been assigned to the Ex-Peishwa's opponent, for two generations. The former of these stipends had been enjoyed from 1818 to 1850. The latter from 1803 to 1853. The total amount drawn by these two royal idlers is no less than six millions sterling—sufficient to have paid off a considerable loan, or to have covered Bengal and Behar with bridges and roads. For the former pension, granted under the reprehensible extravagance of the Government of the day, we have to thank Sir John Malcolm, and for the latter burden we are indebted, we regret to say, to no less a person than the great Duke himself. Still we have here a reduction of one quarter of a million, effected by the above savings, under three different heads, within three years. The Punjab surplus, for the next ten years, as we shewed in our Number for October last, will be nearly another quarter of a million, and if the Bombay Government only knew how to make the most of such lapses as Sattara, we might have had something thence to lessen the general burdens of the state. But the plan on which they recognise Inams and alienations of revenue in that Presidency, is something incomprehensible to us on this side of India. The Supreme Government should look to it. But it has been one of the evils of the Indian administration, that while under a refined centralization, much valuable time has been expended on masses of irrelevant and isolated facts, on detached references, which form no rule for future guidance, important points which required scrutiny, flaws which should have been repaired, and radical vices which prevailed in all departments, have managed to elude all enquiry and research. For the rest, our finances are, on the whole, in a hopeful condition. No new loan has been occasioned by the Burmese war, but on the contrary, as we have just remarked, the treasury was so full, that old loans were advertised for payment. The surplus from the Punjab will cover the expenses of this war, and Pegu may, eventually, pay. The land revenues of Bengal and Agra are generally fixed on a firm basis, and will not fluctuate. The

returns from opium have not yet become less. The salt revenue may yet last, with a reduction of duty, if crude legislators at home are only checked in time. The public establishments are generally on a footing adequate to their various duties. The army may be reduced. If no new wars occur, we may be in a sound financial position within the next ten years. But we are well aware how many vain prophecies and hopes have been uttered on this deceptive subject.

Perhaps the best way of estimating our finances, generally, is to look at the point in our political condition, to which the statesmanship of Lord Ellenborough, the soldierly bearing of Lord Hardinge, and the comprehensive views of Lord Dalhousie, have now brought us. The chances against a rebellion in the Punjab are about twenty-five to one. Every year adds to our security, as the old Khalsa die off, as the agriculturists become attached to our rule, as the young and active become enrolled in our Irregulars. The wretched kingdom of Oude only awaits the man and the hour. The kingdom of Nagpore awaits, at the hand of Lord Dalhousie, a new ruler or the sentence of annexation. The kingdom of Nepaul, as Lord Dalhousie remarked in his celebrated Minute on Railways, can be no cause for apprehension while the minister Jung Behadoor lives: and even in the event of his demise, it is well known that the artillery of the Goorkhas is contemptible, and that they literally have not cavalry sufficient to face the Irregular regiment stationed at Segowlee. The Nepaulese Durbar could not find riders to mount the horses of the Poosa stud. It is only as infantry that the Goorkhas are valuable allies or formidable opponents. The kingdom of Gwalior shows us a small army, a young prince, who hitherto has promised well, and a wise minister, Denkur Rao Raghunath, who is doing all that his own sterling talents, remarkable integrity, and high sense of honour can do, against intriguers, who thwart his best measures and undermine his wise administration. The hundred petty states of Central India, under the care of agents and residents, are rescued from debt or saved from aggression. The best districts of the Nizam are in the hands of British officers. The high-spirited Rajpoots are managed by Sir Henry Lawrence, with the same tact and talent as they were by Colonel Low. There is no sound of disaffection in Mysore, no note of rebellion at Benares: even the Moplas are tolerably quiet, and the mountaineers of the North-west Frontier have not yet sacked Mooltan. We firmly believe that India has little to fear from the *jazails* of the Affghan, the swords of the Goorkha, the bows and arrows of the Nagas, or the wild cry of the Belochee.

The sea, our own prestige, and impassable mountains, may shield us from external invasion, unless some astounding combination of circumstances shall occur—and as regards the chances of internal warfare, we may well ask if there is anywhere a native Prince who would dare twice to meet, in open field, a British force, of 10,000 men, under the guidance of Sir John Cheape?

It would be affectation to suppress, in a paper such as this, all mention of the *personnel* of the present Administration. And we may fairly conclude this paper by advertence to the peculiar characteristics of the man, and to his mode of doing business. The most prominent feature of the present Government, it will be universally admitted, is its extreme vigour. In the Government of the Punjab, in the various grand reforms of public departments, in the controul and supervision of all public officers, from the Board and the Sudder, down to the humblest official in the Excise or the Preventive line, in the enforcement of a respect for law, in the wielding of the Executive power, in the prosecution of material works, in necessary retrenchments, in judicious expenditure, there has been felt everywhere a firm and vigorous hand. No man ever accused Lord Dalhousie of doing anything weak. There has been no delay, beyond what was necessary to collect scattered facts, or to get at opinions which might be useful: the ground has not been gone over twice and thrice, a flaw amended here, an omission repaired there, a mistake corrected in a third place. Wherever the blow fell, on cherished abuses, or official insubordination, it fell with crushing and irresistible force. Every man has been conscious of working under the eye of a Governor, who was determined to enforce a respect for discipline, who would accept no vain excuses, and whom no sophistry could elude. Accordingly, in the two Governments which have come more directly under Lord Dalhousie's management, the Punjab and Bengal, the effects of this vigour have been conspicuous. We have heard enough of several cases in which the head of the Government has thought it incumbent on him to check an insubordinate or captious spirit by trenchant severity, and we know, too, that, in some instances, the bolt has fallen not on the humble dwelling, but on the loftiest palaces—the *ingens pinus*, and the *montium culmina*. But in this we can see nothing but even justice and wise dealing. What should we think of a Governor who delivered philippics against some unlucky subaltern or some friendless deputy collector, and reserved for delinquents of high station the cautious admonition, the gentle remonstrance, and the mild rebuke? Lord Dalhousie

has spared no man who, in his opinion, failed to act up to his duty, or transgressed the bounds of official propriety, as will be acknowledged by grave Judges, ancient Brigadiers, and sedate Boards. It is rumoured that even higher personages have felt the weight of his anger, and have gladly retreated from an encounter where one party is sure to get the worst.

Si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.

There may be a difference of opinion as to the necessity for the strong language actually employed on some of the occasions to which we are alluding, but no man can doubt the motives by which the Governor-General has been actuated at such times. They are none other than respect for law, jealousy for the interests of the state, a desire to uphold constituted authority, and a wish to see zeal and activity not idly spent in vain altercation, but carefully contributing their quotas for the furtherance of the public service.

The amount of labour which Lord Dalhousie has got through, has probably not been surpassed by any of his predecessors, though neither Lord Ellenborough, nor the amiable Lord Auckland, ever spared themselves in this respect. The Minutes of His Lordship, their rapid succession, their variety, their pith and pointedness, have long been celebrated, not merely in official circles, but in drawing-rooms and at dinner-tables. Two ponderous Blue Books attest his diligence, and allow every man to judge of his capacity. Several of his state papers, on matters connected with the Punjab, have found their way into the *Lahore Chronicle*, and have been copied by other papers: and we have had the perusal of several others in the Calcutta dailies during the past year. Of these, the paper on plantations in the five Doabs, is remarkable for its elegance and finish: that on the public works of the Bengal Presidency criticises the failings of the unlucky Military Board, and points out the remedy for our miserably neglected roads and bridges, with a force and conclusiveness positively irresistible: and just six months ago, we saw in the Minute on Railways for all India, a convincing proof of Lord Dalhousie's signal capacity for dealing with important social questions, and for supplying the real wants of an extended Empire. The style of his Minutes is singularly luminous, though not perhaps always free from marks of haste. The swelling periods, the apt illustrations, at times make us think that the writer imagined himself engaged in an attempt to rouse, by narrative, the apathy of the Upper House, or was breaking a lance with some old opponent on a question of Eastern policy. The lucid statements of facts, and the complete mastery of the details exhibited in the Minutes, are not more

striking than the liberal sentiments, the comprehensive policy, and the enlarged statesmanship, which pervade and animate the whole composition. We shall hope that Lord Dalhousie's valuable papers, some of which are little Codes on Oriental topics, may not remain accessible only to a few persons immediately connected with Government, or be buried under the huge masses of rubbish which make up so much of our records: but that at some future day "the Dalhousie state papers," revised by their noble author, may vindicate his policy, disarm his opponents, and delight his friends.

We know no Governor, except Lord William Bentinck, who has gone so much into detail, as Lord Dalhousie. He has done this generally, without trenching on the province of subordinate officers, or attempting, except occasionally, to do work which such persons must know more about. It is not to be supposed that the Governor-General can lay down rules for the settlement of a large district, for the allowances of lumberdars, or the rights of the cultivators, as well as a Thomason or a Lawrence, or that he could lecture on the complicated procedure of civil courts in Bengal, and devise means for the amelioration thereof, with the legal acuteness and the luminous precision which mark all the writings of Mr. John Peter Grant. But he has shewn a wonderful aptitude for mastering so much of the multifarious details of Indian business, as was necessary to enable him to arrive at just conclusions on any one great question; and his sagacity, sharpened by long practice, has enabled him to pierce through the obscurity caused by Indian nomenclature, official technicalities, and strange forms. Nor is this knowledge of detail confined to mere civil duties. Lord Dalhousie has made military subjects, such as the organization of troops, and their equipments, his peculiar study. We do not mean by this that he has been prone to meddle with subjects which only professional men can deal with—on the contrary, we are certain that he would be the very last man to lecture Hannibal on the art of making war, and no one ever thought of saying of him, pretty much what was said of Lord John Russell, that he would command the *Fox* or the *Feroze* to-morrow. But in every thing that touches on the clothing, transport and housing of troops, the raising and arming of irregular levies, in all that concerns the Ordnance or the Commissariat, the efficiency or the health of the sepoy and the soldier, the Governor-General has manifested a clearness of comprehension, and a soundness of judgment, which have commanded the admiration of distinguished military officers. Several of his suggestions were found very valuable at the time

when the Irregular regiments were organized for the Punjab, after its annexation; and it has been truly said, that in the conduct of the Burmese campaign, he has acted as his own war minister.

We shall endeavour to close this imperfect sketch of a splendid and successful Administration, by summing up the merits of Lord Dalhousie as an administrator in the East. Great sagacity in foreseeing events, and great energy and vigour in dealing with them: inflexible determination in the cause of humanity, justice, or due subordination: a happy selection of instruments to carry out purposes happily devised: no undue shrinking from responsibility: hearty devotion of time and labour to the manifold duties of his position: a high sense of honor, a love of candour and truth—these are the qualities which have characterized his six years' rule. It may be thought, that placed in a position towering above other men, with success waiting on his plans, with a will to which that of Councillors and Directors has often yielded, he has not invariably remembered how thin a partition divides firmness from obstinacy, justice from harshness, and manly independence from pride.

The "adjacent vices," as they are termed, are often more dangerous than those most opposed to virtue. But however this may be, we are quite sure that Lord Dalhousie has tact enough to remember that the management of parties at home requires greater delicacy and lightness of touch than we are wont to see applied in the direction of the public service in this country. A Governor-General crushing Boards, and wigging Generals without the chance of a reply, is in a different position from the member of a ministry at home. These are not the days when even what Junius termed the "imposing superiority" of Lord Chatham's talents would command the Cabinet and awe the House. But we have no fear that Lord Dalhousie will be declared "impracticable" by any party in England.

With one exception, which after all may have better results than what appears likely, complete success has hitherto attended every political or social measure originating with Lord Dalhousie. A great kingdom, on the shores of the five rivers, acknowledges him as the author of a splendid revolution, a brilliant metamorphose, a bloodless change. Vast and comprehensive reforms have been devised, prosecuted, and are now being carried out under his rule. To him the greatest state in the Deccan owes a change in its political relations with the British Government, which removes only the evil and leaves the good untouched. The wily ruler of Cashmere, to the astonishment of the Khalsa, the Bidee and the Mussulman fanatic, has

paid him personal homage. The son of the last great ruler of the Punjab has, under his very eyes as it were, renounced the religion of his fathers, for the one true faith. The productions of the Governor-General's pen have well nigh reminded some of their readers of the state papers of Canning. The clear tones of his voice have told exiles in India, that the race of English orators is not yet extinct. In the midst of war, he has quietly proclaimed to the world the solvency of the Company's Government, and he has been the first Governor who has really made a reduction in our debt. He has visited countries which other rulers had never even dreamt of visiting, and has analysed subjects which had dropped as too heavy from their hands. Annexation, Postal reform, the acceleration of intercourse, the promotion of sound education, the reduction of expenditure by direct and indirect measures—he has tried his hand at most things, and has succeeded in all he has tried. The whole, too, has been accomplished before the meridian of life. It may yet be only an episode in his personal history that he was once Governor-General of India. He still wants five years of the time of life which Aristotle fixed as that of the maturity of the intellectual powers. In the period which must yet elapse before he retires from the Indian arena, he may accomplish ends, adequately to describe which, it will require more space than we have already filled. And at home it will not readily be imagined that he is to be *donatus rudis*. No retirement at a country seat, no occasional appearance in the Upper House, no contentment with past triumphs, should be the lot of this perfect man of business, this experienced statesman, this successful viceroy. The knowledge which he has acquired is, moreover, of two different and opposite kinds, which may be brought to bear wonderfully on the same ends. He has known what it is to hold office in England, to receive deputations, to watch the working of factories, and to appreciate some of those hundred influences which regulate the course of public affairs at home. He has wielded the whole power of an Eastern Government, absolute but not despotic, where so much depends on the will of a single individual. Two extremes are to him equally familiar. He can tell on the one hand how, in England, great interests are to be won over, how privilege is to be reconciled with labour, how the tactics of party are to be judiciously arrayed, how the minister must seem to express the will of the nation, while acting out his own. And on the other, he can say where the state in the East should take the initiative: he knows the amount of evil which arises, both from the absence of respect

for law, and from laws perverted to mischief: he can well understand how ill-suited are representative institutions, chartered debating clubs, and Anglo-Saxon theories, to a people whose whole history is the usual dull record of rapid conquest, temporary vigour, eventual degeneracy and decay. He has acquired this double knowledge at a time, when other rulers had only just begun to turn their faces to the East. In the prime of life he has been the first servant of the great Company. He may again, yet in his vigour, be amongst the foremost ministers of the crown. He may give a practical contradiction to the assertion, that exiles in the East have dropped behind the age, that English ideas and associations are opponent to their nature, that they come back amongst Englishmen of keen intellect and refined perceptions, like the mummies of Egypt, or like massive statues exhumed from the depth of some cave temple. His shining talents, his great and diversified experience, may yet find, in the bustle of English politics, or the stirring events which are agitating Europe, their appropriate employment and scope. Retaining a lively remembrance of that marvellous Indian Empire, to the growth of which scarce any historian has done justice, and adding thereto a just appreciation of the symmetry of the British constitution, which surpasses even the dreams of the wisest of Greek philosophers, Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, may gracefully descend from his vantage ground to a struggle with his compeers—and whether in the ranks of the opposition, he supports measures without undue subserviency, and denounces them without personal rancour, or whether he adds the weight of his influence, his name and his talent, to some high official conclave, he may contribute hereafter, for many a day, to maintain our England in her position as the Empress of every useful art and ennobling science, as the Herald of philanthropy, as the Messenger of Truth to the farthest regions of the earth, and as the Island Queen in the great congress of the world.

ART. II.—1. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval. Paris*, 1847. *Vol. I.*

2. *Life of Mohammed. By A. Sprenger, M. D. Allahabad*, 1851.

3. *Sirat Wâckidi. (Arab. MS.)*

4. *Sirat Tabari. (Arab. MS)*

5. *Sirat Hishâmi. (Arab. MS.)*

IN a previous Article upon the Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia, we endeavored to give a connected view of the progress of events at Mecca, from the most remote period to which our knowledge extends, down to the middle of the fifth century of our era; and about that period we left Cossai in the possession of all the important dignities of the city, both religious and political.

The social institutions of Mecca did not essentially differ from those of the wandering Bedouins. They were to some extent modified by the requirements of a settled habitation, and the peculiarities of the pilgrimage and local superstition; but the ultimate sanctions of society, and the springs of political movement, were in reality the same at Mecca then, (so wonderfully have they survived the corroding effects of time), as exist in the desert at the present day, and have been so graphically pourtrayed by the pen of Burkhardt.

It must be borne in mind that at Mecca there was not, before the establishment of Islam, any *Government* in the common sense of the term.* No authority existed whose mandate must be put into execution. Each tribe formed a republic of opinion, and the opinion of the aggregate tribes, who chanced to be acting together, was the sovereign law; but there was not any recognized exponent of the popular will; each tribe was free to hold back from that which was clearly decreed by the rest; and no individual was more bound than his collective tribe to a compulsory conformity with the desire of the public. Honor and revenge supplied the place of a more elaborate system: the former prompted the individual, by the desire of upholding the name and influence of his clan, to a compliance with its wishes; the latter provided for the respect of private right, by the prospect of an unrelenting pursuit of the injurer. In effect the will of

* See remarks by Sprenger (*Life of Mohammed, pp.* 20, 23.)

the majority did form the general rule of action for all,* although there was a continual risk that the minority might separate, and assume an independent, if not opposing, course. The law of revenge, too, though in such a society necessary, was then, even as now, the curse of the Arabs. Blood once shed was not easily effaced: its price might be rejected by the heir, and life for life demanded. Retaliation followed retribution: the friends, the family, the clan, the confederated tribes, one by one in a widening circle, took up the claims of the sufferer, and identified them as their own; and thus an insignificant quarrel or unpremeditated blow not unfrequently involved whole tracts of country in a protracted and bloody strife. Still in a system which provided no magisterial power to interfere with decisive authority in personal disputes, it cannot be doubted that the law of retaliation afforded a check (however defective) upon the passions of the stronger, and that acts of violence and injustice were repressed by the fear of retribution from the friends or relatives of the injured party. The benefit of the custom was further increased by the practice of *patronage* or guardianship. The weak resorted to the strong for protection; and when the word of a chief or powerful man had once pledged him to grant it, the pledge was fulfilled with chivalrous scrupulosity.

At first sight it might appear that, under this system, the chiefs possessed no shadow of authority to execute either their own wishes or those of the people. But in reality their powers, though vague and undefined, were large and effective. Their position always secured for them an important share in forming and giving expression to the public opinion, so that, excepting in rare and unusual cases, they swayed the councils and the actions of their tribes. It was chiefly by the influence gained from the local offices of the Kaaba and the pilgrimage, that the Sheikhs of Mecca differed from their brethren of the desert, and exercised a more systematic and permanent rule. It is important, therefore, carefully to trace downwards the history of these offices, which Cossai, with the hope of establishing a stable government, concentrated, first in his own person, and then in that of his eldest son. The offices are commonly reckoned five in number: I. *Sicâya* and *Rifâda;* the

* We meet with few instances of *punishments* inflicted by society upon offenders before Islam. In one case a robber's hands were cut off for the theft of treasure belonging to the Kaaba: another man was exiled for ten years on suspicion of connivance at the theft. (*Tabari, p.* 73.)

exclusive privilege of supplying water and food to the pilgrims II *Kiyâda*, the command of the troops in war III *Liwâ*, the standard, or right of mounting the banner, and presenting it to the standard bearer IV *Hijâba*, the charge of the Kaaba V *Dâr al Nadwa*, the presidency in the Hall of Council *

Cossai had four sons, the two most distinguished of whom are called ABD AL DAR, and ABD MENAI,† (the latter born about 430 A D) The narrative of the patriarch's last days is thus simply told by Wackidi In process of time Cossai became old and infirm Abd al Dar was the oldest of his sons, but he lacked influence and power, and his brethren raised themselves up against him Therefore Cossai made over all his offices to his first born, saying—"Thus wilt thou retain 'thine authority over thy people, even though they raise 'themselves up against thee, let no one enter the Kaaba, 'unless thou hast opened it unto him, nor let any banner of 'the Coreish be mounted for war, but thou be the one who 'mountest it with thine own hands, let no man drink at 'Mecca, but from thy drawing, nor any pilgrim eat therein, 'except of thy food, and let not the Coreish resolve upon any 'business, but in thy Council Hall So he gave him up the Hall of Council, and the custody of the Holy House, and the giving of drink and of food that he might unite his brethren unto him And Cossai died, and was buried in Al Hajun ‡

* *See Sprenger's Life of Mohammad p 6—C de Perceval, Vol I p 237, et seq* Some make the *Liwa* a standard by to imply the *Leadership* its but we find these offices held separately by different persons But supposing that they are reckoned as one then the Siqaya and Rifada might be regarded as distinct, to make up the *five* offices

It has been hastily stated that Cossai did not keep in his own hands the lesser ceremonial offices of the Hijabate as the *Ijaiha* and *Ifaza* or right of dismissal and heading the procession on the tour to Arafat, but this tour was conducted under his superintendence as he then gave the pilgrims water and food, and we read that he used to kindle a fire at Muzdalifa to guide the pilgrims on the night of their return thither from Arafat "a practice, says Wackidi, 'continued up to the present day' (*Wackidi p* 124)

† Cossai called two of his sons after his house *Abd al Dar*, and one, who died young after himself, *Abd al Cossai* Abd Menaf was named *Al Camr* from his beauty, but it is said that his proper name was Al Mughira, his mother however dedicated him to Manâf, the greatest idol at Mecca, so that name prevailed over the other (*Tabari, pp* 25-26) From Abd al Ozza descended Khadija, Mahomet's first wife

‡ This is from *Wâckidi p* 12—See also *Tabari, p* 35 *Al Hajûn* is a hill "near Mecca, which became henceforth the burial ground of the Qoraysh ites,' (if indeed it was not so before) (*Sprenger, p* 26)

Through the careful providence of his father, Abd al Dar contrived, notwithstanding his weakness, to retain at least a nominal supremacy. But he enjoyed little influence in comparison with his brother Abd Menâf, on whom the real management of public affairs devolved, and who laid out fresh quarters for the growing population of Mecca* Upon the death of Abd al Dar, the whole of the offices of state and religion passed into the hands of his sons; but they all died within a few years after, and his grand-sons, who then inherited the dignities of the family, (500 A. D) were of too tender years effectually to maintain their rights.

Meanwhile the sons of Abd Menâf had grown up, and continued in possession of their father's influence. The chief of them were Al Muttalib, Hâshim, Abd Shams, and Naufal† These conspired to seize from the descendants of Abd al Dar the hereditary offices bequeathed by Cossai. Hashim took the lead, and grounded his claim on the superior dignity of his branch of the family But the descendants of Abd al Dar, headed by Amir, his grand-son, refused to cede any of their rights; and an open rupture ensued The society of Mecca was equally divided by the two factions, one portion of the Coreish siding with the claimants, and the other with the actual possessors of the dignities; while but few remained neutral Both parties swore that they would prosecute their claim, and be faithful among themselves, so long as there remained water in the sea sufficient to wet a tuft of wool. To add stringency to their oath, Hâshim and his faction filled a dish with aromatic substances, and having brought it close to the Kaaba, they thrust their hands therein as they swore, and rubbed them upon the Holy House. The

* This seems to be the real state of the case, although the accounts differ. Thus Wâckidi says, that after Cossai's death, Abd Menâf succeeded to his position and to the Government of the Coreish; رياعا بعد الذي كان قصي قطع لقومه وا خطط بمكة A tradition is given by Azracki, that Cossai himself divided the offices between Abd al Dâr and Abd Menâf, and allotted to the latter the giving of drink and food, and the leadership But had it been so, then the descendants of Abd Menâf would have had no necessity to fight for those offices.

† He had six sons and six daughters. The eldest of the sons was Al Muttalib. (*Wâckidi, pp.* 13-14.) The three first mentioned in the text above were by one mother, Atika, of the Bani Cays Aylân. Naufal was by a female of the Bani Sássâa. Wâckidi mentions a third wife. C. de Perceval makes Abd Shams the eldest son (See also *Tabari, p.* 22.)

opposite party similarly dipped their hands into a bowl of blood *

The opponents now made ready for a bloody contest, and the ranks were already marshalled in sight of each other, when by an unexpected turn of events, they mutually called for a truce, upon condition that Hâshim and his party should have the offices of providing food and water for the pilgrims, and that the descendants of Abd al Dar should as hitherto retain the custody of the Kaaba, the Hall of Council, and the Bannership Peace was restored upon these terms †

HASHIM, (born A D 464 ‡) thus installed in the office of entertaining the pilgrims, fulfilled it with a princely magnificence He was himself possessed of great riches, and many others of the Coreish had also by trading acquired much wealth He appealed to them as his grand father Cossai had done —"*Ye are the neighbours of God, and the keepers of his house The pilgrims who come honouring the sanctity of his temple are his guests, and it is meet that ye should entertain*

* Hence the former were called المطيبين "the "sweet scented," or "those who pledged themselves in perfumes, —the latter, لعقة الدم "the lickers of blood" (*Wackidi p.* 13½)

Sprenger calls the former party the *Liberals* the latter the *Conservatives* But on the part of the latter there was no greater conservatism than the natural desire to retain the dignities and power they already possessed on the part of the former there was no greater liberalism than the assertion of their pretensions to a portion of those dignities and power The principles of both were the same Neither had any intention of effecting a change in the religious or political system Both recognized the patriarchi-chy archical form of the constitution, and both would continue it without any intention of adopting a more efficient and enlightened regime It was a simple struggle for power on the part of two branches of the dominant family But Sprenger's principle of a spirit of enquiry and advance towards the truth, before Mahomet's time, prepared him to recognize in the stock of Abd Menâf the seeds of liberalism, which (as it appears to us) were no more there than in the stock of Abd al Dar

† The *Leadership* is not here specified, and the inference might thence be drawn that it followed the *Bannership* But we know from subsequent history, that the leadership actually fell to the lot of Abd Shams, and from him was inherited in regular descent by Omeya, Harb, and Abu Sufian (See *Sprenger, p* 26, *note* 1) The three offices retained by the descendants of Abd al Dar remained in that line. The custody of the Kaaba was generously conferred by Mahomet to the party in possession at the opening of Islam, though hitherto one of his opponents The Hall of Council was sold by Ikrima, who had inherited it, to the Caliph Moâwia, who made it the House of Government دار الامارة —"and so," adds Wâckidi, "it continues in the hands of the Caliphs even unto this day" (p 13½)

‡ This is according to C de Perceval's calculations, which have our confidence as near approximations to fact Sprenger places Hashim's birth, A D 442. (Vide *Asiatic Journal, No. CCXXI p.* 352)

them above all other guests God hath specially chosen and exalted you to this high dignity wherefore honor his guests and refresh them For, from distant cities, on their lean and jaded camels, they come unto you fatigued and harassed, with hair dishevelled, and bodies covered with the dust and filthiness of the long way Invite them, then, with hospitality, and furnish them with water in abundance" Hâshim set the example by a munificent expenditure from his own resources, and the Coreish were forward to contribute, every man according to his ability A fixed cess was also levied upon all * Water sufficient for the prodigious assemblage of pilgrims was collected in cisterns by the Kaabi from the wells of Mecca, and in temporary reservoirs of leather at the stations on the route to Arafat The feeding commenced upon the day before the pilgrims started for Minâ and Arafat, and continued until the assemblage dispersed † During this period they were entertained with pottage of meat, and bread of butter and barley, variously prepared, and with the favorite national repast of dates ‡

Thus Hâshim supported the credit of Mecca But his name is even more renowned for the splendid charity, by which he relieved the necessities of his fellow citizens, reduced by a long continued famine to extreme distress § He proceeded to Syria, and purchased an immense store of bread, which he packed in panniers, and conveyed upon camels to Mecca There the victuals were cooked for distribution, the camels were slaughtered and roasted, and the whole parted among the people Destitution and mourning were suddenly turned

* *Wâckidi, pp* 13-14 The fixed cess is noted at 100 Herachian Mitheals Sprenger thinks that this may mean the *aureus* of Constantine, which Gibbon calculates at 11 Shillings The fixed contribution from each would thus exceed £50 The *richer* of the merchants may have given so much It is certain that mercantile projects had begun to revive at Mecca, and especially among the Coreish The profits of each expedition are stated to have generally doubled the capital stock employed And as the ostentatious Arabs would generally expend all that they could on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage the sum specified is not an unlikely one for the more extensive traders But as a general and uniform cess on each person or head of a family, it appears excessive and improbable The period alluded to, however, is early in the sixth century, and we cannot look for any great certainty of detail in such matters at that remote era

† The day before starting is called يوم الترويه and falls on the 8th of Dzûl Hijj The ceremonies concluded, and the multitude dispersed on the 12th of the same month

‡ The foregoing account is chiefly from *Wâckidi, p* 14.

§ On the liability of Mecca still to famine from long drought, see *Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, p* 240.

into mirth and plenty; and it was, (the historian adds,) "as it were the beginning of new life after the year of scarcity."*

The foreign relations of the Coreish were managed solely by the sons of Abd Menâf. With the Roman authorities and the Ghassânide ruler, Hâshim himself concluded a treaty; and he received from the Emperor a rescript, authorizing the Coreish to go to and fro in security.† He also gained the friendship of the inhabitants on the road, by promising to carry their goods without hire.‡ His brother Abd Shams made a treaty with the Najâshy, in pursuance of which they traded with the land of Abyssinia: his other brothers, Naufal and Al Muttalib, concluded alliances, the former with the King of Persia, who allowed them to traffic in Irâc and Fars, the latter with the Kings of Himyar, who encouraged their operations in Yemen. Thus the affairs of the Coreish prospered in every direction §

To Hashim is ascribed the credit of regulating the mercantile expeditions of his people, so that every winter a caravan set out regularly for Yemen and Abyssinia, while in the summer a second visited Ghazza, Ancyra, and the other Syrian marts ‖

The success and the glory of Hâshim exposed him to the envy of Omeiya, the son of his brother, Abd Shams. Omeiya was opulent, and he sought to expend his riches in a vain attempt to rival the splendour of his uncle's munificence.

* *Wâckidi*, p 13—*Tabari*, p. 22. It is added by all the Mahometan historians, that this is the origin of the name *Hâshim*, i. e. he that *broke up* the victuals.—هشم الثريد But the meaning of the word is more likely to be a mere coincidence, and not the origin of the name of Hâshim, which was already in existence. Thus the leading opponent of our Hâshim, in the struggle for the offices, was Amr, son of *Hâshim*, son of Abd al Dar, so that already there was a cousin styled by the same name. The Arab poets, however, delighted in the pun upon the name; and we have fragments of poetry referring to it, handed down to us in the traditions. Hâshim's proper name is said to have been Amr.

† It is added that so often as he went to Anckira (*Ancyra*,) he was admitted into the presence of the Emperor, who honored and esteemed him, but the legend, no doubt, originated in the desire to glorify this ancestor of the prophet. (*Wâckidi*, *pp.* 13-14—*Tabari*, *p* 23.) The former says, that both the Caysar and the Najashy honored and loved him.

‡ وهو الذي اخذ الحلف لقريش من قيصر لان تختلف آمنة واما من علي الطريق فالفهم علي ان تحمل قريش بضايعهم ولا كراعلي اهل الطريق وكتب له قيصر كتابا

(*Wackidi*, *p.* 14.) The meaning of this passage seems to be as we have given it in the text.

§ *Tabari*, *p.* 23. ‖ *Wâckidi*, *p.* 13—*Tabari*, *p.* 22.

The Coreish perceived the endeavour, and turned it into ridicule. Omeiya was enraged. "*Who is Hâshim?*" said he, and he defied him to a trial of superiority.* Hâshim would willingly have avoided a contest with one so much his inferior both in years and in dignity; but the Coreish, who loved such exhibitions, would not excuse him; so he was forced to consent, with the stipulation, however, that the vanquished party should lose fifty black-eyed camels, and be ten years exiled from Mecca. A Khozâite soothsayer was appointed umpire; and having heard the pretensions of both, pronounced Hâshim to be the victor. Then Hâshim took the fifty camels, and slaughtered them in the vale of Mecca, and fed with them all that were present. But Omeiya set out for Syria, and remained there the full period of his exile.†

Hâshim was now advanced in years, when on a mercantile trip to the north, he visited Medina with a party of Coreish. As he traded there in the *Nabathean market*,‡ he was attracted by the soft figure of a female, who from a lofty position was directing her people how to buy and sell for her. She was discreet, and withal comely; and she made a tender impression upon the heart of Hâshim. He enquired of the people whether she was married or single; and they answered that she had been married to Oheiha, and had borne him two sons, but that he had then divorced her. The dignity of this lady, they added, was so great in her tribe, that she would not marry

* It is difficult to express in any language, but the Arabic, the idea conveyed by مناقرة It was a vain-glorious practice of the Arabs, in which one party challenged another, claiming to be more noble and renowned, brave and generous, than he. Each brought forward his ambitious pretensions, and the arbiter judged accordingly.

† *Wâckidi, p.* 13½—*Tabari, p.* 24. The Mahometan historians add: "This was the beginning of the enmity between Hâshim and Omeya," meaning between the Omeyads and Abbassides. To give a mysterious and a sort of predestined appearance to this conclusion, it is pretended that Hâshim and Abd Shams (Omeya's father) were twins; that the one first born came forth with his finger adhering to the forehead of his fellow; and that on being severed, blood flowed from the wound. The sooth-sayers were consulted, and declared that there would be bloodshed between them or their descendants. (*Tabari, p.* 23.) Wâckidi does not give this legend. It is an evident Abasside fable. The envy of Omeya, and the rivalry between the branches of Hâshim and Abd Shams, need no such recondite explanation. They were the natural result of the retention of power and office by one of two collateral lines. The Hâshimites had the chief dignities of giving food and drink to the pilgrims. The Omeyads possessed only the leadership in battle. What more natural, than that the latter should envy the former?

‡ That one of the marts at Medina should have been then currently called by this name, is proof that the Nabatheans long before had extensive mercantile dealings so far south as Medina.

any one, unless it were stipulated that she should remain mistress of her own concerns, and have the power of divorce if she disliked her husband. This was Salma, the daughter of Amr, a Khazrajite of the Bani Najjâr.*

So Hâshim demanded her in marriage; and she consented, for she was well aware of his nobility and renown. And he married her; and made a great feast to the Coreish, of whom forty were present with the caravan: he also invited some of the Khazrajites. After a few days' rest, the caravan proceeded onwards to Syria; and on its return, Hâshim carried his bride with him to Mecca. As the days of her pregnancy advanced, she retired to her father's house at Medina, and there (A. D. 497) brought forth a son, who, from the white hair which covered his infantile head, was called *Shêba* al Hamd. Not long after, Hâshim made another expedition to the north, and while at Ghazza *(Gaza)*, he sickened and died. The event occurred early in the sixth century of our era.†

* We have already made mention of Oheiha as one of the leaders of Medina, and also of Salma, in a former Article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia."

† *Wâckidi*, *p* 14—*Tabari*, *p* 15. The account of the latter varies somewhat from Wâckidi Tabari makes Hâshim, on his visit to Medina, to abide in the house of Amr, Salma's father, where he saw and fell in love with the comely widow. She made the stipulation that she was not to bring forth a child except in her father's house. Hâshim, after contracting the alliance, proceeded on his journey to Syria, and the marriage was not consummated till his return, when he carried Salma to Mecca. These facts, and the birth of Shêba *at Medina*, are not mentioned by Wâckidi.

Hâshim's death could not have occurred very immediately after the birth of Shêba, as he is said to have had another child by Salma, a daughter called Ruckeya, who died in infancy; but it is *possible* she may have been born before Shêba Hâshim had also another daughter of the same name by another wife; he appears to have had in all five wives, by whom four sons and five daughters were born to him. (*Wâckidi ibidem*) But the only child of any note was Shêba or Abd al Muttalib.

Hâshim was probably between fifty and sixty when he died. Sprenger has satisfactorily shown that the absurd tradition of his being at death only twenty or twenty-five years old, originated in a corrupt copy of a tradition in Wâckidi, where it is stated that *Abu Ruhm*, who carried back the property left by Hâshim at Gaza to his family at Mecca, was then only twenty years old.

Sprenger, however, seems to be wrong in attributing the name of *Shêba* to *Hâshim's* being grey-headed when Salma bore him a son. The view taken in the text is that of native authority, and is besides the most natural.

C de Perceval considers that Hâshim died A D 510, and supposes Shêba to have been then thirteen years old (having been born A. D. 497) But Tabari makes the lad only seven or eight years of age, when, some time later, he quitted Medina (p. 15.) Hâshim may therefore have died earlier.

We follow C. de Perceval in placing Shêba's (Abd al Muttalib's) birth in 497 A. D. He died aged eighty two, in 579 A. D. Sprenger, by *lunar* years, brings the calculation of his birth to 500 A. D., but we prefer the luni-solar system of C. de Perceval.

Hâshim left his dignities to his elder brother, Al Muttalib,* who conducted the entertainment of the pilgrims in so splendid a style, as to deserve the epithet *Al Faidh*, "the munificent." Meanwhile, his little nephew, Shêba, was growing up, under the care of his widowed mother, at Medina. Several years after his brother's death, Al Muttalib chanced to meet a traveller from Medina, who described, in glowing terms, the noble bearing of the young Meccan. Al Muttalib's heart smote him, because he had so long left his brother's son in that distant locality, and he set out forthwith to bring him to Mecca. Arrived at Medina, he enquired for the lad, and found him practising archery among the boys of the city. He knew him at once from his likeness to his father: he embraced and wept over him, and clothed him in a suit of Yemen raiment. His mother then sent to invite him to her house, but he refused to untie a knot of his camel's accoutrements, until he had carried off the lad to Mecca. Salma was taken by surprise at the proposal, and was passionate in her grief; but Al Muttalib reasoned with her, and explained the advantages which her son was losing by his absence from his father's house. Salma seeing him determined, at last relented; and thus, after Al Muttalib had sojourned with her three days, he set out for home with his nephew. He reached Mecca during the heat of the day; and as the inhabitants from their houses saw him return with a lad by his side, they concluded it was a slave he had purchased, and they exclaimed, *Abd Al Muttalib!*—"Lo, the servant of Al Muttalib!" "Out upon you," said he; "it is my nephew, Shêba, the son of Amr (Hâshim.)" And as each scrutinized the features of the boy, they swore—"By my life! it is the very same."

In this incident is said to have originated the name of ABD AL MUTTALIB, by which the son of Hâshim was ever after called.†

* Al Muttalib and Hâshim, and their descendants, kept together on the one hand; as did Abd Shams and Naufal, and their descendants, on the other. Each body, Wâckidi adds, acted in all their proceedings "as one hand."

† *Wâckidi, pp.* 14-15—*Tabari, pp.* 15—17. The accounts vary considerably. The former makes Thâbit, father of the Poet Hassân, to give the tidings of his nephew to Al Muttalib: the latter makes a Meccan of the Bani al Hâruth to do so. Tabari also varies (p 16) in representing Al Muttalib as carrying off his nephew clandestinely, and thus omits the interview with his mother; but at page 17 he gives another account more like Wâckidi's. He also makes Al Muttalib at first represent his nephew at Mecca to be *really* his slave and then surprise the Coreish by leading him about the streets of Mecca well dressed, and proclaiming that he was Hâshim's son. There seems some reason to doubt this origin for Abd al Muttalib's name: however, as it is universally received by Mahometan

Al Muttalib proceeded in due time to instal his nephew in the possession of his father's property; but Naufal, another uncle, interposed, and violently deprived him of his paternal estate. Abd al Muttalib, (who would appear now to have reached the years of discretion,) appealed to his tribe to aid him in resisting these unjust pretensions; but they declined to interfere. He then wrote to his maternal relatives at Medina, who no sooner received the intelligence, than eighty mounted men of the Bani Najjâr, with Abu Asâd at their head, started for Mecca. Abd al Muttalib went forth to meet them, and invited them to his house, but Abu Asâd refused to alight until he had called Naufal to account. He proceeded straight to the yard of the Holy House, and found him seated there among the chiefs of the Coreish. Naufal arose and welcomed the stranger; but he refused his welcome, and, drawing his sword, sternly declared that he would plunge it into him, unless he forthwith reinstated the orphan in his rights. The oppressor was daunted and agreed to the concession, which was ratified by oath before the assembled Coreish.*

Some years after, Al Muttalib died on a mercantile journey to Yemen,† and then Abd al Muttalib succeeded to the office of entertaining the pilgrims. But for a long time he was devoid of power and influence; and having but one son to assist him

writers, we have thought it as well to adopt it in the text. There is a good deal of fragmentary poetry on the subject. The following lines describe Al Muttalib's emotion when he recognized his nephew at Medina.—

* عرفت شيبه والنجار قد †حلفت ابنا وها حوله بالنبل تنتضل

* عرفت اجلاده مما شيمته نفاض مني عليه وابل سيل

Wâckidi, p. 14.

* See *Tabari, pp.* 17—21. These incidents are not given by Wâckidi; and there is ground for suspecting at the least exaggeration in them, arising from the Abbasside desire of casting discredit upon the Omeyad branch. Abd al Muttalib being represented as himself asserting his rights and sending a message to his Medina relatives (which is given by Tabari as a poetical fragment, p. 20,) we must regard him as now grown up. But we do not see any ground for holding the rights of which he was dispossessed to be those of entertaining the pilgrims, as Sprenger supposes. (*Life of Mohammed, p.* 30.) In that case we should have to consider his uncle, Al Muttalib, as dead, which from the narrative does not appear likely. The whole story, however, may be regarded, for the reason specified above, with some degree of doubt.

† Tradition states that Hâshim was the first of Abd Menâf's sons who died; then Abd Shams, at Mecca, where he was buried, at Ajyâd; then Al Muttalib as above; and lastly, Naufal at Salmân in Irâc. (See *Tabari, p.* 25.)

* Var read جعلت

in the assertion of his claims, he found it difficult to cope with the opposing faction of the Coreish. It was during this period that he discovered the ancient well of Zamzam. Finding it irksome to procure water from the scattered wells of Mecca, and store it in cisterns by the Kaaba, and perhaps aware by tradition of the existence of a well in the vicinity, he made diligent search, and at last came upon the circle of its venerable masonry * It was a remnant of the palmy days of Mecca, when an unfailing stream of commerce flowed through it: centuries had elapsed since the trade had ceased, and with it followed the desertion of Mecca, and the neglect of the well. It became choked either by accident or design, and the remembrance of it was now so uncertain, that its very position was unknown. Mecca had again arisen to a comparatively prosperous state, and the discovery of the ancient well was an auspicious token of increasing advancement.

As Abd al Muttalib, aided by his son, Harith, dug deeper and deeper, he came upon two golden gazelles, with some swords and suits of armour. The rest of the Coreish envied these treasures, and demanded a share in them: they asserted also their right to the well itself, which they declared had been possessed by their common ancestor Ismael. Abd al Muttalib was not powerful enough to resist this oppressive claim; but he agreed to refer their several pretensions to the decision of the arrows of HOBAL, the god whose image was within the Kaaba.† Lots were therefore cast for the Kaaba and for the respective claimants: the gazelles fell to the share of the Kaaba, and the swords and suits of armour to Abd al Muttalib, while the

* *Hishâm*, *p.* 21—*Wâckidi*, *p.* 15 The event is encircled by a halo of miraculous associations Abd al Muttalib receives in a vision the heavenly behest to dig for the well, couched in enigmatical phrases, which after being several times repeated, he at last apprehends The Coreish assemble to watch his labours his pick-axe strikes upon the ancient masonry, and he utters a loud *Takbir* (Allâhu Akbar—*Great is the Lord!*) The Coreish then insist on being associated with him in the possession of the well. Abd al Muttalib resists the claim, which they agree to refer to a female soothsayer in the highlands of Syria. On their journey thither, their water is expended in a wild desert, where no springs are to be found. They prepare to dig graves for themselves and await death, when lo! the camel of Abd al Muttalib strikes her hoof on the ground, and a fountain straightway gushes forth. The Coreish, with a flood of thanksgiving, acknowledge that God has by this miracle shown that the well Zamzam belonged solely to Abd al Muttalib, and all return to Mecca. The dispute about the gazelles and other property is represented as following the above incident. After an absurd story of this sort, what reliance is to be placed on Wâckidi's judgment or common sense? Sprenger has rightly thrown the whole of these fables into his legendary chapter. (*Life of Mohammed*, *p.* 58.)

† The image of Hobal was over the well or sink within the Kaaba. In this sink were preserved the offerings and other treasures of the temple. (*Tabari*, *p* 6)

arrows of the Coreish were blank.* The latter acquiesced in the divine decision, and relinquished their pretensions to the well. Abd al Muttalib beat out the gazelles into plates of gold, and fixed them by way of ornament to the door of the Kaaba.† He hung up the swords before the door as a protection to the treasures within; but at the same time added a more effectual guard in the shape of a lock and key, which (they say) were made of gold.

The plentiful flow of fresh water, soon apparent in the well Zamzam, was a great triumph to Abd al Muttalib. All other wells in Mecca were deserted for supplies to quench thirst, and this alone resorted to.‡ From it alone he carried water for the

* Wâckidi is the only authority who states the number of the weapons, viz., *seven swords*, and *five* suits of armour (p. 15.) The story of their being cast here by Modhâd, the last Jorhomite king, has been related in a former Article—"Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia." In casting the lots on this occasion, six arrows were used; two yellow for the Kaaba; two black for Abd al Muttalib; and two white for the Coreish. (*Hishâm, p* 23.) The mode of casting the arrows is described by Tabari (*pp* 6-7) and by C. de Perceval (*Essai, Vol. I. pp.* 261—265.) There were fixed responses written upon the several arrows, from which some sort of oracle could be gathered in any matter, domestic, social, or political:—either in digging for water, circumcising a lad, fixing his paternity, taking a wife, going to war, concluding a treaty, &c &c.

† These were soon after stolen by three Coreishites, but recovered. (*Wâckidi, p.* 15½.) Tabari (p. 73) gives an account of a sacrilegious theft, which we understand to be this one On account of it, the supposed offender had his hands cut off, and one of the Coreish was expatriated for ten years.

‡ See note at page 50 of the Article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia," in No. XXXIX. of this *Review*. Burkhardt is there quoted as stating that the water of Zamzam is "perfectly sweet, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town." The names of some of these other wells, and their diggers, are mentioned by C. de Perceval (Vol. I. p 262) The statement of Ali Bey somewhat differs. He makes the water to be "a little brackish and heavy, but drinkable;" and he says that the wells in the city are of the same depth, and their "water of the same temperature, taste and clearness, as that of Zamzam." He therefore believes them all to originate in "one sheet," supplied by the filtration of rain water. But his testimony is mingled with some degree of religious fervour. The city wells, he says, "spring from the same source as the water of Zamzam; they have the same virtue in drawing down the divine favour and blessing as the miraculous well. God be praised for it!" (Vol. II. p. 98) We prefer the calm and impartial testimony of Burkhardt. In another part of his work, the latter repeats, that excepting Zamzam, the well-water throughout Mecca "is so brackish, that it is used only for culinary purposes;" and he adds, that even the fresh water of Zamzam "is heavy to the taste and impedes digestion" (*Travels, p* 106) Elsewhere he says:—"It seems probable that the town of Mecca owes its origin to this well; for many miles round, no sweet water is found, nor is there, in any part of the country, so copious a supply." (*Ibid, p.* 145.) But as the whole of Mecca cannot be supplied from this well, a stream of good water is now brought by a conduit from the hills about Arafat. This, however, is often out of repair, and then "during the pilgrimage sweet water becomes an absolute scarcity; a small skin of water (two of which a person may carry), being then often sold for one shilling—a very high price among Arabs." (*Ibid, p.* 107.) This proves that all the other wells, but Zamzam, must be unfit for drinking

pilgrims to Arafat and Minâ; and it soon acquired the renown of sacredness in connection with the rites of the Kaaba. The fame and influence of Abd al Muttalib now began to wax greater and greater; a large family of powerful sons added to his dignity; and at last he became, and continued to his death, the virtual chief of Mecca*

But during his early troubles, while supported by his only son, Harith, he had experienced such weakness and inferiority in contending with the large and influential families of his opponents, as led him to vow, that if Providence should ever grant him ten sons, he would devote one of them to the Deity. Years rolled on, and the rash father at last found himself surrounded by the longed-for number, the sight of whom daily reminded him of his vow. He bade his sons accompany him to the Kaaba: each was made to write his name upon a lot, and the lots were made over to the intendant of the temple, who cast them in the usual mode. The fatal arrow fell upon ABDALLAH, the youngest and the best beloved of Abd al Muttalib's sons. The vow devoting him to the Deity must needs be kept, but how else shall it be fulfilled than by the use of the sacrificial knife? His daughters wept and clung around the fond father, who was willingly persuaded to cast lots between Abdallah and a ransom of ten camels, the current fine for the blood of a man. If the Deity should accept the ransom, what scruple need the father feel in sparing his son? But the lot a second time fell upon Abdallah: again, and with equal fortune, it was cast between him and twenty camels. At each successive cast, as Abd al Mu talib added ten camels to the stake, the Deity appeared inexorably to refuse the vicarious offering, and require the blood of the son. But at the tenth throw, when the ransom had now reached 100 camels, the lot fell upon them. The father joyfully released Abdallah from his impending fate; and taking the camels, he slaughtered them between Safa and Marwa. The inhabitants of Mecca feasted upon them; and the residue was left to the beasts and to the birds; for Abd al Muttalib's family refused to taste of them. It was this Abdallah who became the father of the Prophet.†

* Sprenger, however, considers that the Omeyad family had the pre eminence. 'It is certain that Harb, and after him Abu Sofian, surpassed the family of Hâshim in wealth and influence, and that they were the chiefs of Mecca" (p 31) Notwithstanding Sprenger's great authority, we believe Abd al Muttalib to have been the virtual chief of Mecca, after his death, there was a dead uniformity among the several families, and no real chief or first man.

† The above account is from *Wâckidi*, *p* 16. See also a paper in the *Zeitschrift, Morgen landische Gesellschaft*, VII 1, *p* 34. Abd al Muttalib had six daughters, and it was one of them who made the proposal to cast lots for the camels.

The prosperity and fame of Abd al Muttalib attracted the envy of the rival branch of Omeya, whose son Harb challenged him to a trial of their respective merits The Abyssinian king having declined to be the umpire, the judgment was committed to a Coroishite, who declared that Abd al Muttalib was in every respect the superior. Harb was deeply mortified, and

Wâckidi, however, gives another account, which is that commonly received. (*Cnf. Hishâmi, p.* 24—*Tabari, pp.* 6—11—*C de Perceval, Vol. I. pp.* 264—267—*Weil, p.* 8.) According to this version, the Coreish held back Abd al Muttalib just as he was about to plunge the knife into his son, and offered to give a ransom, but he would not listen; and they at last persuaded him to refer the matter to a divineress at Khaibar, who indicated the plan of ransom described in the text. Whatever may have been the facts of the case, they have been greatly over-colored and distorted by tradition, so much so, that Sprenger has placed the entire incident in his legendary chapter (p 56) But we believe the story to be *founded* on real facts. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine an adequate motive for the entire invention of such a tale because the Mahometans regard the vow as a sinful one, the illegality of which rendered it null and void. (*Tabari, p* 5) No doubt they afterwards dressed the incident in exaggerated and meretricious colors, and pretended a resemblance between it and Abraham's intended sacrifice of Ismael; and thus they make Mahomet to say that he was "the son of *two* sacrifices "—

بين ذ بيحين | But (had there been *no* facts to found the story on) the desire to establish such an analogy would have led to a very different fiction, for Abraham was *commanded* to offer up his son, and the Mahometans believe he acted piously in obeying, whereas they hold Abd al Muttalib to be wrong both in the vow, and in his attempt to fulfil it.

We must doubt whether the vow was really to *immolate* a son, and whether there was ever any attempt to put a sacrifice of human life into execution. We believe that human sacrifices to the Deity were unknown in Mecca. The truth we suppose to be that Abd al Muttalib vowed he would *devote* a son to Hobal. *Nadzar*, نذر, would probably be the word employed, and the idea of a son devoted to the service of God might have become known among the Arabs from its currency among the Jews. But the custom, however natural to the Judaical system, would not mould itself to the mongrel and idolatrous creed of the Kaaba. How was the devotion of a son to the service of God to be carried out at Mecca? The question was referred to the idol, who simply chose one of the sons. In this difficulty, recourse may have been had to a divineress. But the warm imagination of the traditionists has conjured up a theatrical appeal to the sacrificial knife, which we believe never existed,

The sacrifice of human beings in Arabia was only *incidental*, and in the case of violent and cruel tyrants, where it is alleged to have been done *uniformly and on principle*, the authority seems doubtful. Of the former class, are the immolation of a Ghassanide Prince to Venus by Mundzir, king of Hira (*C. de Perceval, Vol. II. p.* 101—Article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia," *p.* 28, *note* 4), and the yearly sacrifice by the same prince on his "evil day," in expiation of the murder of two friends. (*Ibid, p.* 104, *et seq*—*Pococke's Spec. History of Arabia, p.* 73.) Of the second description is the uncertain tale of one *Naaman* sacrificing, with his own hand, men to his deities (*Evagrius* vi 21—*Pococke's Specimen, p* 87); and the story of Porphyry, that at Dumaetha (Dumat al Jandal?) *κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον παῖδα ἔθυον.* See two notes of Gibbon on this subject (Chap. L.) He appears to believe in the practice of human sacrifice in Arabia (as it seems to us, however, on insufficient grounds); but with philosophical discrimination he adds: "the danger and escape of Abdallah is a tradition rather than a fact."

abandoned the society of his rival, whose companion he had previously been.*

Abd al Muttallib gained an important increase of stability to his party, by concluding a defensive league with the Khozâite inhabitants of Mecca. They came to him and represented, that as their quarters adjoined, the advantages of such a treaty would be great for both parties These advantages Abd al Muttalib was not slow in perceiving With ten of his adherents he repaired to the Kaaba, where they met the Khozâites and mutually pledged their faith The league was then reduced to writing, and hung up in the Holy House. None of the descendants of Abd Shams or Naufal were present, or indeed knew anything of the transaction until it was thus published † The combination was permanent, and, in after times, proved of essential service to Mahomet.

In the year 570 A. D, or about eight years before the death of Abd al Muttalib, occurred the memorable invasion of Mecca by Abraha, the Abyssinian viceroy of Yemen.‡ It has been already related how the despite done to the cathedral of Abraha made him resolve to attack Mecca and raze its temple to the ground. He set out with a considerable army—in its train was led an elephant, a circumstance so singular and remarkable, that the commander, his host, the invasion, and the year, are to this day denominated as those "of the Elephant."§ A prince of the old Himyar stock, with

* *Wâckidi, p* 16—*Tabari, p.* 25—*Sprenger, p* 31 Nofail was of the stock of the Bani Adi, and an ancestor of Omar The story much resembles that of Hâshim's contest with Omeiya, and one is half tempted to think it may be a spurious re-production of it, the more strongly to illustrate the enmity of the two branches, but the suspicion is not sufficiently great to deprive the narrative of a place in our text. When Harb gave up the society of Abd al Muttalib, "he took to that of Abdallah ibn Jodân of the branch of Taym, son of Murra."

Another contest of a somewhat similar nature is related between Abd al Muttalib and a chief of Tâif, on account of a spring of water claimed by the former An Odhrite soothsayer, in the south of Syria, decided in favor of Abd al Muttalib; but the story is accompanied by several marvellous and suspicious incidents Thus on the journey northwards, a fountain of water gushed from a spot struck by the heel of Abd al Muttalib's camel—an evident re-production of the legend of Abd al Muttalib's similar journey to adjudicate the claims of the Coreish against him

† *Wâckidi, p* 15½—*Sprenger, p.* 31. There were present seven of the immediate family of Abd al Muttalib, Arcam, and two other grand-sons of Hâshim.

‡ The authorities are *Wâckidi, pp.* 16½-17, and *Hishâmi, pp.* 15—19. C de Perceval has given the circumstances of this expedition in more detail than the character of the traditions warrant (Vol. I pp. 268—279)

§ Wâckidi gives a tradition (p. 19) that there were thirteen elephants with the army, besides this famous one called Mahmûd, and that the latter was the only one that escaped death from the shower of stones. But this would seem to oppose the drift of tradition generally on the subject. Wâckidi adds that Abraha sent expressly for the famous elephant Mahmûd to join his expedition.

an army of Arab adherents, was the first to oppose the advance of the Abyssinian. He was defeated, but his life was spared, and he followed the camp as a prisoner. Arrived at the northern limits of Yemen, Abraha was attacked by the Bani Khuthâm (descendants of Modhar), under the command of Nofail; but he too was discomfited, and escaped death on condition of guiding the Abyssinian army. Thence the conqueror proceeded to Tâif, three days' march from Mecca; but the Bani Thackîf, its inhabitants, deputed men to say that they had no concern with the Kaaba which he had come to destroy, and that so far from opposing the project of Abraha, they would furnish him with a guide.* For this purpose they sent him a man called Abu Rughâl, and the viceroy moved onwards. At Mughammis, between Tâif and Mecca, Abu Rughâl died; and centuries afterwards, the Meccans marked their abhorrence of the traitor by casting stones at his tomb as they passed.

From Mughammis, Abraha sent forward an Abyssinian with a body of troops to scour the Tehâma, and carry off what cattle they could find. They were successful in the raid, and among the plunder secured 200 camels belonging to Abd al Muttalib. An embassy was then despatched to the inhabitants of Mecca:—"Abraha" (such was the message) "had no desire 'to do them injury; his only object was to demolish the Kaaba: 'that performed, he would retire without shedding the blood of 'any one." The Meccans had already resolved, that it would be vain to oppose the invader by force of arms; but to the destruction of the Kaaba, they refused to give their assent. The embassy, therefore, prevailed on Abd al Muttalib and the chieftains of some of the other Meccan tribes† to return, repair to the viceroy's camp, and there plead their cause. There Abd al Muttalib was treated with distinguished honor To gain him over, Abraha restored his plundered camels, but obtained from him no satisfactory answer regarding the Kaaba‡

* They had a goddess, *Lat*, of their own, which they honored nearly in the same way as the Meccans did that at the Kaaba. (*Hishâmi, p.* 16)

† Of these the chiefs of the Bani Bakr and Hodzeil are mentioned. The Bani Bakr here mentioned are not the tribe collateral with the Taghlibites, but the stock descended from Bakr, son of Abd Monât, son of Kinana, and nearly allied to the Coreish.

‡ He is said to have descended from his masnad and seated himself by Abd al Muttalib. But many of these details were probably invented by the traditionist to glorify the grand-father of the prophet. Abraha is said to have asked him what favour he could do him: Abd al Muttalib replied, to restore to him his camels. The viceroy was mortified. "I looked upon you," said he, "at first with admiration; but now you ask as a favour the return of your own property, and make no solicitation regarding the Holy House, which constitutes your glory, and is the pillar of your own religion and that of your forefathers." Abd al Muttalib answered:—"Of the camels I am myself the master, and therefore I asked for them: as for the Kaaba, another is its master, who will surely defend it and

The chiefs who accompanied him, offered a third of the wealth of the Tehâma, if he would desist from his designs against their temple, but he refused. The negotiation was broken off, and the chieftains returned to Mecca. By Abd al Muttalib's advice, the people made preparations for retiring in a body to the hills and defiles in the vicinity, which they did the day before the expected attack. As Abd al Muttalib leant upon the ring of the door of the Kaaba, he is said to have prayed to God aloud, that he would defend his own house, and not suffer the Cross to triumph over the Kaaba. This done, he relaxed his hold, and betaking himself to the neighbouring heights, watched what the end might be.*

Meanwhile a pestilential distemper had shewn itself in the viceroy's camp. It broke out with deadly pustules and frightful blains, and was probably an aggravated form of small-pox. In confusion and dismay the army commenced its retreat. Their guides abandoned them, and it is pretended that the wrath of Heaven farther manifested itself in a flood which swept off multitudes into the sea. But the Pestilence alone is a cause quite adequate to the effect produced.† No one, they say, smitten by it, ever recovered; and

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an occasion for Abd al Muttalib's prophetical defiance; but it is not the speech of a Prince who came to destroy the Kaaba, and whose object would be to depreciate and not to extol it. We regard the conversation as fabricated. It is enough in this narrative to admit the main events, without holding to the details of every speech and conversation, as the effort throughout is patent to magnify Abd al Muttalib, Mecca, and the Kaaba.

Some accounts represent Abd al Muttalib as gaining admittance to Abraha through Dzû Nafas, the Himyar prisoner noticed above, whose friendship he had formed in his mercantile expeditions to Yemen. (See *C de Perceval, Vol I p.* 214.) It was on one of these expeditions that Abd al Muttalib is said to have learnt in Yemen to dye his hair black: the people of Mecca were delighted with his appearance, and the custom was thus introduced there. (*Wâckidi, p.* 15½—*Sprenger, p.* 86) Wâckidi represents Abd al Muttalib as withdrawing from Mecca, on Abraha's approach to Hira, (afterwards Mahomet's sacred retreat;) and from thence letting loose his 200 recovered camels as devoted to the Deity, in the hope that some one of the enemy might injure them in the Tehâma, and the Deity be thereby prompted to revenge the insult upon the enemy's army.

* No doubt these events, too, are highly colored by legendary growth, or traditional fiction, in order to cast a mysterious and supernatural air over the retreat of Abraha.

† No one appears to have pursued the retreating army. They sought Nofail to guide them back; but in the confusion he escaped to one of the surrounding heights, whence, it is pretended, he derided the fugitives in these words:—

اين المفر والاله الطالب * والاشرم المغلوب ليس الغالب

"Whither away, do ye flee, and no one pursuing! Al Ashram (Abraha) is the vanquished one, not the vanquisher." (*Hishâmi, p.* 18)

A contemporary poet, a Coreishite, named Abdalla, son of Zibara, estimates the killed at 60,000, in these exaggerated verses

ستون الفا لم يوبوا ارضهم * بل لم يعش بعد الا ياب سقيمها

C de Perceval, Vol. I p. 280.

Abraha himself, a mass of malignant and putrid sores, died miserably on his return to Sanâ.*

The unexpected disappointment of the hostile designs and grand preparations of Abraha increased the reverence with

* His body was covered with pustules, and as they dropped off, matter flowed forth followed by blood "he became like an unfledged bird, and did not die until his heart separated from his chest" (*Hishâmi, p* 18) This is no doubt over-drawn. The accounts of Wâckidi and Hishâmi leave no room to question the nature of the disease as having been a pestilential form of small-pox Wâckidi, after describing the calamity in the fanciful style of the Coran, adds—

فكان ذلك اول ما كان الجدري والحصبة والاشجار المرة

"*And that was the first beginning of the small-pox, and the pustular disease, and a kind of bitter trees*" (*p* 17) Similarly Hishâmi, ان اول ما رائت الحصبة والجدري بارض العرب ذلك العام وانه اول ما راے مرائر السجر الحرمل والحنظل والعتر The word الحصبة signifies likewise small stones, and the name as applied to the small-pox is probably derived from the gravelly appearance and feeling of the hard pustules (such a feeling is believed to be common at some stages of the disease, so much so that the patient on setting his foot to the ground, feels as if he were standing on gravel) The name, coupled with this derivation, without doubt, gives rise to the poetical description of the event in the Coran —"*Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the Elephant? Did he not cause their stratagem to miscarry? And he sent against them flocks of little birds, which cast upon them small clay stones, and made them like unto the stubble of which the cattle have eaten*" (*Sura CV*—See No XXXVII of this *Review, p.* 61—*Canon in* B) This passage, as Gibbon well says, is "the seed" of the marvellous details given regarding Abraha's defeat

Hishâmi describes the stones showered upon the enemy as being like grains of corn and pulse امثال الحمص والعدس (*p.* 18), and it is remarkable that the latter expression signifies also a species of deadly pustule It would seem that not all who were struck (or sickened) died, for Ayesha says that she saw at Mecca the *mahout* and the driver of the elephant, وقد كانا العدل و سائسه both blind, and sitting, begging food of the people. (*Hishâmi, p.* 19) The story is the more likely for blindness is a very common effect of small-pox

The other miraculous part of the story is, that when the army was about to advance upon Mecca, Nofail, the Khuthamite guide, whispered in its ear it forthwith sat down, and no persuasion or compulsion would induce it to stir a step towards Mecca, while it would readily proceed in every other direction The germ of this story lies in a saying of Mahomet's at Hodeibia His camel sat down there fatigued, and as the place was at such a convenient distance from Mecca, as to prevent a collision between the Meccans and his army, Mahomet took advantage of the circumstance and said —"Nay! Al Cuswa (that was his camel's name) is not worn out, *but he that restrained the elephant from advancing upon Mecca, the same hath held her back also.*" (*Wâckidi, p* 118½ – *Hishâmi, p.* 321.) Hence the traditionists invented a variety of stories illustrative of the manner in which God was supposed to have "held back the elephant" Yet Mahomet's meaning seems to have been simply metaphorical —"He who by his providence restrained the elephant, or the possessor of the elephant, from advancing upon Mecca, the same," &c It is *possible* that the fable of the elephant's unwillingness to move against Mecca may have been current in Mahomet's time; but it is incomparably more likely to have been the fiction of the traditionists, grounded on the saying of Mahomet alluded to.

which the Arab tribes regarded the Coreish and the other inhabitants of Mecca. These became vain-glorious, and sought to mark their superiority over all others by special duties and exemptions. "Let us," said they, "release ourselves from 'some of the observances imposed upon the common mass; 'and forbid ourselves some of the things which to them are 'lawful." Thus (say the Arab historians) they gave up the yearly pilgrimage to Arafat, and the ceremonial return therefrom, although they still acknowledged those acts to be an essential part of the religion of Abraham, and binding upon all others: they also denied themselves the use of cheese and butter, while in the pilgrim-state, and abandoning tents of camels' hair, restricted themselves to leather ones. Upon pilgrims who came from beyond the sacred limits *(haram,)* they imposed new rules for their own aggrandisement. Such visitors, whether they came for the great or the little pilgrimage, were to eat no food brought with them from without the sacred boundary; and they were forbidden to perform the ceremonial circuits of the Kaaba, unless naked, or clothed in vestments provided by the Meccans alone, who formed the league.* This association, called the HOMS, included the Coreish, a collateral branch, the Bani Kanâna, and the Khozâites. To them the privileges of the league were restricted. All others were subjected to the dependence on them, involved in the solicitation of food and raiment.†

There appears to be some doubt as to the period when these innovations were introduced;‡ but under any circumstances

* If persons of rank came as pilgrims, and no Meccan garments were available, they were permitted to go through the ceremony in their own vestments; but they were to cast them off immediately after, and never again to use them.

The common pilgrims, who could not get clothes, made the circuits of the Kaaba entirely naked: the women with only a single loose shift.

† The word *Homs*, says Wâckidi, refers to something *new* added to a religion, (p. 12½.) Its etymological derivation seems to be the bringing into play a *fresh stringency* in the pilgrim ceremonial. Sprenger gives its meaning as the "alliance of certain tribes by religion" (p. 36.) This was no doubt an incidental feature of the imposition of the new practices, though it would not appear to be the main and original idea.

‡ Hishâmi says, "I know not whether the Coreish introduced the innovation before or after the attack of Abraha" (p. 43.) Wâckidi places his account of the *Homs* league, under the chapter of Cossai, but he does not say that it was introduced in his time: he mentions the practice *incidentally*, and rather in connection with the meaning of the word "Coreish," and as showing that they formed a portion of the league: hence no chronological deduction can be surely drawn from the position of the narrative, such parenthetical episodes being often introduced, thus irregularly in the Arab histories. Sprenger does not therefore go upon certain ground when he quotes Wâckidi, as assigning the beginning of the custom to the era of the Cossai (p. 36, note i.) He supposes that the Homs practices being then introduced, were again *revived* in the year of the Elephant; but the supposition appears to us unnecessary.

they give proof that the Meccan superstition was active and vigorous, and that its directors possessed over the Arabs a prodigious influence* The practices then begun were superseded only by Islam, and (adopting the latest date of their introduction) they must have continued in force above half a century. The reverence for the Meccan system, which suffered the imposition of such oppressive customs, must needs have been grossly superstitious, as well as universally prevalent But the effect of the new practices themselves may perhaps have been adverse to the Meccan system If the pilgrimage were really of divine appointment, what human authority could grant a dispensation to relax any part of its observances, and in a country where the decent morals of Christianity and Judaism were known and respected, what could be gained by the outrage of society in causing the female sex to perform a public ceremony in an insufficient dress, and the men entirely naked? Here were fair points for the reformer to take exception at, and they would avail either for the denunciation of the entire superstition, or for insisting upon a return to the practices of a purer and more scrupulous age.†

Let us now glance for a moment at the state of parties in Mecca, towards the latter days of Abd al Muttalib.

* We cannot understand on what principle Sprenger regards this league as a symptom of the declining power of the Meccan superstition, a vain effort which sought "a remedy in reforming the faith of the Haram," * * * "the last spark of the life of whose confederation seemed to be on the point of being extinguished" (p 16) To us, the facts convey a conclusion totally the reverse

† Mahomet was not slow in availing himself of the last of these arguments. He abolished all the restrictions, as well as the relaxations of the Homs league These practices are indirectly reprobated in Sura II, vv. 199-200 (where he enforces the necessity of the pilgrimage to Arafat,) and in Sura VII, vv. 28 and 32, (where proper apparel is enjoined, and the free use of food and water) It is said that Mahomet himself, before he assumed the prophetical office, used to perform the pilgrimage to Arafat, thus disallowing the provisions of the association

Besides the Homs, there were other practices, some of them with less likelihood said to be modern innovations. Such were the arbitrary rules regarding the dedication of camels as hallowed and exempt from duty, when they had come up to a certain standard of fruitfulness, involving some curious rules as to their flesh being wholly illicit, or lawful to men only in certain circumstances, to women only in others The dedicated mother camel was called *Sâiba*, (and in some cases *Wasîla*, which included goats or ewes), the eleventh, or dedicated female young one, *Bahira*, *Hâmi*, the dedicated stallion But Ibn Ishâc and Ibn Hishâm are not agreed on the details of these customs. It is pretended that Amr Ibn Lohay (in the third century A. D) introduced the practice, but it, no doubt, grew up long before that time, and is founded, as C. de Perceval says, in the Arab affection for the camel, and reverence for such animals as greatly added to the breed (*Vol. I., pp.* 225-226 — *Sale Prel. Disc pp.* 151—153 — *Hishâmi, pp.* 29 30)

Mahomet inveighed strongly against these arbitrary distinctions which God had not enjoined. (See *Sura V., v* 112, *Sura VI., v.* 144, *Sura X, v.* 59)

There had formerly been two leading factions, the descendants of Abd al Dar, and those of Abd Menâf, the two sons of Cossai. The former were originally possessed of all the public offices; but since the struggle with Hâshim, about seventy years before, when they were stripped of several important dignities, their influence had departed, and they had sunk into a subordinate and insignificant position. The offices retained by them were still undoubtedly valuable; but they were divided among separate members of the family; the benefit of combination was lost; and there was no steady and united effort to improve their advantages towards the acquisition of social influence and political power.*

The virtual chiefship of Mecca was thus in the hands of the descendants of Abd Menâf. But amongst these, two parties had arisen: the families, to wit, of the two brothers, Hâshim and Abd Shams. The grand offices of giving of food and water to the pilgrims secured to the Hâshimites a commanding and a permanent influence, vastly increased by the able management of Hâshim, of Al Muttalib, and now of Abd al Muttalib; and the latter, like his father Hâshim, appears to have been regarded as the chief of the Meccan Sheikhs. But the Abd Shams family, with their numerous and powerful connexions, were jealous of the power of the Hâshimites, and (as we have seen) repeatedly endeavoured to humble them, or to cast a slur upon their high position. One office, that of the leadership in war, was secured by this family, and contributed much to its splendour. It was, moreover, rich and successful in merchandise, and by some is thought to have exceeded in influence and power even the Hâshimite branch.†

But the "year of the Elephant" had already given birth to a personage, destined, within half a century, to eclipse all the distinctions either of Hâshimite or Omeyad race. To the consideration of this momentous event we hope in a future Article to recur.

* The custody of the Holy House, the presidency in the Hall of Council, and privilege of binding the banner on the leader's spear, offices secured to the branch of Abd al Dar, might all have been turned to important account, if the advice of their ancestor Cossai had been followed. But division of authority, want of ability, and adverse fortune, appear all along to have depressed this family.

† *Sprenger's Life of Mohammed, p.* 31.

ART. III.—*Books of the Tae-ping-wang Dynasty. Shanghae,* 1853.

THE present movement in China,—its probable influence on the moral, social, political and religious condition of that vast continent,—and its more general bearings on the destinies of Eastern nations,—claim at the present time no small degree of public attention. The very mention of China has, until very recently, awakened feelings of mysterious wonder. The vast extent of her territory, the greatness of her population, the antiquity of her historic records, her isolated position among the kingdoms of the earth, the peculiar character of her social institutions, and the long period during which she has successfully maintained her seclusion from the world—all combined in awakening mingled emotions of curiosity and wonder in the mind. Nor has the extended intercourse with the native population and the local rulers in the vicinity of the five Consular cities of China realized all the advantages which were expected to prevail under a new order of things. The curtain has been as yet only partially drawn aside; and the merchants, the diplomatists and the philanthropists of western countries, who frequent the shores of China, have obtained but an inconsiderable amount of insight into the scenes of actual life prevailing among that extraordinary race. The events which are now happening in China seem more calculated, than any other occurrences with which we are familiar in the history of the Empire, to break down the wall of partition, and to throw China open to unrestricted intercourse with the whole family of mankind.

A cursory retrospect of the last fifteen years is needful as a preparative for estimating, at their proper value, the present indications of an impending change, likely to result, not merely in the subversion of a dynasty, but also in a revolution of the national religion. Those who are either ignorant, or forgetful, of the state of China as she was, are but imperfectly prepared to form a just conception of her future destinies, as she is likely to become.

It was in the year 1839, that the smouldering embers of hostility—first kindled by the violent proceedings which, in 1834, hastened the death of Lord Napier—burst forth into the flame of open warfare; and the circumstances connected with the seizure of opium, and the violent treatment of British merchants in the factory at Canton, by Commissioner Lin, brought China and Britain into mutual collision. The detailed

occurrences of the war, the various actors who bore a prominent part therein, the various localities which became successively the scene of conflict, the invariable reverses of the Chinese, and the irresistible progress of British prowess and skill—the fall of important cities along the coast, and the menaced capture of Nanking—the terms of peace dictated by the proud armament of Britain under the walls of the second city of the Empire, and the partial opening of the more northern maritime provinces to the commerce of Western nations—will be fresh in the recollection of our readers, and render any recapitulation unnecessary on our part. Including the old site of the East India Company's factory at Canton, five important cities, extending at intervals of varying distance along the southern half of the sea-board of China, from about the twenty-first to the thirty-first degree of northern latitude—were, by the terms of international treaty, declared open to the subjects of the various nations of Christendom. Subsequent treaties with the United States and with France confirmed, and in some few points enlarged, the facilities already secured by the British. Little more than ten years have elapsed since the conclusion of the Supplemental Treaty regulating the details of tariff; and within that brief period, China has been accessible to more powerful external influences than she experienced during two centuries of her previous history. Her foreign commerce has increased; European ships hastened to the newly-opened ports; the capital, the energy, and the enterprize of the West, found a new outlet; science sent forth its pioneers; Christian philanthropy joined in the busy rivalry; and at length important marts for commerce, and influential posts of missionary labour, have been occupied. At the present time, the extent of foreign buildings at Canton and at Shanghae gives to each locality, and especially to the latter, the appearance of an English settlement and town.

A thriving commerce has sprung up in the northern emporium of Shanghae; a less considerable trade has been created at some of the other recently opened ports; Consular establishments have been formed, and a regular system of custom-house regulations has been adopted and enforced; buildings of magnificent structure mark the private residences of merchant-princes of Britain and the United States; churches and chapels rear their towers, and the sound of bells and chimes proclaims the passing hour; seventy Protestant missionaries have entered the field, and at each of the five ports the diversified machinery of missionary activity has been set in motion. An important British colony has been formed in

the southern island of Hongkong. On the site of an inconsiderable and barren rock, the imposing spectacle of an English town, with its spacious and beautiful harbour, its long line of foreign residences, extending at intervals for nearly three miles along the shore, its massive range of barracks, hospitals, batteries, and government offices, and its splendid piles of private houses, and especially its spacious and elegant cathedral, furnishes a striking example of the indomitable energy and power of Western civilization, and supplies a forcible illustration of the irresistible advances of the Anglo-Saxon race. The head-quarters of British influence in these Eastern Seas, and the seat of an English bishopric, the town and settlement of Victoria may ere long wield an important influence, and exercise a powerful control, over the destinies of China and Japan.

But, as we have already intimated, the period which has elapsed since the Treaty of Nanking, in 1842, has not been marked by that rapid growth of foreign commerce, that extensive inroad upon Chinese exclusiveness, and that improved tolerance of spirit in the Imperial Government of China, which many anticipated as the sure and early result of the improved state of international relations. The Manchow Tartar rulers of China sustained a shock and blow to their prestige, which they have never yet recovered, and which has rendered their tenure of Empire weak and uncertain. Humbled by defeat, and impoverished by the payment of five millions sterling of indemnity, they bowed before a present necessity, and made concessions to their foreign victors, which they sought only a safe opportunity of rendering vain and useless. While they have been compelled to observe the letter of foreign treaties, they have constantly endeavoured to ignore their spirit. Even during the reign of the aged Emperor Taou-Kwang, and the continuance in high office of such enlightened statesmen as Ke-ying, the Anti-European feeling was strong in the Imperial Court, and frequent occasions of mutual altercation, remonstrance and recrimination, marked the diplomacy between the Imperial Commissioner and the representatives of foreign powers. The edict of religious toleration in favour of Christianity, issued in 1845, was, in not a few cases, subsequently violated in the persecution of native Roman Catholic Christians. The residence of Protestant missionaries within the walls of some of the cities was for a time resisted. The letting of houses to foreigners—the sale of land—the hiring of labourers for building—the services of native teachers—were distinctly provided for in the treaties; but obnoxious

individuals were, in more than one of the Consular cities, secretly marked out by the Government for vengeance, and the unfortunate Chinese, who mixed themselves up with the transactions of foreigners, soon learnt to their cost the danger of such a connexion. The gates of Canton still remained virtually closed against foreign ingress; and the local authorities, even in the face of a sudden irruption of a British force, in 1847, found themselves unable to repress that contempt for foreign barbarians, which, for more than two centuries of unequal intercourse, they had laboured too successfully to encourage.

Frequent also and unintermitted were the remonstrances drawn forth from the Foreign Consuls by the repeated violation of regulations stipulated for and secured by treaty. It is but just to add that individual foreigners, by their indiscreet and reckless conduct, have sometimes helped to widen the breach, and cases of violence and misconduct operated still further to deepen the national prejudice against Europeans.

Amid the quiet course of their daily labours, the missionaries have effected much in conciliating the native mind in the more retired ports. At Shanghae we witness the most marked and unequivocal signs of improvement in the tone of mutual intercourse in the transactions of commerce. The shrewd and thrifty native merchants in the North have learnt to appreciate a foreign trade; and many a Chinese capitalist, enriched by European commerce, has returned to the more wealthy and refined cities of Foochow and Hangchow, bound by the powerful motives of self-interest, to plead with his fellow-countrymen against the short-sighted policy of the Government, and in favour of extended commerce with foreign nations. But even in the northern ports, an almost impassable line of demarcation, erected by the total contrariety of views, of feelings and of customs, between the two races, has divided the native gentry and the foreign merchants from each other, in every thing pertaining to the free unrestrained intercourse of social life. At the death of the Emperor Taou-Kwang, a young and inexperienced monarch ascended the throne; and with the accession of Heen-Fung commenced that more decided course of resistance to foreigners, which has formed a source of frequent danger, and threatened ere long a return on the part of foreign Governments to measures of coercion. Cotemporaneously, however, with all this, another and a more powerful influence was silently at work. While commerce was enriching large numbers, and many of our fellow-countrymen bore back to their native states the golden prize of successful speculation,

another, and a smaller, body of men were pursuing their unostentatious labours, and numerous copies of the Holy Scriptures, translated and circulated among the people, diffused the leaven of evangelical influence amid the masses of the native population.

Probably, in no part of the world have missionary operations been conducted, in the face of more numerous opposing influences, than in China: in no quarter of the great missionary field have the labourers more needed a large spirit of faith in the Divine promises, to sustain them during the long dreary night of toil, discouragement and repression. The little knowledge of Christianity, which had penetrated into China, was chiefly confined to the hereditary professors of Romanism. The Jesuits, three centuries ago, entered China, and enjoyed such opportunities of proselytizing the members of the Imperial Court, as could only be frustrated by a course of extreme indiscretion. Divisions among the missionaries themselves, respecting the extent to which it was allowable to tolerate and give way to certain native rites among their converts, added to the secular policy and political intrigue which grew out of their contentions, gave a blow to their prospects of supremacy, and led to that system of persecution, by which the professors of the "religion of the Lord of Heaven" have been harassed for more than a century. Protestant Christianity—the "religion of Jesus"—has laboured under a two-fold disadvantage: it incurred the odium which, in the native mind, attached to the Roman Catholic form of Christianity: it suffered also the additional disadvantage of being preceded, in almost every province, by an antagonistic system of religious error, whose emissaries were interested in forestalling the minds of their followers with prejudice and dislike. The prospects of Protestant missions were in some respects gloomy; and if the cause were one of mere human calculation, it had indeed been well nigh regarded as hopeless and unpromising But from the commencement of the present century, the little band of early missionaries, on their arrival, sought to give pre-eminent honour to the word of God. The translation and circulation of the Holy Scriptures occupied, from the first, a prominent place in the attention and the plans of the various Protestant Missionary Societies. After many years of labour, it was a preparatory work which had been principally achieved. Unable to point to numerous instances of positive submission to the holy restraints of the Gospel, they, nevertheless, persevered in the distinctive principle of Protestant missionary action, grounding

true conversion upon inward conviction of soul, unwilling to build up a spiritual fabric on the false foundation of an unproductive formalism, and looking forward in faith to the time when the seeds of scriptural truth, sown widely and sinking deeply into the minds of the people, would hereafter, through the fertilizing showers of God's blessing from on high, produce a harvest of joy, and bring forth the fruits of numerous conversions to Christ, of those who should worship Him "in spirit and in truth."

And now at length the world is startled, and Christendom aroused, by a religious movement, essentially Protestant Christian in its origin, development and tendency, which appears likely to issue in one of the mightiest and the most remarkable revolutions of modern times. Whether we regard the obscurity of its first originators, the inconsiderable number of its early adherents, the rapidity of its progress, or the vastness, the suddenness, and the strangeness of its present results—we cannot fail to perceive that the movement in China is among the greatest wonders of the age. Rumours of rebellion were not uncommon even three years ago. The foreign community heard from time to time reports of disturbances in the interior. Little was reported on safe and credible authority, and still less was believed, in a country where the foreign community have been taught by former experience, that incredulity is as venial as it is usually safe. No inconsiderable amount of discredit also soon attached to rumours of the extent of the rebellion, through the exaggerated and premature accounts of Imperial reverses, which found their way, through a correspondent in Thibet, into the pages of a leading Indian Journal. As the case stood at the end of 1852, few even of the most intelligent observers in China were prepared for that wonderful development of events, which has attracted the universal notice of Western nations and seems destined to change, at no remote period, the whole character of our relations with the farthest East. The *religious* element explains the whole mystery, and is the only feature in the movement which adequately accounts for that mental vigour and moral energy, so opposite to the natural impassibility of the Chinese character, which the insurgent leaders have conspicuously manifested. Even while we write, speculation is active, and rumours are rife respecting the approach of the northern advanced section of the insurgent army to the vicinity of Peking; and ere this Article can meet the eye of its reader, the decisive blow may have been struck.

Before we proceed to notice the detailed events of the

insurrection, it will be necessary to state the precise amount of positive information on which our statements are founded, and the authorities from which they are derived.

There is, in the first place, the *Peking Gazette*, the "Court Circular" of the Imperial Government, the authorized exponent of so much of the occurrences, and the policy of the Empire, as it may suit his Celestial Majesty to give to the people. This periodical enjoys a high repute in the country, and whenever the truth may not be deemed injurious to the public weal, its intelligence is usually correct. On one point alone can it be deemed a trustworthy authority in treating of our subject. Whenever there is an acknowledgement of Imperial reverses, we may regard it as an indubitable testimony to the success of the insurgents.

There is again a letter written from China in October, 1852, and published in England in December of the same year, conveying some remarkable information respecting the former history of the present claimant of the Imperial throne. That letter, written by the Rev I J. Roberts, referred to the connexion of Tae-ping-wang with Protestant missionaries, and was published to the world some months before the visit of the *Hermes* to Nanking brought to general notice the religious character of the movement.

We have again, from the month of May, 1853, a series of documents connected with the visit of His Excellency Sir George Bonham, in the *Hermes*, to Nanking, published in a Parliamentary Blue Book. We have, from the same period, a series of valuable papers in the pages of the *North China Herald*,* published at Shanghae, near the scene of the principal transactions, and contributed by writers of undoubted ability and integrity.

The most important of these consist of the various religious books of the insurgents, translated into English, with a final summary and general review of the whole movement, by the Rev Dr. Medhurst.

Additional light was also thrown upon the character of the rebellion, by the visit to Chinkeang-foo of the Rev. Dr. Taylor, who, in June, 1853, spent two days among the insurgents, and gave to the public an account of the impressions produced on his mind.

At a later period, the favourable views respecting the insurgent

* The *North China Herald* is a public journal of great value and interest at this crisis; and may be recommended to our readers, both in India and in Europe, as an important repository of information respecting the Chinese insurrection, and matters of a collateral and more general nature.

leaders, which had been gaining strength in the public mind, were confirmed by the incidental testimony of an Imperialist soldier in the besieging force off Shanghae, who had some months before been driven, by his impatience, under the moral restraints of Tae-ping-wang's army, to desert from the rebel cause, and in the mission hospital gave a detailed account of the Puritanical strictness enforced in the insurgent camp.

This incident, and also a similar testimony from a Kwang se Native Christian, who unexpectedly interrupted Dr Medhurst in his preaching, and warned the Chinese present of the uncompromising hostility to idolatry, opium and lust, which marked the adherents of Tae-ping-wang, formed at the time the subject of two separate letters from Dr. Medhurst, which have been published widely in the public prints. Testimony of a corroborative nature has been multiplied at a more recent period, especially by the visit of the French steamer *Cassini* to Nanking, in December, 1853.

It is now also not a very difficult matter to gather information from Chinese, who have had some connexion with the rebellion in some of its earlier stages Two such individuals happen to belong to the circle of our own acquaintance: one, a relative of the insurgent chief himself; the other, a former preacher in connexion with the late Dr. Gutzlaff's "Chinese Union," and subsequently, for some months a centurion in the rebel army. To the latter of these two individuals we are indebted for a few details previously unknown; and although unwilling to lay great stress upon them, or to give implicit credit to the accuracy of all his statements, we think them occasionally worth recording; and we shall accordingly give a place to a few of his communications, even when we deem it unnecessary to make express mention of our authority.

From the consideration of these, our sources of information, it will readily be seen how scanty, and in some respects imperfect, are the materials from which we draw our review; and how needful it is to bear constantly in mind, that in the present inadequate means of direct communication with the chief actors in the central rebellion itself, a certain degree of vagueness and uncertainty must pervade our statements in detail. Each month serves to convince us of the need of this caution, and to show how partial and imperfect has been the conception generally formed of the nature of the whole movement. The undeniable evidence, which has lately corrected and modified former views and statements, leads us also to entertain the firm belief, that opportunities of direct communications

with the insurgent chiefs, such as that afforded by the recent visit of the French steamer *Cassini*, will tend to dispel the prejudice with which some have viewed the character of the rebels, to disprove the calumniatory statements with which the public press in France has sought to fan the flame of religious hatred, and to confirm those feelings of favourable reaction, which are exercising a growing influence over the public mind, and have given birth to a very general sympathy on the part of the foreign community in China, with a body of native patriots, seeking to obtain the blessings of political, moral, and religious emancipation.

Whatever may have been the various influencing causes, which led the multitude of adherents to attach themselves to the rebel movement, there can be no reasonable doubt, as regards the motives which urged forward the leaders themselves, that it is essentially a grand *Protestant missionary result.* For a time surmises were entertained, and the hope was sedulously encouraged, that the Christian element in the insurrection was derived from intercourse with the Roman Catholic missionaries. Some had broached the theory, that it might be derived from descendants of the Nestorian Christian community, which, in the seventh century of our era, effected an entrance into the north-western provinces of China. Others had hazarded the equally improbable hypothesis of a Russo-Greek missionary influence having imparted to the rebels their first knowledge of the Christian religion. But there was no one who seriously believed either of these two latter hypotheses.

The more favourite idea, with not a few, who were either partisans of the Romish creed, or lukewarm Protestants unfriendly to missions, was, that the last King of the Ming dynasty fled into the southern fastnesses of Kwang-se, and there, among the mountain-tribes of the untamed Meaou-tze, had been the means of propagating the principles of the Roman Catholic faith, which had been handed down by tradition, so as to form a prominent feature in the character of the multitudes, who have issued forth as fierce iconoclasts from this remote extremity of the Empire. We have ourselves heard Roman Catholics of eminent position advocate this view, and seen them cling with a pardonable tenacity to such a theory respecting the religious part of the movement. It is strange, however, that as this fond hope was gradually falsified, and after (as we have reason to believe) the proffered visit and instructions of a Romish bishop were declined by the insurgent leaders in the year 1852, there has been a growing disposition to depreciate what they cannot appropriate; and an exaggerated and untrue

picture of murders of Heathen priests, and slaughters of Roman Catholic flocks, has been drawn by interested parties, to shock, alienate, and disgust public opinion in Europe.

As we proceed, we shall be enabled to judge how far this view of the insurgents is authorized, by any thing which has come to our knowledge in the shape of positive facts, and endorsed by credible authority.

We give a brief account of the few details respecting the chief of the insurrection, which seem entitled to our belief.

In the year 1833, a native scholar attended the literary examinations at Canton, from the district of Hwa, distant about twenty-five miles to the north-west from the provincial capital itself. His name was Hung-sew-tseuen; or, as he is now more generally designated, Tae-ping-wang. He was at that time only sixteen years of age; and his previous life had been entirely devoted to study.

He appears to have been a youth of extraordinary ability; and in a country where literary distinction is still professedly the ordinary avenue to political greatness and civil honour, there was much in the circumstances of that literary struggle, which was calculated to animate the hopes and excite the ambition of the youthful aspirant to wealth and fame.

But it has been the degenerate policy of the present Tar tar dynasty to do violence to the prescriptive rights of the literate in their choice of public officers. Wealth or Tartar birth exalts many individuals to power, to the prejudice of native talent. Secret bribery also, not unfrequently, corrupts the decision of the literary examiners. The poor scholar, attended by his anxious family to the provincial capital, and intent amid the studies of many previous years, upon the prospective aggrandizement of his kindred, as the legitimate and natural result of literary success, beholds the prize snatched from his grasp by incompetent rivals; and thus the only safety-valve for the ambition of native patriots, in the existence of a system of literary promotion to office, is closed to a numerous and influential class of society.

Hung-sew-tseuen appears to have suffered this humiliation. Stung with a sense of injustice, and feeling the full weight of disappointment, he found his knowlege of Confucian lore no longer the road to office and distinction. It was at such a critical season of the future hero's career, that the truths of the Holy Scriptures were presented to his notice, and the pure doctrines of Christianity arrested his mind. "At one of the 'examinations he met an extraordinary looking man, with large 'sleeves and long beard, who gave him a book, entitled *Keuen-*

'*she-leang-yen*—'Good Words exhorting the Age.' In this book 'it was taught, that men ought truly to believe in God, in 'Jesus, obey the ten commandments, and not worship devils."

Thus wrote a kinsman of the insurgent chief, in a paper presented in the year 1852, to a missionary at Hongkong, respecting that momentous period, when a Chinese mind, destined in the Providence of God to influence the future history of his country, was first brought into contact with the divine philosophy of the Gospel.

Respecting the identity of the old man alluded to, we are in possession of documentary evidence, which will convince every reasonable mind, that he was no other than the venerable native preacher Leang Afa, the author, as well as the distributor, of the book in question. This work consists of nine volumes, of about fifty pages each; and although the whole has the general title, which has been already mentioned, each volume has also an independent title. We have no means of ascertaining whether he received the whole of the volumes, or only a single volume. The work consists of several original essays, as well as a copious collection of extracts from the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testaments. In their Annual Report for 1834, the Directors of the London Missionary Society notice the events which occurred in China, at the close of the year 1833, and quote the following extract of a letter from the late Dr. Morrison:—

"The unremitted labours of Afa meet with a favourable reception from his countrymen. The Government of China patronizes education, and confers honours and office as the reward of literary merit. A general public examination is triennially held in each of the provincial cities of the Empire. At these seasons the students from the towns and villages of the province repair to their chief city, to compete for distinction and rewards. The population of the province of Canton is 19,000,000. An examination of candidates for literary honour was held at the provincial capital in October, 1833. Leang Afa, and two of his companions, urged by the motives which the Gospel supplies, entered the city at this time, distributing portions of Scriptures and Tracts among the assembled multitudes of students who had come to the provincial capital, from towns and villages a hundred miles distant. In the most public manner Afa and two of his pupils presented them with religious books, which they received with great avidity; and many, after examining their contents, came back for more."

The other published letters and journals of that period,

and especially the interesting description given by Afa himself, of those visits to the literary examination-halls, the persecution to which he was exposed, and his subsequent flight to Malacca, are brought to public light after twenty years of partial oblivion, and invest, with little short of moral certainty, the belief, that to Leang Afa, the convert of Milne, and the friend of Morrison, was reserved the distinction and privilege of being the first link in that chain of instrumental agencies, which connected the fortunes of Tae-ping-wang with a religious movement in favour of Christianity.

Let us return to the candidate for literary honours, and watch the moral effect of the new doctrines upon his mind. Burning with a sense of the foreign despotism under which his country lay, and incensed at the dishonour done to the cause of ancient learning, a young Chinese, of noble and ardent aspirations, was likely to regard the exclusion of poor literati from the rewards of office as a direct violation of the traditionary policy of the Empire, and an outrage upon that prescriptive system of equal Government, which forms in China the only approximation towards, and substitute for, constitutional freedom. The literary repute of our hero, and the extraordinary ability, which, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, he has since displayed, lend a strong probability to the written statement of his kinsman, that "Hung-sew-'tsеuen studied books from his early youth, was intelligent 'beyond description, and had read all kinds of books, when, 'at the age of fifteen or sixteen years, he went to the 'examination." The disappointment of his hopes of rising to distinction, and the diminished value in which the Confucian classics were likely afterwards to be held by the utilitarian mind of a Chinese scholar, may have been precisely that condition of the soul, under which he was likely to study, weigh and welcome the claims of the new religion upon his attention and belief. We know of his subsequent course, sufficient to prove that he embraced the new doctrines with an earnestness and ardour, not often observable in the impassible temperament of a Chinese mind. He returned to his own native district near Canton, and gave his whole soul to meditation upon the new religion. A period of sickness followed, during which he saw visions and dreamed dreams —which, in an unhealthy condition of the body, and an overactive state of the brain, are to be accounted for on the ordinary principles of medical pathology, but which he and his followers construed into a new and special revelation of the Divine Will. "Afterwards, when sick, he had a vision,

'in which he received instructions, corresponding with 'those doctrines taught in the book, and, therefore, he imme- 'diately commenced speaking and acting according to the 'instructions of the book received, and made a stanza on 'repentance."

"Then he was sick, his spirit went up to heaven."

The probable year of these fancied revelations appears to be 1837, that is, about three or four years after his first receiving the book from Leang Afa. The chief himself, in his *Trimetrical Classic*, says, that in 1837 he was received up into heaven, when the affairs of heaven were clearly pointed out to him, and the great God instructed him in the true doctrine. So also in the proclamation by Yang and Seaou, the Eastern and Western Kings, it is stated that in the year 1837 God sent an angel to take up the chief into heaven.

Thus far there is nothing in the career of Hung-sew-tseuen, inconsistent with the supposition and the hope that, whatever may have been his subsequent aberrations, and whatever may be the final development of his character, after all the strange vicissitudes of good and evil by which he has been agitated and tried—in the early stages at least of his personal history, he stands forth to our view a sincere, an earnest, and a consistent disciple of that heaven-derived faith, into the tenets of which he had obtained an imperfect insight. Up to this point there is nothing in his views, statements and actions, for which a ready apology is not to be found in the peculiarly disadvantageous circumstances under which he prosecuted his enquiries into the Christian religion. We find the collateral evidence of his zeal in his endeavouring to bring over his family, his friends, and his neighbours, to the new religion.

But "a prophet is not without honour save in his own coun- 'try and in his own house." A few believed, others hesitated; a few desultory cases of iconoclastic zeal irritated the adherents of the old idolatry, and provoked persecution. A few of their number passed into the adjacent province of Kwang-se, and itinerated as preachers of the new doctrine among the villages.

In a few years, more than 2,000 persons had embraced Christianity, and many more appeared well-affected towards the Christians. The local magistrates, perceiving the good conduct of the converts, at first connived, but afterwards, as their number increased, persecuted and opposed the rising sect.

The native preachers were imprisoned, and two of their number, Wang and Loo (one of them apparently a brother of Hung-sew-tseuen himself,) were persecuted unto death. But

they were punished as Christians, and not as rebels. Cotemporaneously with these occurrences, serious disorders and tumults, from gangs of banditti and robbers, prevailed in the provinces of Kwang-se and Yunnan ; and this, doubtless, stimulated the fears and hatred of the authorities. According to a written statement of Hung-sew-tseuen's kinsman, confirmed by other incidental proof—"It was not the original design to raise 'a rebellion ; but from the encroachments and injuries inflicted 'by the officers and soldiers, to which we could not submit, there 'was no alternative left us." It was on one of these occasions, as we have learnt from another native source, that Hung-sew-tseuen himself, Fung-yun-san, now the "Southern King" (of whom we shall have more to say hereafter,) with a third person, who afterwards died in prison, were engaged in preaching the Gospel in Kwang-se, and for this act of propagating new doctrines, were apprehended and imprisoned. After the death of one of the party ; the other two, whose names are given above, were sent back under a military escort to their native homes in Kwang-tung. In their journey they passed through a village, in which there were many converts. A rescue was attempted ; a collision ensued ; blood was shed ; the authorities were defeated ; and here a spark was suddenly kindled, which has raised the flame of civil war. There is some difficulty in unravelling the various dates, and the order of each occurrence, and in ascertaining the precise posture of matters, when the chief visited Canton and was brought into personal intercourse with a foreign missionary. It was about the end of 1847, when he arrived at Canton, and sought help and protection on behalf of his fellow-religionists in Kwang-se. The missionary with whom he became acquainted was the Rev. I. J. Roberts, an American Baptist. For about two months he was an inmate of Mr. Roberts' house, and received daily instruction. If it could have been foreseen how prominent a part this native inquirer was about to bear in the civil, moral, and religious emancipation of his country, there would, doubtless, have been a more detailed record by the missionary of the views and character of the visitor. Mr. Roberts wrote thus of him in 1852 :—

"When the chief (as we suppose him to have been) first 'came to us, he presented a paper written by himself, giving 'a minute account of his having received the book, *Good 'Words exhorting the Age*, of which his friend speaks in 'his narrative : of his having been taken sick, during which 'he imagined that he saw a vision, the details of which he 'gave, and which he said confirmed him in the belief of what

'he read in the book. In giving the account of his vision, 'he related some things, which I confess I was at a loss, and 'still am, to know where he got them, without a more exten- 'sive knowledge of the Scriptures. He requested to be bap- 'tized, but he left for Kwang-se before we were fully satisfied of 'his fitness; but what had become of him, I knew not until 'now."

On reviewing the whole circumstances of his visit to Canton in 1847, we cannot but regard it as singularly unfortunate, that Hung-sew-tseuen was not brought into intercourse with those who were better able to appreciate his character and his abilities. From reliable information of a more recent date, we are led to believe, that Mr. Roberts entirely misunderstood the man, and through mistaken views of prudential caution, checked and discouraged the advances which he made. We have good reason for believing that Hung-sew-tseuen came to Canton in 1847, with a vast project for conciliating the sympathy of foreign Christians, and obtaining their influence and help in the liberation of their persecuted brethren in Kwang-se. He wished even to make application to the British Governor of Hongkong; but was told in reply, that no British official would believe his account of the existence of a faithful body of fellow-Christians in the interior. He came to Mr. Roberts' residence, and, doubtless, felt comfort and benefit from that fuller instruction in Christian truth, which he would probably there receive. But our chief matter of regret, in reference to the occurrences of that period, was the absence of a master-mind, who could have detected the extraordinary greatness and nobleness of the individual, who, in the garb of a common native teacher, came to the foreign missionary dwelling, in the southern suburb of Canton. The missionary himself—whose simplicity and zeal, those who know him best will most fully appreciate and respect—judged that the exclusive duty which he had to perform was to lay bare the secret motives of the heart, and to discourage the applicant for baptism from cherishing the hope of temporal advantage being likely to result therefrom. It appears to us, viewing the whole account, that the missionary misjudged the case, and treated this inquirer as one among the numerous cases of mercenary deception, which a missionary in China has so often occasion to mourn and guard against; and Hung-sew-tseuen, the future chief of the Tae-ping dynasty, and the probable national reformer of China, was sedulously and systematically taught to expect no benefit, no gain, no advantage of a worldly kind, from his baptism and profession of Christianity. How this unseasonable truth was likely to chill and repulse a

Native Christian, yearning with bowels of compassion over his brethren and friends persecuted and imprisoned in Kwang-se, for whom he came to Canton to gain foreign help and support, but towards whom he inferred that even a community of faith would fail to incline the sympathies of his foreign brethren—let those speak, who know, by bitter experience, the pangs and sorrows of "hope deferred, which maketh the heart-sick." He returned into Kwang-se, not as some have imagined, a charlatan and rejected candidate for baptism, but a disappointed man, fleeing from the little clique of native preachers, who, jealous of his talents, fomented the distrust of the foreign missionary towards him, and were incompetent to form a proper estimate of his superior bearing. He arrived among the Native Christians in Kwang-se; and circumstances, not deliberate forethought, made him a rebel.

Fung-yun-san, another leader of the present movement, who is now titularly known as the "Southern King," claims a special notice. He belonged to the same village as Hung-sew-tseuen, in Hwa-heen, near Canton, and was baptized by the latter in their native village, according to one account as early as 1843.

Hung-sew-tseuen is stated by his own kinsman to have baptized himself, and some passages in the Tae-ping religious books, respecting the mode of administering self-ablution, seem to confirm such a statement.

Both of them originally went together into Kwang-se, where Fung-yun-san baptized in a few years about 2,000 persons. His release or escape from prison during Hung-sew-tseuen's absence at Canton, together with the prominent part which he had taken in administering baptism, placed him in the position of foremost leader of the infant movement. Considerable obscurity attends all the circumstances connected with this period of the movement. Other leaders, now styled "Kings," whose names occur in the insurgent manifestoes, appear to have joined the party of the Christian patriots. One of them seems to have been originally at Malacca; but there is no decisive evidence to prove that any of the six leaders or "Kings" were ever brought into personal intercourse with, much less baptized by, any foreign missionary, with the exception of Hung-sew-tseuen's well-authenticated stay with Mr. Roberts at Canton in 1847, and the strong probability of Fung-yun-san having visited the late Dr. Gutzlaff at Hongkong for about a month in 1848.

Fung-yun-san, on his release or escape from prison, and during the absence of Hung-sew-tseuen at Canton, had been

induced by the necessities of the crisis to repair for safety to the lawless bands, who had been for some time carrying on a tumultuous warfare against the authorities in Kwang-se. Fung-yun-san thus became at first the Christian leader of the rebels, gained an influence over them by his superior qualities of character and judgment, and infused a religious element into a movement which had previously been one of mere civil discontent and disaffection towards "the powers that be." Fung-yun-san, titularly known better as TEEN-TIH (celestial virtue), was thus the original leader of the insurrection, a Native Christian, and the baptized convert of Hung-sew-tseuen himself. On the arrival of Hung-sew-tseuen from Canton, the star of Teen-tih waned before that of Tae-ping-wang. The literary talent, the moral greatness, the administrative ability, the mental energy, the commanding superiority of the latter, soon won for him the post of leader and director of the movement; and Hung-sew-tseuen became, by universal consent and the harmonious deference of Teen-tih himself, the chief of the insurgent body. He found in the tumultuous bands, who, inflamed by civil discontent, had been engaged in hostilities with the provincial rulers, the nucleus and the body around which the persecuted Christians gathered as a place of refuge and safety. He transformed a rebellion of civil mal-contents into a great rendezvous and rallying point for his oppressed co-religionists. He rendered the insurrection a great religious movement—he did not transmute a Christian fraternity into a political rebellion. The course of events, and the momentous interests of life and death—the dread realities of the rack and torture, imprisonment and death—drove him to use in self-defence all the available means within reach, and to employ the resources of self-preservation. He joined the rebel camp, preached the gospel among them, won them over to his views, placed himself at their head, and made political power the means of religious propagandism. Such a consummation we are disposed to date about the beginning of the year 1850, henceforward known as the first of the reign of the Emperor Tae-ping-wang. The adoption of the Imperial style, at so early a period as 1850, shows the grand projects and the vast designs which speedily unfolded themselves to the view of the new leader. Nothing but an expulsion of the hated Manchow tyrants, the subversion of the idolatrous system, and the incorporation of the whole nation into one empire of "Universal Peace," as the servants of the one true God, and the believers in the one true Saviour Jesus Christ, with Tae-ping-wang himself the political head and religious chief of the whole—could henceforth satisfy minds

inflamed by enthusiasm and animated by past success. Content at first with the simple designation of "*Shangte-hwui*," "The Society of God," they for the future adopted the style of "*Tae-ping teen-kwoh*," "The Celestial Kingdom of Universal Peace."

Such, we believe, is the most probable hypothesis as to the continued existence of Teen-tih, and his not being a myth, nor a rebel chief, put to death, according to Imperial accounts at Peking, but as being the veritable Southern King, Fung-yun-san, whose name, with others of assumed kingly title, meet our eye on some of the religious manifestoes of the insurgents. Such, at all events, is the view maintained by a former member of the "Chinese Union," who was for some months, in 1852, a subordinate officer in Tae-ping-wang's army.

We pause awhile on this strange issue of events: the disappointed scholar now became a claimant of the Imperial throne! He who, a little time before, came to Canton, and was there regarded with distrust and jealousy, and who, under a course of discriminative teaching might have become an effective native preacher, but only a native preacher, partially trusted and inadequately appreciated, has thus been led by the course of events (or, shall we not rather say, by the guidance of Divine Providence?) to strike out a path for himself, and in his own peculiar way marches direct towards the attainment of his object—Universal Empire, as the king and priest of the regenerated Chinese nation.

What self-delusions, what temptations, what perils environ such a position! What fears and tremblings are raised, lest the sincere religious enquirer of a former date may have degenerated, not merely into the fanatical iconoclast and enthusiast, but also into the ambitious hypocrite, employing the arts of king-craft, or the pious frauds of a middle-age Christianity, in controlling and over-awing the multitude of obedient followers, who have advanced under his ruling guidance through the whole length of the Southern and Central Provinces, and now hold in their undisputed possession the ancient capital of their Empire! Let not the future chronicler of this unprecedented era in Chinese history pass the too severe judgment of unmingled animadversion, if a Chinese hero, reared on a soil so long shut out from the rays of the sun of Western civilization, has fallen before a trial which proved too sore a temptation for a Napoleon and a Cromwell. Ere long, a more intimate access to the insurgents, and improved opportunities of missionary intercourse with the leaders, will clear up every mystery, and dispel every uncertainty. Let Christendom look hopefully,

and judge charitably, and pray earnestly, that where so much of super-human guidance has been observable, the same great Almighty Disposer of events, and Ruler of hearts, may interpose His power, and direct the final issue to the welfare of China, and the glory of His own great name!

We would extend this Article to too great a length, if we were to follow the new movement and its leaders step by step in their advances on the career of victory. We must content ourselves with a momentary allusion to the rapid spread of the rebellion from Kin-teen, the place in which the first collision ensued, until whole districts, and even provinces, were convulsed, and the Imperial Government itself shaken to its base. After quitting their mountain-fastnesses in the south, they met few reverses. In not a single conflict of arms, which can be dignified with the name of a regular battle, do they appear ever to have sustained a defeat. As early as the summer of 1851, we heard rumours of disturbances in Kwang-se, of the defeat of the military, the capture of Imperial ammunition, commissariat and treasure, and of the anxiety occasioned to the Vice-Regal Government at Canton. But even then, in a country where incredulity of the truth is often a natural consequence of that caution against giving a ready credence to rumour, which a knowledge of the character of the people unhappily is calculated to foster, there were few foreigners who regarded these tumults as in any important particular dissimilar from the disturbances engendered in every reign by official cupidity and oppression. But in 1852, matters began to wear a more serious aspect. The rebels had advanced into the adjacent province of Hoonan, on their course northward, and gave a pledge and a proof that they were prepared for the grand struggle, not merely for existence, but for Empire itself. It was, however, towards the end of 1852, that the movement of Tae-ping-wang made its most rapid strides. The rebel army over-ran Hoopeh, took various important cities, abandoned them at their leisure for more convenient localities, and pressed forward towards Nanking together with their families—a necessary precaution in a land where personal torture and death are the penalty of a relative's political offences. As each city was deserted by the advancing force, the Imperialists returned to their posts, forged lying reports of battles won and armies overcome, and thus helped to swell, in the *Peking Gazette*, the catalogue of Imperial successes and insurgent reverses—which so long deceived the Emperor, and misled not a few of the foreign residents in China. The year 1853 opened gloomily upon the Imperial Government. On November 30, 1852,

the insurgents left Changsha, the capital of Hoonan. On December 13th, they had crossed the Tung-tong lake, and entered the main stream of the Yang-tye-keang. Various important places on either side of the river fell into their hands. Three provincial capitals, which stand upon that noble artery of inland traffic, were taken within less than the same number of months. Woochang, the capital of Hoopeh—N-gangking, the capital of Guanhwui—and lastly, Nanking itself, the old capital of the Empire—succumbed before the new power, and submitted almost without a blow. On the 19th of March, 1853, they entered the city of Nanking, through a breach effected in the walls by a mine, and 20,000 Manchow Tartars were indiscriminately slaughtered. The capture of Chinkeang gave them the key of the "Grand Canal." Various desultory movements appear also to have been made from the northward upon the province of Keang-se, and large sums of tribute and indemnity were received. But it was the comprehensive plan of the leader to strike a blow at the vital parts of the Empire. Concentrating his main force in Nanking and Chinkeang, he despatched a select body of patriot warriors in a northern direction. The result is well known. From Keangnan they advanced into the province of Hoonan, the capital of which, Kaefungfoo (noted for its ancient colony of Jews,) fell into their hands. Crossing the Yellow River, they over-ran Shanse, and passed thence into the Imperial province of Pechili. Advancing in a course of rapid and unchecked victory, they press forward to Peking. The cowardly Imperialist leaders keep at a safe distance in their rear, and re-occupy quietly the various towns and cities which the insurgents have left. Hence arise new exultations in the Imperial Court; and decorations, promotions and rewards are lavishly bestowed on the fortunate Generals, who have been successful in driving the fleeing rebels. But *the flight of the patriots has ever been in the direction of Peking;* and the mind of the reader is partly amused, and partly disgusted, with those complicated details of cunning deception and palpable cowardice, which mark the official reports of the insurgent army's progress, and stamp with the appearance of mad infatuation the Imperial edicts of the last of the Manchow dynasty. Even while we write, we hear the rumour confirmed of Teentsin, the outpost of Peking on the Pei-ho, being invested and captured; and ere this, the northern capital itself must have become the scene of occurrences, which will soon decide the question of Empire.

But we have somewhat anticipated the course of events, and we have to retrace our steps a little in our narrative, in order

that we may notice the circumstances which brought foreign nations more immediately into contact with the two great parties in this struggle. Early in the year 1853, universal panic had spread among the high functionaries in the vicinity of the Yangtzekeang, and application was made, on behalf of the Chinese Government, to the representatives of foreign powers, for assistance in their time of need. This brought the British and American plenipotentiaries to Shanghae; and various communications passed, from which it would be evident to the local authorities, that the British plenipotentiary, at least, would not lend an ear to such a proposal. Finding that the Taoutae of Shanghae was propagating false reports, that the foreign war-steamers had entered the service of the Emperor, and were about to proceed to Nanking to exterminate the rebels, Sir George Bonham wisely (as it appears to us) determined to ascertain by a personal visit the true character of the insurgents, and himself to convey to their chief a true statement as to the neutral position of the British in the civil war. The result and details of the visit of the *Hermes* steamer are well known. As she passed up the Yangtzekeang, the floating debris of wooden idols were drifted along, covering the bosom of its spacious waters, and proclaiming the anti-idolatrous principle of the rebellion. In spite of a temporary misunderstanding at Chinkeang—the natural effect of the false reports spread by the mandarins respecting the attitude of the foreigners—the British plenipotentiary met at Nanking a friendly reception—a frank openness characterized their communications—mutual explanations were made—the religious element which pervaded the movement was satisfactorily tested—copies of the Tae-ping-wang edicts, proclamations and manifestoes were brought away—and with the return of the *Hermes* to Shanghae, foreign Governments may be said for the first time to have awoke to the importance of this movement in the interior of China; and tardily (and in some cases, it must be added, reluctantly) to have recognized in the rebel chief the leader of the patriot cause, and the national reformer of modern China.

We again pause momentarily to contemplate the moral spectacle presented to our view at Nanking—the novel sight of 100,000 men—bound together by the same religious hopes and by one political aim—following implicitly the guidance of a leader whom they believe to be sent by God and commissioned from Heaven to expel their foreign rulers, and to subvert idolatry throughout the land, and leagued together for a great religio-political end, for the attainment of which they are willing to bear years of patient toil and conflict. Such a sight is truly marvellous, even in this

age of wonders. As a mere phenomenon of psychological science, it is, both as to extent and magnitude, a fact unrivalled in modern times. To behold not only the unwarlike Chinese, but also their women, of gentler, weaker sex, following in the train of the rebel host—wives fighting by the side of their husbands, and all animated by a common ardour and hope—is a sight never before witnessed in the history of this race. At Nanking itself, the sexes are separated, the ordinary bliss of domestic life is suspended, and connubial joys are relinquished, under the special exigencies of the present crisis, and in the confident prospect of the impending cessation of the necessity for these restrictions in the approaching consummation of their conquest of the Empire. For this end they forego luxury, wealth and self-indulgence: private soldiers and their officers, consuming their frugal fare at one common table, supported from one common treasury, and their meal sanctified by the same grace of thanksgiving to God. Throughout their long line of march, for 1,500 miles, over fertile and populous districts—plunder, murder, and rape, the usually attendant curses of Asiatic warfare, were denounced and punished by death. With more than Puritanical strictness, they waged an internecine war with the most dearly cherished sensual habits of their countrymen. The ten moral rules of the *Decalogue* were enforced, and a stricter interpretation attached to its terms. Amorous glances, libidinous songs, and all the common incentives to profligacy, were prohibited and abandoned. The drinking of wine, the smoking of tobacco, gambling, lying, swearing, and, above all, indulgence in the fumes of opium, were denounced and abolished with a moral determination which permitted no half measures. The Sabbath-day (kept through an astronomical error in their calendar on the seventh, instead of the first, day of the week) has been sanctified, and God's institution in Paradise is observed in the setting apart of one day in seven to the more immediate service of the Almighty Daily worship is celebrated, appointed preachers fulfil the office of public instructors, and the imperfect lessons of religious truth are in their own peculiar way enforced. Over every company of twenty-five women an instructress is appointed, to train and prepare the female mind for the duties and doctrines of the new religion. According to the report of the Rev. Dr. Taylor, after his visit to the insurgents in Chinkeang, during the month of June last, moral decorum and the signs of order were every where conspicuous. At the dawn of each day the various guard-houses on the city-wall became the scene of religious services; and the different military companies

rendered those structures vocal with the melody of prayer and praise. Doxologies and hymns were sung to the Trinity; and the notes of thanksgiving, and the words of united supplication, arose from those assembled fraternal bands, with closed eyes and uplifted palms, meekly kneeling on their bended knees, as they presented their morning sacrifice of devotion to the one true God, the heavenly Father, through the one Mediator and Redeemer Jesus Christ, in dependence on the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost. Surely there is something in all this, which invests with an almost super-human dignity and sublimity the scenes which we have been surveying. If even a small proportion of vital truth and sincere piety operate as a leaven of good among this heterogeneous multitude, who now, in the two most important keys and inlets to the whole Empire, pause for a season in their course of arduous conflict, and profess to await the further intimation of Heaven's will—then it may be fearlessly affirmed, that on the eventful day on which the flag of Tae-ping-wang floated triumphantly from the battlements of Nanking, a light has been kindled in the Empire of China, which shall never be extinguished, and those first and faint glimmerings of religious truth will brighten with increasing clearness, and "shine more and more unto perfect day."

But it may be said that the existence of a Christian element in the movement is a supposition incompatible with the known and acknowledged fact, that it is also a rebellion against the constituted authorities, and an organized resistance to "the powers that be." Better far (say such objectors) that the Native Christians suffer persecution, bonds, torture, and even death itself, rather than that the religion of the meek and lowly Saviour should be associated with the violence and tumult of civil war. We shall be more inclined to give weight to these depreciatory arguments, when the objectors themselves have been placed in circumstances of trial, demanding a similar exercise of faith and submission to the will of God, and shall have therein exemplified the virtues of unqualified non-resistance and passive obedience. It is, doubtless, an easy matter for Christian critics, reposing in the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, to speak volubly and to talk dogmatically respecting the duty of patience under injury and loyalty towards rulers. But do such persons call to mind the severe struggles and fierce conflicts, by which their forefathers won liberty of conscience and immunity from persecution? If, under no circumstances of magisterial oppression and legalized wrong, it be allowable to a sincere Christian to avail himself of the physical means of redressing his

grievances, which the Almighty has placed within his reach—then where had been the glorious revolution of 1688?—where the bill of rights, the act of toleration, and the whole structure of those civil and religious blessings, which form the palladium and strength of British freedom and law? In short, if the words of the Apostle Paul, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," are held to mean that there are no limits, no qualifications, no possible and allowable exception to the demand upon mankind of an unreasoning, unquestioning, unresisting obedience, then the whole of history will have to be re-written. The heroes, who live in a nation's memory as liberators of their country and benefactors of their race, forthwith sink in our estimate, down to the level of mere malefactors and criminals. The seven bishops, who opposed the arbitrary tyranny of the Popish James, dishonoured the office, and sullied the name of ministers of Christ. John Hampden and John Pym should find a place in the annals of crime, rather than in the records of a grateful nation's praise. The barons at Runnymede, who compelled King John to sign the Magna Charta of English rights, deserve only the reprobation of mankind. The Scottish covenanters, who on the bleak hillside raised the standard of rebellion against the royal violator of their conscience, and oppressor of their creed, should live only in our memory as beacons of warning against fanatical "doers of evil that good may come." Luther, Calvin, and Knox would be remembered, not as the achievers of victory over priest-craft, and the restorers of spiritual and intellectual freedom to one-half of Christendom, but as the arch-fomenters of sedition against the Most High. Then, to ascend far higher in the scale of illustration, the apostles of Christ, who, in spreading the Gospel in various countries contrary to the mandates of princes, kings and magistrates, choose to obey God rather than man—yea, even our Blessed Lord Himself, who, foreseeing the certain issue of the Psalmist's prediction, "Why do the heathen 'rage, and the people imagine a vain thing: the kings 'of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel 'together, against the Lord and against His anointed," yet determined and commanded that His Gospel should be preached unto every creature, under every clime, under every form of Government, and in spite of every opposing error, did in truth present in their own conduct, words and example, the appearance of irreconcilable contrariety and opposition to the fundamental law of unqualified obedience and subjection to the powers that be. The truth is, that God often permits great blessings to flow to mankind from the source of

mixed motives in the primary instruments of civil, social, and religious improvement. It has not unfrequently happened also that the immediate actors in the great moral revolutions of a people, and the most prominent and active co-operators in a national deliverance, are not the most favourable specimens of the good cause which they represent; for the precise reason, that a high order of Christian piety shrinks from public observation in times of great excitement, and loves rather the sequestered lowly vale than the exposed and lofty mountain-top. It is seldom found that the more active champions of reform, and the more distinguished advocates of civil freedom, are seen amongst the more distinguished cases of eminent piety and spirituality of mind. The excitement of public life, even when occurring in the path of legitimate duty, is calculated to weaken, to paralyze, and to deaden the spiritual sensibilities, and the emotions of inward love to God. Why then should we single out the chief actors in a Christian movement in a Pagan land, and expect of them more exalted principles of action than in the ordinary average conduct of the common class of Christians at home? Why should we demand, as a preliminary condition of according our sympathies to Tae-ping-wang and his confréres, a more elevated superiority to the considerations of prospective rack and torture, than that which characterized the public example of those whom all Christendom in all ages have agreed to praise? And more especially, it may be asked, in what consists the reasonableness, the fairness and common sense of those who consign to the infamy of mere brigands, and riotous disturbers of the public peace, a body of Native Christians, "babes in Christ," who, imperfectly enlightened in the faith, groping their way in partial darkness towards full maturity of Christian principle, and only half emerging from the associations, habits and modes of thought of their pristine heathenism, are thrown upon evil times of persecution, and in their extremity of despair, have been unable to exhibit that pattern of perfect meekness, resignation and submission, which the best instructed Christians, in circumstances most favourable to the cultivation of holiness, have felt it exceedingly difficult to realize and maintain? We are no advocates of revolutionary principles, and no apologists for disobedience to law. It must be always deemed an abnormal condition of Government, when peaceably disposed citizens are unable to lead a quiet and godly life. We must ever distinguish between the laws of a country and the unrighteous decrees of a tyrant. There was in China an edict of religious toleration in favour of Christianity, and in spite of its provisions, the Christians were

persecuted and oppressed. No Protestant missionary (had such been present among their body) could have dared to counsel the insurgent chiefs to try the issue of civil war. With the fuller light and insight into the Holy Scriptures, which a fully instructed European Christian enjoys, to have fomented rebellion, would have been in him a crime. With a less distinct perception of evangelical truth, to have entered on a course of resistance to constituted authority, was, in the insurgent leaders themselves, simply an error and a fault. The progress of truth and liberty has ever been maintained by a series of such collisions with the ruling powers; and the rebels of to-day, if to-morrow crown their efforts with success, become henceforth known as the patriots and heroes of their age.

But it is not uncommon to hear from the same class of objectors the assertion, that the pseudo-revelations, the pretended ascent of the leader to heaven, the communications with the Deity, and the personal descent of the Almighty Himself, to hold intercourse and afford counsel to the insurgent chief, of which we have statements in some of Tae-ping-wang's religious books, stamp the whole movement with the brand of imposture, and justify the universal reprobation throughout Christendom, of the revolutionary cause, as a mere assemblage of Mormonite sensualists and fanatic deceivers. But a reply to such an extreme view has already been given by anticipation, when mention was made of the illness to which the chief was subject, subsequent to the period when he first received a Christian book. We may assume that these supposed visions had their origin in a disordered brain, at a time when the imagination was active, and the hallucinations of a diseased mind were likely to produce an abiding impression upon the memory, so that the real and the imaginary became confused, and extravagant ideas retained their hold upon a newly awakened and partially converted soul. There are other grievous errors for which no such apology can be made, and which the future instructions of foreign missionaries may possibly correct; but which may create great difficulties hereafter to the spread of the pure Gospel in China. There are also fabricated accounts of God's interposition on behalf of the chief, by a bodily visit to the camp, which indicate that some individual among the leaders, and as we strongly suspect, the second in command, Yang-sew-tsing, the Eastern king, has been guilty of the endeavour to exalt his chief, at the expense of truth, and has deliberately penned a series of foolish stories, in order to overawe the multitude, and deepen in their minds the belief that the insurgent leaders are under the special protection of God. In all

probability, there are two classes of men, even among the leaders themselves; the one, sincere enthusiasts, deeming themselves specially called by God to carry out the work of a grand national reformation; the other, men influenced by mixed motives, and less palpably governed by religious sanctions, willing to employ the arts of invention and the frauds of kingly priestcraft, for the purposes of political self-aggrandizement. There are other expressions in the religious proclamations, which are calculated to shock us by the familiarity with which they speak of heaven and its tenants, amid the things seen in visions, which, however, may receive an easy explanation from the sense likely to be put upon isolated passages of Holy Writ, by a Pagan scholar imperfectly instructed in the Gospel.

The same may be said in extenuation also of the barbarities practised on the Manchow Tartars, who fell into their hands. They fell into the error of supposing that they were called by God to exterminate the oppressors of their country and the abettors of idolatry. Drawing their examples more from the Pentateuch than from the New Testament, they emulated Joshua at the head of the armies of Israel, rather than Paul the Apostle and prisoner of Jesus Christ. Hence the rebel chief deemed himself commissioned from heaven to exterminate the "Tartar imps," and to inflict the judicial punishments dealt to the Canaanites of old, upon the foreign rulers of China. Those who know China, her people, her government, her customs and her rules of warfare, will not be surprised that no quarter was given, and that indiscriminate slaughter of the Tartar garrison followed upon the capture of Nanking. Where all the principles of civilized warfare are violated, and treacherous revenge, more frequently than generous gratitude, is the emotion awakened in the mind of those who have been spared from death, there are considerations, far short of gratuitous cruelty, which may have influenced the insurgents, in the flush of victory, to slay their Tartar enemies in self-defence. Let the case of Samqua, the ex-Taoutae of Shanghae, spared by local insurgents on the capture of that city, and allowed to escape by the secret connivance of the insurgent leaders, and yet immediately afterwards breaking his parole, joining the camp of Imperialist besiegers, taking piratical fleets into his pay, and spreading incendiarism, slaughter, violence and plunder, with all the barbarities of Oriental retaliation upon the besieged, in the vain hope of re-capturing the city and saving himself from Imperial displeasure and ruin, furnish some specimen of the terrible alternative imposed by the cruelties of

Chinese warfare, and the treacherous ingratitude of their opponents, upon the leaders of the Tae-ping confederated host.

But there is another point on which public opinion in Europe needs to be corrected, and a denial should be given to those groundless charges, which the public press of France has brought against the Chinese insurgents, of ruthless massacres of Roman Catholic Christians. If we may judge of the effect which these statements of interested parties in France have produced upon a portion of the English press, too much importance cannot be given to the fact that the French steamer *Cassini*, which conveyed, in December last, the French plenipotentiary to Nanking, with a body of Romish priests not favourably disposed towards the insurgents, has returned to Shanghae without having obtained any information corroborative of such a calumny; and to the credit of one at least of the public officials who went on the expedition, the admission has been frankly made, that there are little or no grounds for such an accusation. We always believed that, upon due enquiry, it would be found that no Roman Catholics had been punished *as such*. If the Native Romanists act as spies, or endeavour to bring the revolutionary movement into discredit by false reports, they must be prepared to bear the consequences of such a departure from neutrality. The real truth appears to be, however, that the patriot leaders, intent on the work of a great national reformation of religion, and unskilled in the art of making a distinction without a difference—in the first out-burst of iconoclastic zeal, mistook the images of Mary and the Saints for idols of the Budhistic sect, and perpetrated acts of mutilation and demolition upon the carved and gilded figures in the interior of Romish chapels. And, assuredly, our friends of the Roman Catholic persuasion should moderate their anger, and exercise a little fairness of judgment, ere they strive to forestall and pre-occupy the public mind of France, and through France that of Europe and America, with prejudices and accusations against a movement, which demands rather the friendly sympathy and aid of those who watch with interest the first symptoms of a great nation awaking from the moral and intellectual slumbers of more than twenty centuries. There are others who, more than Tae-ping-wang, deserve blame, if in each religious system alike, the burning of incense, the prostration before images, the tinkling of bells, the rosaries of beads, the prominent representation of a woman with a male child in her arms, and the whole detailed paraphernalia of temple shows and processions, did, forsooth, to

uninitiated minds, furnish strong suspicions of mutual resemblance, and led a body of Native Christians, newly converted from Paganism, and recently aroused to a sense of the falsehood of the idolatry and superstition from which they had emerged, to confound Romish and Budhistic rites.

There are important questions which we have to consider respecting the character of the religion of the insurgents, *e. g*, Are its doctrines essentially those of the Christian religion? Do the elements of truth preponderate over those of error? Are the defects, which may be observable among them, such as constitute a reasonable ground for condemning the whole movement as one of unmingled evil and the work of Satanic power? Or, on the other hand, are they the natural shortcomings of a body of imperfectly enlightened men, placed in a situation of novel difficulty, labouring under almost unexampled disadvantages in their pursuit of truth, without spiritual instructors and guides, with only a few copies of the Holy Scriptures, and those apparently in small, detached, and fragmentary portions, with no forms of prayer or manuals of devotion, having their time distracted amid the arduous toil of a campaign and the work of religious proselytism, with no definite views or clear knowledge respecting the Sacraments, the Christian ministry, or the constitution of a church—engaged in a struggle of life and death—and yet, amid all these hindrances and drawbacks, evincing a hopeful, praiseworthy, and promising vigour of mind and independence of action, in the great undertaking of a moral revolution of their country?

We do not hesitate to assert that ours is the latter and the more favourable view. Fully sensible of the possible difficulties which missionaries may hereafter experience in their dealings with a body of Native Christians who have been called by the course of circumstance to strike out a peculiar path for themselves—we nevertheless incline to the hope that more unrestricted intercourse with European Christians will hereafter correct their misconceptions on a few points of doctrine and practice. Even the perceptible errors of the Tae-ping religious manifestoes are to be viewed with indulgence, and ought not to be deemed a positive and deliberate abnegation of Christian truth, but rather as the enunciation of unintentionally defective and imperfect views. The absence of any protest against the national polygamy of China is not to be wondered at in those who read of the practice in this particular, of faithful Abraham, the friend of God. Their material offerings presented to each person of the Trinity may be nothing more than a well-

intentioned, though erroneous, transference of their former Pagan modes of honouring false gods to the service of the one true God; or may have been in the infancy of their religious knowledge, borrowed from the institution of show-bread in the Jewish tabernacle. The isolated passage, which appears to involve a denial of the Trinity, is one in which the rival-emperor renounces the proud titles of former Chinese Monarchs, because their usage would be an encroachment upon the peculiar terms of honour applicable only to the great God (Shang-te), coupled with the assertion that even Jesus the Saviour of the world is called only *lord* (Choo) and not *God* (Te)* But this is a very different assertion from that of the Socinian, who denies the Atonement of our Lord If copies of the New Testament had been extensively circulated among them, the confession of Thomas would doubtless have been that of the religious leaders among the insurgents—"My *lord*, and my GOD!" It will be seen that theirs is rather an imperfect and partial insight into evangelical truth, than a positive and dogmatic asseveration of anti-Christian

* It has been customary in native compositions, whenever the Chinese names or titles of the Emperor occur, to commence a new column as a mark of honour, and to place the Imperial name higher in the page by the space of two Chinese words. The name of the Supreme Being is similarly honoured, but has the distinction of being raised three spaces in the page An interesting modification of this usage is perceptible in the Imperial proclamations and manifestoes of Tae-ping-wang The name of the Almighty God the Father is elevated three spaces,—that of Jesus Christ is raised two spaces,—and the Imperial name and titles of Tae-ping-wang himself are lowered one degree from the customary position, and receive the elevation of only one space As minds are differently biassed, this fact will be differently judged To us, however, it appears an indication that the insurgent leaders, although viewing Jesus Christ as inferior to the Father as touching his humanity, recognize his superiority to the most exalted of earthly potentates as touching His divinity.

While the Imperial titles are raised by only one space, it is interesting to observe that in their list of authorized books (published as a Preface to each volume) with the Imprimatur of Tae-ping wang—the words "Old" and "New Testament" each receive *an elevation of three spaces* in the enumeration,—whereas Tae-ping-wang's name even when forming a portion of the title of books of their own original composition, is only raised by *one* space. This seems to be a plain recognition of the paramount divine authority of the Holy Scriptures as *God's book* above books of human authorship, and suggests the hope that where so vital and vivifying an element of essential truth is present—errors will be rectified and defects expurgated, by the general circulation and perusal of the word of God, as the best and surest corrective of imperfect views on the more mysterious doctrines of the Gospel. The portions of Holy Scriptures, which they have already published, exceed in quantity of contents all the other books, which are of their own composition, added together. In the books recently brought from Nanking, there is an impression in red ink from a large moveable die or stamp with the two characters, CHE CHUN, "THE IMPERIAL WILL PERMITS"—surrounded by the usual Imperial symbols This Imprimatur is stamped upon the first page of the text in every book. With such a fact as this before us, every unprejudiced mind will perceive that there is a new era of hope for the Chinese Empire.

error. The most unexceptionable statements of religious truth abound in their books; and there are some passages even of eloquent sublimity in these effusions of the insurgent chiefs. Commencing with the earliest periods of Chinese history, they dwell with patriotic earnestness on the fact that China herself once possessed a more correct knowledge and a purer worship of the one Supreme Being. They speak of the worship of the one God (Shang-te) by the great ancestors of the Chinese race, and dwell on the effects of subsequent deterioration, by which they fell into the wicked custom of worshipping depraved spirits (shin). They speak of the further lapse from demonolatry into idolatry, and expose the folly of worshipping creatures of wood and stone, rather than the great God (Shang-te), the Creator and Preserver of the world. In their various original forms of daily prayer, they acknowledge the fall of man, the depravity of the human heart, the universal liability of mankind to condemnation, the divine method of recovery through the atoning death of Jesus, and the need of the enlightening and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. They speak of diabolical agencies as a grave reality, against which they are to be constantly watchful unto prayer; and they give a prominent importance to the work of the Holy Spirit on the heart, as the great Almighty Agent in man's renovation. They acknowledge with high-minded candour, that Christianity, so far from being viewed with prejudice as the religion of foreigners, ought rather to be regarded with approval as a return towards the primitive simplicity of Chinese patriarchal worship, and a disencumbering of the national religion of those later corruptions, which demonolatry and idolatry had introduced.

"Some also say erroneously, that to worship the great God '(Shang-te) is to imitate foreigners; not remembering that 'China has her histories, which are open to investigation. 'From the time of Pwan-koo" (the first man of whom the Chinese speak) "down to the period of the three dynasties, 'both princes and people honoured and worshipped the great 'God (Shang-te.)

"The fact is, that, according to the histories of both the 'Chinese and foreign nations, the important duty of worship-'ping the great God, in the early ages of the world, several 'thousand years ago, was practised alike both by Chinese and 'foreigners. But the various foreign nations in the West have 'practised this duty up to the present time, while the Chinese 'only practised it up to the Tsin and Han dynasties; since 'which time they have erroneously followed the devil's ways, 'and allowed themselves to be deceived by the king of Hades.

'Now, however, the great God, out of compassion to the chil-
'dren of men, has displayed His great power, and delivered
'men from the machinations of the evil one, causing them
'to retrace their steps, and again to practise the great duty
'which was performed of old."

Equally clear and decided is their recognition of the fall of the Chinese nation into the depths of ignorance and sin against God, and the need of a revelation of the divine method of man's recovery.

"Who has ever lived in the world without offending against
'the commands of Heaven? But until this time no one has
'known how to obtain deliverance from sin. Now, however,
'the great God has made a gracious communication to man,
'and from henceforth whosoever repents of his sins in the
'presence of the great God (Shang-te) and avoids worshipping
'depraved spirits (shin), practising perverse things, or trans-
'gressing the divine commands, may ascend to heaven, and
'enjoy happiness for thousands and myriads of years in plea-
'sure and delight, with dignity and honour, world without
'end."

Again, however indistinctly the Divinity and Atonement of our Lord are sometimes alluded to in their writings, there are other passages in which that fundamental doctrine of the Gospel is declared in its full proportions and prominence. In the *Ode for Youth*, the probable Text-Book hereafter of the children of every Chinese official throughout the eighteen provinces, in the event of China being ruled by a professedly Christian Emperor—there occur the following lines in metrical verse on

REVERENCE TO JESUS.

"Jesus His first born Son,
Was in former times sent by God,
He willingly gave his life to redeem us from sin,
Of a truth His merits are pre-eminent.
His Cross was hard to bear,
The sorrowing clouds obscured the sun;
The adorable Son, the honoured of heaven,
Died for you, children of men.
After His resurrection He ascended to heaven,
Resplendent in glory, He wields authority supreme.
In Him we know that we may trust,
To secure salvation and ascend to heaven."

The term "Celestial Elder Brother" is often applied by the insurgent leader to Jesus; but those who are familiar with Chinese ideas and modes of expression, will know that there is nothing derogatory in that phrase. The term "children of

God" is also in the Holy Scriptures applied to all true believers, who are "heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ." "For which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren." The only extravagance of idea in the mind of the chief, is the occasional symptom of his deeming himself to be a "son of God" in a peculiar sense, as commissioned and sent by God to accomplish the work of a National Reformation. In one of the publications there is also a revolting familiarity in his description of heavenly scenes, and his reference to the "wife" of Jesus. But there are not a few passages in the New Testament, in which our Lord calls himself the "bridegroom," and his church the "bride." By a well-instructed mind these figurative expressions are in no danger of being misunderstood. But such a passage as the following, memorized by a newly converted Pagan, or read from the New Testament, might easily be wrested from its allegorical representation of the relation between Christ and his church, and be regarded as a literal picture of heaven and its inhabitants:—"Let us be glad and 'rejoice and give honour to him; for the marriage of the Lamb 'is come; and his *wife* hath made herself ready. And to her 'was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean 'and white."

But such defects as these are but the exceptional blemishes, and are not irremediable under the more favourable circumstances hereafter of a foreign missionary influence. Amid all the error, enthusiasm and defect of these religious manifestoes, they give forth to the reading population of China such sentiments of moral and religious truth as never before sounded in the ears of this people. With one blow they demolish the superstitious distinction between lucky and unlucky days, and pronounce a blessing upon every season as alike fortunate, which has been consecrated by prayer to their Father in heaven. Each person of the Trinity is acknowledged in his appropriate office, as bearing a part in the work of a soul's salvation. The Sabbath is sanctified as the holy-day of the Lord. Thanksgivings are offered up at each meal to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Time would fail us, and the limits of this Article forbid us to enter into the detailed proofs which might be derived from lengthened quotations. The following extract will suffice to show that the great scheme of redemption has been set forth in their books; and that, instead of meriting such criticisms as those observable in some of the public prints, dealing to them the depreciatory epithets of Mahomedan, Mormonite or Unitarian, they claim our sympathies as propagating the great and

rominent truths of a Protestant and Trinitarian Christianity. We may preface our closing quotation with the words of the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, of Shanghae, one who, after thirty years of Chinese studies, has had full opportunities of appreciating all that deserves appreciation in the ancient classical literature of China. He speaks of the following hymn in these strains :—

"These lines constitute the redeeming feature of the whole book; they deserve to be written in letters of gold, and we could desire nothing better for the Chinese, than that they were engraven on every heart. This one hymn is worth the four books and the five classics of the Chinese all put together."

The "book of religious precepts of the Tae-ping dynasty" contains, in the form of a hymn, this plain avowal of the Atonement of Christ and the way of salvation :—

"How different are the true doctrines from the doctrines of the world!
They save the souls of men, and lead to the enjoyment of endless bliss:
The wise receive them with exultation, as the source of their happiness:
The foolish, when awakened, understand thereby the way to heaven.
Our heavenly Father, of His great mercy and unbounded goodness,
Spared not His first-born son, but sent Him down into the world,
To give His life for the redemption of all our transgressions,
The knowledge of which, coupled with repentance, saves the souls of men."

But after such an insight into the theoretical knowledge of Christianity among the insurgents, we may notice briefly some of the more prominent facts of its practical influence. And here it may be asserted, without fear of successful contradiction, that every new glimpse into the camp at Nanking has revealed additional proofs of the moral and religious nature of this movement. The recent visit of the *Cassini* has only confirmed the impressions produced by that of the *Hermes*. Incidental corroboration also is at hand. The letter of Dr. Medhurst, in the *North China Herald* of November 26th last, respecting a deserter from Tae-ping-wang's army, to whom allusion has already been made, has obtained an extensive circulation. We have ourselves, on more than one occasion, held intercourse with this native eye-witness of the scenes in the interior of the insurgent camp. Our testimony fully corroborates the report of Dr. Medhurst, when he writes of the air of candour and marks of sincerity which characterized the communications of a Chinese, who (by his own confession) was too weak to bear the Puritanical restrictions and moral prohibitions of Tae-ping-wang's camp. According to his statements, the books of Budha and of Taou were indiscriminately destroyed; while even the Confucian classics, and works of ancient history, appear to be subject to Tae-ping-wang's censorship, and to be published only in an *altered*, *i. e.* (as we may presume) an

adapted and christianized version :—"As for the priests, they 'dared not show their faces, and together with gamblers, opium-'smokers and whore-mongers, were scattered to the four winds. 'There was no use in talking about such, as they were utterly 'exterminated."

Unable to follow the details of this published letter, we have only space to quote Dr. Medhurst's concluding reflections :—

"What an extraordinary view does the above present of the insurgent army! What a *moral* revolution! To induce 100,000 Chinamen, for months and years together, to give up tobacco, opium, lust and covetousness; to deny themselves in lawful gratifications, and, what is dearer to a Chinaman's heart than life itself, to consent to live without dollars, and all share and share alike, braving death in its worst form, and persevering therein without flinching! There may be defective teaching among them, there may be errors of a greater or less magnitude—but if what is above detailed be true—or the half of it—it is confessedly a moral revolution—it is the wonder of the age."

The same missionary, three weeks later, on the 17th of December last, in a second letter to the same journal, gives an additional proof of the morality and religion of the insurgents, as furnished by an emissary from Tae-ping-wang's camp, who appears to have recently arrived at Shanghae from Nanking. It must be borne in mind that the local insurrections which terminated in the capture of Shanghae and Amoy, (the latter city has been since abandoned to the Imperialists,) had no direct connexion with the central rebellion of Tae-ping-wang at Nanking—being brought about by members of the Triad and other secret societies, which being confederated together for political and predatory objects, had no common bond of union or sympathy with the religious host of Tae-ping-wang. Although there have been recent symptoms of mutual correspondence, it was patent at an earlier period to every observer that the two bodies were distinct, and had no community of interest, except that of joint enmity to the Manchow dynasty. Dr. Medhurst was preaching in a chapel inside the walls of the city of Shanghae, since its capture by the Triad members. During his address, he was interrupted by a Kwang-so man, who harangued the by-standers on the truth of the missionary's doctrines, and their exact identity with those of Tae-ping-wang.

"I was descanting" (writes the reverend gentleman) "on the 'folly of idolatry, and urging the necessity of worshipping the 'one true God, on the ground that He alone could protect His

servants, while idols were things of nought, destined soon to perish out of the land; when suddenly a man stood up in the midst of the congregation, and exclaimed, 'That is true, that is true, the idols must perish, and shall perish. I am a Kwang-se man, a follower of Tae-ping-wang; we all of us worship one God (Shang-te), and believe in Jesus, while we do our utmost to put down idolatry; everywhere demolishing the temples, and destroying the idols, and exhorting the people to forsake these superstitions. When we commenced, two years ago, we were only 3,000 in number, and we have marched from one end of the Empire to the other, putting to flight whole armies of the Mandarin troops that were sent against us. If it had not been that God was on our side, we could not have thus prevailed against such overwhelming numbers: but now our troops have arrived at Teen-tsin,' (the out-port of Peking and distant only seventy miles therefrom,) 'and we expect soon to be victorious over the whole Empire. He then proceeded to exhort the people, in a most lively and earnest strain, to abandon idolatry, which was only the worship of devils, and the perseverance in which would involve them in the misery of hell; while by giving it up, and believing in Jesus, they would obtain the salvation of their souls. As for us, he said, we feel quite happy in the profession of our religion, and look on the day of our death as the happiest period of our existence. When any of our number die, we never weep, but congratulate each other on the joyful occasion, because a brother is gone to glory, to enjoy all the magnificence and splendour of the heavenly world. While continuing here, we make it our business to keep the commandments, to worship God, and to exhort each other to do good; for which end we have frequent meetings for preaching and prayer.'"

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"I could not help being struck" (continues Dr. Medhurst) "with the appearance of the man, as he went on in this earnest strain; bold and fearless as he stood, openly denouncing the vices of the people; his countenance beaming with intelligence; his upright and manly form, the very picture of health; while his voice thrilled through the crowd. They seemed petrified with amazement; their natural conscience assured them that his testimony was true; while the conviction seemed to be strong amongst them, that the two great objects of his denunciation, opium and idolatry, were both bad things, and must be given up."

We may at this point incidentally notice two or three questions formerly debated, but recently decided, by the personal

testimony of native eye-witnesses of credible authority. The Chinese revolution is not a Triad Society Movement. That large numbers of the members of these secret confederations joined in the insurrection during its earlier stages, is not improbable. It is now however certain, that Tae-ping-wang, chiefly on the ground of religious dissimilarity, rejected a considerable number of fighting men belonging to the Triad Society, who wished to join him a year or two ago. In the month of May last he inflicted a final blow upon their hopes, when it is said that 300 Triad members at Nanking were put to death, either for their treasonable disaffection, or a tumultuous rising against his rule. It appears that a profession of Christianity is made a compulsory condition of adhesion to his cause. The superscription of the Chinese character *shun*, "obedient," over the door of a house, is held a sufficient token of the submission of its inmates. But "brotherhood" and fraternization are connected with a profession of the same religious belief, the memorizing of the same forms of prayer, and the observance of the same daily rules. It will of course be apparent to every one that collateral disadvantages may result from this unbending law of forced religious conformity—in the insincerity of some, and the fanaticism of others, amid so heterogeneous a multitude. Their spiritual organization also appears to be more strict than was formerly supposed. As early as 1852, not only were there six kings (wang) with Tae-ping-wang as their head, sustaining the responsibility of the military control, the civil direction and the religious arrangements of the host; but there were also—(and a similar extemporized ecclesiastical constitution, doubtless, also now prevails)—twelve *kwoh-sze*, "national teachers," called also *tseih-sze*, "priests" (ἱερεῖς, sacrificial priests), whose distinctive office it was to administer baptism. Subordinate to them were twenty-four *chang laou*, "presbyters," or "elders" for each division of the camp, being above 200 "elders" in all for the whole army. It was the distinctive work of the "elders" to afford daily instruction, and to report fit subjects for baptism to the superior "national teachers" or "priests." These last named officers administer baptism, which is performed by dipping the face in a vessel of water, or by pouring water on the head, an invocation of the Trinity accompanying the rite. It appears also that the accounts of cruelties to idolatrous priests have been greatly exaggerated, and that the insurgent leaders have, in the more recent stages of the Rebellion, trusted less to physical arguments than to moral suasion. We observe an additional evidence of this fact in the increased activity of Tae-ping-wang's Christian press at Nanking. The *Cassini* brought down two additional original Tracts; and what is more

important to know, conveyed the pleasing intelligence that the whole of the Holy Scriptures are possibly in the course of publication. Whether there be any truth or not in the rumour that four hundred Chinese printers are kept constantly at work in publishing the religious books of Tae-ping-wang—it is evident that considerable activity now prevails in this department. In the month of May last the *Hermes* brought away only one portion of the Holy Scriptures, the first twenty-eight chapters of Genesis, according to Dr. Gutzlaff's version. The *imprimatur* of Tae-ping-wang as Emperor, with the superscription "Volume the first," led many persons to infer that it was probably but the beginning of a series of reprints of the Word of God. These hopes have been proved well grounded; and the *Cassini* has brought to Shanghae—(a strange freight for a French ship of war, with Romish priests on board)—additional volumes of the Holy Scriptures, consisting of the remainder of Genesis, the book of Exodus, according to Gutzlaff's version:—and (what is particularly a subject of congratulation for Protestant missionaries) a portion of the *New* Testament, consisting of St. Matthew's Gospel, printed almost *verbatim* from the version of Gutzlaff. Whatever may be written by prejudiced Papists, and by men of the world unfriendly to Missions, or incredulous of Protestant missionary results (for, with a few exceptions, the disbelievers in the religious character of the movement give occasional expression to sentiments incompatible with the supposition of their belonging to any other class)—we avow our candid belief and conscientious conviction, that, while there is not a little in this movement, on which we would suspend awhile our judgment, and which we regard as elements of future danger and possible difficulty in spreading the pure Gospel in China—the hopeful features of the case, and the real claims upon our favourable sympathies and good wishes, should greatly out-weigh the opposite in our estimate of its character. The finger of Divine Providence appears to us signally conspicuous in this revolution. The moral, social, and political condition of China was almost hopelessly wretched and debased. Its whole system of Government, of society and religion, was to be broken up, remodelled, re-constructed and renewed. In looking about for an agency available for such an end, the mind was depressed and perplexed. The Government was corrupt, the scholars were feeble and inert, the gentry were servile and timid, the lower classes were engrossed in the struggle for subsistence, the whole nation seemed bound hand and foot, with their moral energies paralyzed, their intellectual faculties stunted, and their civil liberties crushed beneath the iron gripe of power and the

debasing influence of sensuality. Political subjection to an effete despotism, and addiction to opium, had enervated the national mind, and rendered the Chinese helpless as a race.

From themselves no reformer appeared likely to arise. Their canonized virtue of filial piety was perverted and abused as the grand support of despotism. The Confucian system of political ethics had, after twenty-four centuries of experiment, been proved to be ineffective. Christianity suggested itself to every thinking mind as the sole panacea for the moral, social, and civil disorders of China. But a spread of the Gospel, during the present generation, even beyond the most sanguine expectations of missionaries, promised but a remote and a partial remedy. Besides, it was apparent to the observers of history, that it is only gradually, and at first almost insensibly, that the influence of Christianity elevates the tone of society, and changes the institutions of a people. The first converts to Christianity in a land do not ordinarily seek publicity or court the observation of the masses. Christian piety loves rather the quiet retirement of the "upper chamber" than the noise and busy throng of the forum. But it is in this state of perplexity and despondency that we turn to survey the present movement, its chief actors and its accomplished results; and beholding we admire, and admiring we thank God for, what our eyes are privileged to see. China, a little while ago, apparently firmly rooted in her antiquity, her exclusiveness and her immobility, was beyond the hope of change or of progress. But a new influence has affected her masses, and the vibrations of a new moral shock are propagated. A body of imperfectly enlightened men—under a leader following the impulses of a supposed mandate from Heaven, with sufficient perception of evangelical truth to give the sanction of the Gospel to his mission, and yet with such views of Christian doctrine and practice as permitted him to do those deeds of hardihood, of retribution and of violence, which a more matured insight into the spirit of Christianity would have checked and caused him to recoil from—was needed for a vigorous blow, which should result in the expulsion of Manchow rule and the subversion of Budhistic idolatry.

Such a body of men, under such a leader, we now behold in the insurgent army of Christian patriots under Tae-ping-wang at Nanking. Many delays may interpose to procrastinate the day of final settlement between the two parties in the struggle. The Chinese are averse to change, and wedded to old associations. The Manchows may retire to Tartary; and (as report states) already instructions have been forwarded to the governors of the maritime provinces to send the revenue no

onger to Peking, but to the Manchowian province of Shing-ting, on the Yellow Sea, whose capital is Mougden. The northern letachment of the patriot army is now in the vicinity of Pe-ing. Delay until the spring, or even defeat, or even exter-nination of that northern army before the Mongol troops,* who ave hastened to the northern frontier to avert the downfall of the Manchows, will only damage the prestige of the patriot ause, but cannot turn the tide of progressive victory, which has set in from the south, and will, ere long, bring the victorious bands of Tae-ping-wang himself to the northern capital. The political problem seems already solved; and the dynasty of the Manchow Tartars seems hopelessly falling, or fallen to rise no more. The immediate alternative seems to lie between the new dynasty of Tae-ping and the prevalence of anarchy. For the sake of this vast nation, for the sake of suffering humanity, and for the sake of the interests of pure Christianity, we desire to see a speedy consummation of the struggle, and a prompt termination of the intervening misery of transition of Empire. The future is not without hope; and a more glorious day may even shortly dawn upon this land, with all the suddenness, as well as the violence of Oriental Revolutions, and the vicissi-tudes of semi barbarous dynasties. Our hopes (under the con-trolling Providence of God) centre in Tae-ping-wang and his host of imperfectly enlightened warriors at Nanking The Empire once gained—missionary instructors hereafter welcomed —foreign intercourse enlarged—the arts and sciences of Western nations introduced—and public, official, and authoritative atten-tion to the claims of the Christian religion secured—it will probably then follow that the emissaries of the pure Gospel of Christ may be able to correct, improve, and purify that won-derful combination of essential truth with partial error, which has convulsed one-third portion of mankind, and attracted the universal gaze of Christendom.

The events which we have been considering will, doubtless,

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exercise a powerful and permanent influence upon China and her relations with foreign powers. New treaties will have to be formed; vast international interests will have to be adjusted; and the representatives of Western countries need to exercise a comprehensive largeness of views, and a moderate forbearance in dealing with those who may soon become the *de facto* rulers of China. A dignified firmness must be evinced in enforcing the right of open and unrestricted intercourse between all the members of the great family of mankind, whom the Almighty has rendered mutually dependent upon each other, in the artificial wants, which civilization creates, of the products of every soil and clime. We must not expect to see at once every vestige of Chinese idiosyncrasy removed, or their affected national supremacy instantaneously abandoned. The prime minister of Tae-ping-wang gave a somewhat cool reception to the French plenipotentiary recently at Nanking. For ourselves, we feel neither surprise nor regret that a foreign power, which has no commerce to protect in these Eastern seas —whose inaction in the interests of trade forms a strong temptation to dangerous intermeddling in the politics of Romish missions—and whose ships of war, as a roving squadron of missionary police, over the waters of the Pacific, have ever been too ready to abet the disputed claims, and to redress the imaginary grievances of the Jesuits throughout the East—should experience, on the first occasion of a diplomatic interview, the consequences of that distrust which the attitude of French officials in the matter of Romish feuds in Chusan has been calculated to provoke. The public notification, which was issued on Christmas-day last, to prepare the foreign community at Shanghae for a French bombardment of the Chinese city, in retaliation of injuries inflicted by the local rebels on a native Romish catechist, who had incurred the suspicion of being a spy, is too fresh in our recollection to render a more detailed specification necessary. The Governments of Britain and the United States, as the joint representatives of Anglo-Saxon religion, liberty, and laws, as the pioneers of commerce, of civilization and of free institutions throughout the world, as inheriting a common literature, and speaking a common language, which is destined to become the mother-tongue of infant States and Empires yet unborn; and, above all, as the favoured depositaries of a pure form of Christianity, and the common blessings of the Reformed faith, ought at this crisis to present a firm and united front, and to acquiesce in no acts of aggressive policy on the part of others, which may unduly depress China, and unjustly compromise her domestic

'servants, while idols were things of nought, destined soon to 'perish out of the land; when suddenly a man stood up in the 'midst of the congregation, and exclaimed, 'That is true, that is 'true, the idols must perish, and shall perish. I am a Kwang-se 'man, a follower of Tae-ping-wang; we all of us worship one 'God (Shang-te), and believe in Jesus, while we do our utmost 'to put down idolatry; everywhere demolishing the temples, 'and destroying the idols, and exhorting the people to forsake 'these superstitions. When we commenced, two years ago, 'we were only 3,000 in number, and we have marched from one 'end of the Empire to the other, putting to flight whole armies 'of the Mandarin troops that were sent against us. If it had 'not been that God was on our side, we could not have thus 'prevailed against such overwhelming numbers: but now our 'troops have arrived at Teen-tsin,' (the out-port of Peking and distant only seventy miles therefrom,) 'and we expect 'soon to be victorious over the whole Empire. He then pro-'ceeded to exhort the people, in a most lively and earnest 'strain, to abandon idolatry, which was only the worship of 'devils, and the perseverance in which would involve them in 'the misery of hell; while by giving it up, and believing in 'Jesus, they would obtain the salvation of their souls. As for 'us, he said, we feel quite happy in the profession of our religion, 'and look on the day of our death as the happiest period 'of our existence. When any of our number die, we never 'weep, but congratulate each other on the joyful occasion, be-'cause a brother is gone to glory, to enjoy all the magnificence 'and splendour of the heavenly world. While continuing 'here, we make it our business to keep the commandments, to 'worship God, and to exhort each other to do good; for which 'end we have frequent meetings for preaching and prayer.'"

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"I could not help being struck" (continues Dr. Medhurst) with the appearance of the man, as he went on in this earnest strain; bold and fearless as he stood, openly denouncing the vices of the people; his countenance beaming with intelligence; his upright and manly form, the very picture of health; while his voice thrilled through the crowd. They seemed petrified with amazement; their natural conscience assured them that his testimony was true; while the conviction seemed to be strong amongst them, that the two great objects of his denunciation, opium and idolatry, were both bad things, and must be given up."

We may at this point incidentally notice two or three questions formerly debated, but recently decided, by the personal

testimony of native eye-witnesses of credible authority. The Chinese revolution is not a Triad Society Movement. That large numbers of the members of these secret confederations joined in the insurrection during its earlier stages, is not improbable It is now however certain, that Tae ping wang, chiefly on the ground of religious dissimilarity, rejected a considerable number of fighting men belonging to the Triad Society, who wished to join him a year or two ago. In the month of May last he inflicted a final blow upon their hopes, when it is said that 500 Triad members at Nanking were put to death, either for their treasonable disaffection, or a tumultuous rising against his rule It appears that a profession of Christianity is made a compulsory condition of adhesion to his cause The superscription of the Chinese character *shun*, "obedient, over the door of a house, is held a sufficient token of the submission of its inmates But "brotherhood and fraternization are connected with a profession of the same religious belief, the memorizing of the same forms of prayer, and the observance of the same daily rules It will of course be apparent to every one that collateral disadvantages may result from this unbending law of forced religious conformity—in the insincerity of some, and the fanaticism of others, amid so heterogeneous a multitude Their spiritual organization also appears to be more strict than was formerly supposed As early as 1852, not only were there six kings (wang) with Tae ping wang as their head, sustaining the responsibility of the military control, the civil direction and the religious arrangements of the host, but there were also—(and a similar extemporized ecclesiastical constitution, doubtless, also now prevails)—twelve *kwoh sze* "national teachers," called also *tseih sze*, "priests' (ἱερεῖς, sacrificial priests), whose distinctive office it was to administer baptism Subordinate to them were twenty four *chang laou*, "presbyters," or "elders for each division of the camp, being above 200 "elders" in all for the whole army It was the distinctive work of the "elders" to afford daily instruction, and to report fit subjects for baptism to the superior "national teachers' or "priests' These last named officers administer baptism, which is performed by dipping the face in a vessel of water, or by pouring water on the head, an invocation of the Trinity accompanying the rite. It appears also that the accounts of cruelties to idolatrous priests have been greatly exaggerated, and that the insurgent leaders have, in the more recent stages of the Rebellion, trusted less to physical arguments than to moral suasion We observe an additional evidence of this fact in the increased activity of Tae-ping-wang's Christian press at Nanking. The *Cassini* brought down two additional original Tracts, and what is more

important to know, conveyed the pleasing intelligence that the whole of the Holy Scriptures are possibly in the course of publication. Whether there be any truth or not in the rumour that four hundred Chinese printers are kept constantly at work in publishing the religious books of Tae ping-wang—it is evident that considerable activity now prevails in this department. In the month of May last the *Hermes* brought away only one portion of the Holy Scriptures, the first twenty-eight chapters of Genesis, according to Dr Gutzlaff's version. The *imprimatur* of Tae-ping-wang as Emperor, with the superscription "Volume the first," led many persons to infer that it was probably but the beginning of a series of reprints of the Word of God. These hopes have been proved well grounded, and the *Cassini* has brought to Shanghae—(a strange freight for a French ship of war, with Romish priests on board)—additional volumes of the Holy Scriptures, consisting of the remainder of Genesis, the book of Exodus, according to Gutzlaff's version—and (what is particularly a subject of congratulation for Protestant missionaries) a portion of the *New* Testament, consisting of St Matthew's Gospel, printed almost *verbatim* from the version of Gutzlaff. Whatever may be written by prejudiced Papists, and by men of the world unfriendly to Missions, or incredulous of Protestant missionary results (for, with a few exceptions, the disbelievers in the religious character of the movement give occasional expression to sentiments incompatible with the supposition of their belonging to any other class)—we avow our candid belief and conscientious conviction, that, while there is not a little in this movement, on which we would suspend awhile our judgment, and which we regard as elements of future danger and possible difficulty in spreading the pure Gospel in China—the hopeful features of the case, and the real claims upon our favourable sympathies and good wishes, should greatly out-weigh the opposite in our estimate of its character. The finger of Divine Providence appears to us signally conspicuous in this revolution. The moral, social, and political condition of China was almost hopelessly wretched and debased. Its whole system of Government, of society and religion, was to be broken up, remodelled, re-constructed and renewed. In looking about for an agency available for such an end, the mind was depressed and perplexed. The Government was corrupt, the scholars were feeble and inert, the gentry were servile and timid, the lower classes were engrossed in the struggle for subsistence, the whole nation seemed bound hand and foot, with their moral energies paralyzed, their intellectual faculties stunted, and their civil liberties crushed beneath the iron gripe of power and the

debasing influence of sensuality. Political subjection to an effete despotism, and addiction to opium, had enervated the national mind, and rendered the Chinese helpless as a race.

From themselves no reformer appeared likely to arise. Their canonized virtue of filial piety was perverted and abused as the grand support of despotism. The Confucian system of political ethics had, after twenty-four centuries of experiment, been proved to be ineffective. Christianity suggested itself to every thinking mind as the sole panacea for the moral, social, and civil disorders of China. But a spread of the Gospel, during the present generation, even beyond the most sanguine expectations of missionaries, promised but a remote and a partial remedy. Besides, it was apparent to the observers of history, that it is only gradually, and at first almost insensibly, that the influence of Christianity elevates the tone of society, and changes the institutions of a people. The first converts to Christianity in a land do not ordinarily seek publicity or court the observation of the masses. Christian piety loves rather the quiet retirement of the "upper chamber" than the noise and busy throng of the forum. But it is in this state of perplexity and despondency that we turn to survey the present movement, its chief actors and its accomplished results; and beholding we admire, and admiring we thank God for, what our eyes are privileged to see. China, a little while ago, apparently firmly rooted in her antiquity, her exclusiveness and her immobility, was beyond the hope of change or of progress. But a new influence has affected her masses, and the vibrations of a new moral shock are propagated. A body of imperfectly enlightened men—under a leader following the impulses of a supposed mandate from Heaven, with sufficient perception of evangelical truth to give the sanction of the Gospel to his mission, and yet with such views of Christian doctrine and practice as permitted him to do those deeds of hardihood, of retribution and of violence, which a more matured insight into the spirit of Christianity would have checked and caused him to recoil from—was needed for a vigorous blow, which should result in the expulsion of Manchow rule and the subversion of Budhistic idolatry.

Such a body of men, under such a leader, we now behold in the insurgent army of Christian patriots under Tae-ping-wang at Nanking. Many delays may interpose to procrastinate the day of final settlement between the two parties in the struggle. The Chinese are averse to change, and wedded to old associations. The Manchows may retire to Tartary; and (as report states) already instructions have been forwarded to the governors of the maritime provinces to send the revenue no

longer to Peking, but to the Manchowian province of Shing-king, on the Yellow Sea, whose capital is Mougden. The northern detachment of the patriot army is now in the vicinity of Peking. Delay until the spring, or even defeat, or even extermination of that northern army before the Mongol troops,* who have hastened to the northern frontier to avert the downfall of the Manchows, will only damage the prestige of the patriot cause, but cannot turn the tide of progressive victory, which has set in from the south, and will, ere long, bring the victorious bands of Tae-ping-wang himself to the northern capital. The political problem seems already solved; and the dynasty of the Manchow Tartars seems hopelessly falling, or fallen to rise no more. The immediate alternative seems to lie between the new dynasty of Tae-ping and the prevalence of anarchy. For the sake of this vast nation, for the sake of suffering humanity, and for the sake of the interests of pure Christianity, we desire to see a speedy consummation of the struggle, and a prompt termination of the intervening misery of transition of Empire. The future is not without hope; and a more glorious day may even shortly dawn upon this land, with all the suddenness, as well as the violence of Oriental Revolutions, and the vicissitudes of semi barbarous dynasties. Our hopes (under the controlling Providence of God) centre in Tae-ping-wang and his host of imperfectly enlightened warriors at Nanking. The Empire once gained—missionary instructors hereafter welcomed—foreign intercourse enlarged—the arts and sciences of Western nations introduced—and public, official, and authoritative attention to the claims of the Christian religion secured—it will probably then follow that the emissaries of the pure Gospel of Christ may be able to correct, improve, and purify that wonderful combination of essential truth with partial error, which has convulsed one-third portion of mankind, and attracted the universal gaze of Christendom.

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administration or her foreign relations. They need to be doubly watchful against the Romanist and Romanizing party in China, whether of French Papists, of American Liberalists, or of English Latitudinarians, in their efforts for the aggrandizement of the Papacy. Any claims, privileges, immunities, exemptions or conditions, which may be stipulated for, beyond the reasonable limits of religious toleration, must be met, resisted, and counteracted by a manly independence of action on the part of the two great Protestant powers. The veriest semblance of a French Protectorate of the Native Roman Catholics in China, must be opposed and frustrated, as the sure precursor of European feuds, and as an insertion of the thin end of a wedge which will sooner or later rend China with internal dissensions, and renew and re-produce in a different form, on her soil, the spectacle which is now witnessed in Turkey, of the claims of Russian intervention in the domestic policy of the Porte on behalf of the Greek Christians. The diplomatists of the West must be watched in this emergency; and public opinion must attentively, jealously, and perseveringly, track the course of European statesmen in the grave transactions on which they have now to enter, and in dealing with those momentous interests which they are called to superintend and foster.

The probable effects of this great movement upon the moral, social, political and religious condition of China, claim a passing notice. There must be no impatience, no haste, no unreasonableness, in the expectations which we are led to form. China is now the scene of civil war, and is convulsed by a struggle for Empire. And yet how little of its disturbing influence is felt beyond the immediate circle of the chief actors! The cities on the sea-board suffer its disorganizing effects, and the localities in the vicinity of the contending forces are thrown into tumult and confusion. The trade of the northern ports is partially suspended, through the insecurity of transit of goods into and from the interior. And yet, while foreign imports into China meet with few purchasers, and there is a general hoarding of the precious metals, the export of tea and silk has exceeded the average of former years. The vast proportion of the native population are too busily engaged in the struggle for daily subsistence, to be much agitated by the remote considerations of a change of dynasty. But the Manchow Government are unable to fall back upon the loyalty of the masses; and it is probable that, on the capture of Peking, and the destruction of Tartar prestige, the whole country will quietly and speedily submit to the new regime. And there is a much better prospect of good Government under the rule

of Tae-ping-wang. The patriot leaders will naturally be more open to foreign influence;—the principles of civil and religious liberty are more easily grafted on a Christian stock; the free intercourse with European and American missionaries is hereafter more likely to diffuse Christian ideas and views respecting the true relations between the rulers and the ruled;—and an open free Bible, printed and published by a Christian Emperor, distributed throughout the Empire by his august authority, and acknowledged not only as the Divine Text-book of religious truth, but as the foundation of wise, humane, and beneficent Government, must, ere long, in the natural course of things, and above all, under the promised blessing of God upon the perusal of His own word, achieve great moral results for China, and irradiate every dwelling, from the cottage to the throne, with the sentiment: "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men."

A few months, or perhaps even a few years, of partial disorder over, and after the gradual consolidation of a new dynasty, or even the partition of the Empire among the leaders as independent sovereigns, or as subordinate princes under the feudal lordship of Tae-ping-wang as Emperor—what a boundless vision of impending results is opened to the contemplative mind, in the prospect of a million of New Testaments judiciously circulated in China, at the expence of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and as a peace-offering from Britain to China, after the wrong of the contraband traffic in opium!

The wider opening of China, consequent on the establishment of a dynasty professing the Christian religion, and friendly to foreigners, may be expected to produce a rapid advancement in the material prosperity of the country and the moral improvement of the people. The arts and sciences of Christendom will be introduced. Steam-vessels, railroads, and the electric telegraph will bring into close proximity each remote extremity of the Empire. The internal resources of the country will be developed. An impetus will be given to native produce and manufactures. The materials of a lucrative, reproductive, and mutually beneficial commerce, between the Eastern and the Western worlds, will be multiplied. The artificial wants and tastes created by a progressive civilization will cause a fresh demand for imports from foreign regions; and the looms of Manchester and Leeds, the foundries of Sheffield, Birmingham and Pittsburg, and the ships of London, Liverpool and New York, will find additional employment. And China, with a territory extending over twenty degrees of latitude, and combining the advantages of every clime, possesses—

in the rich variety of mineral treasures lying in her bosom, in the capabilities of a vast addition to her present staple produce of silk and tea—and in the thrifty industry, the inventive skill, and the imitative genius of her people—ample materials and adequate resources for a return trade.

The traffic in opium, and the import of this contraband article in foreign vessels, is a dead loss to China, demoralizing the people, draining the country of silver bullion, and creating no reciprocal advantage. The habitual consumers of opium cease to be thrifty, active, honest, and useful members of society. The ranks of the criminal and the profligate, the idle and the depraved, the reckless and the unruly, are reinforced from the victims of this seductive sensuality. Opium, smuggled into China in foreign vessels, and connived at by the corrupt local authorities, must henceforth be abandoned under a new order of things. The patriot leaders have prohibited the use of opium to their adherents under pain of death. They declare that foreigners may go through the length and breadth of the land, but only on condition of opium being excluded. Taeping-wang views this noxious drug as a means of demoralization to the people, and of ruin to his country. And the patriot leaders are men likely to keep their word. Opium has been the occasion of downfall to the Manchow dynasty. It led to the disputes under Commissioner Lin, which ended in a war with the British. The payment of an indemnity of five millions sterling impoverished the Imperial Exchequer, and led to an aggravation of the abuse of putting up offices, honours and power, for sale to the highest bidder. It led to the destruction of Tartar prestige, by exhibiting the weakness of the Imperialist armies before a mere handful of foreigners. The more widely prevalent consumption of opium has entered the camp, and enervated the military levies of the Emperor. It has caused a moral and physical degeneracy in those who should have been the defenders of the Empire. Those who have visited the Imperialist army now besieging Shanghae, will agree with us in the sad inferences which the spectacle of demoralized, ruffianly and haggard sensuality in that opium-smoking assemblage of men, from all the provinces, was calculated to fix in the memory and deepen for ever in the mind. British and American Christians should look well to this question, and make their voice audible, and their influence felt in its adjustment. No mere questions of finance must be permitted to tempt our diplomatists to abandon the path of strict Christian consistency; and our Anglo-Indian Government must be prepared, cheerfully, to sacrifice her Opium Revenue of

three millions sterling annually, on the altar of Britain's duty, and of China's moral and material well being. The consular representatives of Christian powers must be instructed to give effect and support to the new rulers of a country, now determined on checking the moral deterioration of her inhabitants, and soon (it is to be hoped) about to take her humble, yet honourable place, as the weakest and youngest sister in the great family of Christian nations.

Our limits compel us hastily to conclude our review of this, the most wonderful movement of modern times. And yet, before we bring our summary to a close, we cannot avoid alluding to the virtual settlement, by the native patriots, of the philological question which has seriously divided Protestant missionaries in China, respecting the proper word for "God" in the Chinese language.

The word "*Shang-te*" is used in their religious books 547 times in the highest sense, as the "God" of Christians; while the opposite term "*shin*," (the word for "*spirit*," whether divine, human, angelic, or demoniacal) never occurs even in one single instance, without adjunct, in the sense of "God," either as the subject of a sentence, or in the vocative case, as the Being to whom any of the prayers are addressed. The prospective distribution of a million of Chinese New Testaments, with the term "Shang-te" for God—carried out by the co-operation, in this particular, of the Bishop of Victoria, and the Rev. Drs. Medhurst and Legge, of the London Missionary Society—not to mention the employment of this same term also by the late Dr. Gutzlaff, throughout his translation of the Bible—men representing such various communions, countries and classes of opinion as are suggested by the mere *mention of their names* —raises many grounds of satisfactory reflection, and affords a guarantee, that the Cis-Atlantic missionaries in China are likely to pursue a common course of action. We hail this consummation with satisfaction, and give expression to the hope that the conscientious and devoted missionaries, who have hitherto regarded the term "Shang-te" as no better than the "Baal," or the "Jupiter" of Chinese mythology, will modify their views and correct their statements, now that they witness such prayers as those offered up by the patriots, ascending daily to "Shang-te" as the one true God, through the mediation of the one Saviour Jesus Christ, for the gift of the one sanctifying Spirit It will be a course fraught with danger, and strongly to be deprecated, if any foreign missionaries, through a mistaken zeal, should endeavour to convince the patriot leaders that the great Being whom they worship is a mere chief *god*

of the Chinese Pantheon, rather than the one God and Father who hath made of one blood all the nations of mankind.

How marvellous are the dispensations of Divine Providence in the history of this people! How wonderful the reflection, that in a two-fold direction, from without and from within, the dawning day of new and unwonted influence should be arising upon this land! Her thrifty emigrants to California, Australia, and the West Indies, her numerous settlers in Borneo, Java, Singapore and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, all point out this remarkable race as destined, by God, under the new conditions of a christianized people, to bear a glorious part in the civilization of the world, and in improving the material and moral condition of mankind. China, in her emigrant population, has been subjected to a new moral influence from without; and her children bring back from distant lands the elements of a higher civilization. And it is at such a season, when the streams of Chinese emigration pour forth into other lands, that the fountain source itself begins to be purified with a religious and a Christian impregnation. Those who ponder on these simple workings of the intricate machinery of Divine Providence, will see in them new subjects for wonder, and new motives to adoring praise, in respect to the great moral ruler and director of the destinies of our planet.

In concluding this Article on the present movement in China, we will merely state that we have given expression to our views, fully sensible of the reponsibility which we incur in guiding the public mind to a judgment respecting its character. For ourselves, we acknowledge the fallibility of human judgment, and profess only a sincere desire to know and to propagate the truth. We have a strong conviction that our general views will derive confirmation from a closer view of the insurgents. The issue of events may tend to correct our opinions on some matters of detail. A more intimate acquaintance with the chief actors in the insurrection will soon enable the world to judge for itself, and scatter every theory to the winds, except that based on reality and truth. In any case, we shall experience the satisfaction of having endeavoured to consider attentively, to weigh deliberately, and to describe impartially, the principal facts and more prominent features of a movement, which will affect the temporal and external prospects of one-third portion of mankind, and appears likely to issue in one of the most extraordinary, political, social, moral, and religious revolutions of modern times.

ART. IV.—*First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire and report upon the system of superintending and executing Public Works in the Madras Presidency, submitted to the Right Honorable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, on the 23rd December*, 1852. *Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 27th May*, 1853.

MANY things, in themselves more or less disagreeable, are done, chiefly or solely, that the doers may *say* they have done them. Thus, the enterprising Frenchman, after one brilliant day with the Quorra, always declined renewing the "*triste plaisir*," by saying "*Mais, mon ami, je l'ai fait déja!*" His solitary performance had added to the stock of his achievements, and thereby the Gaul had cheaply purchased the privilege he coveted.—he could boast. Instances of the like nature might be multiplied *usque ad nauseam*, from a single loyal visit to St. James's, to seeing a fellow-creature hanged; but we prefer reminding our readers how wittily and effectually, not to say immorally, the cogency of this prevailing plea was demolished by R. B. Sheridan. His son (before the days of Sir H. Davy's safety-lamp) was sagely, on the ground we are discussing, defending his descent into a coal-pit, when his explanation was abruptly cut short by the question, "Well, 'Tom, if you wanted to say you'd been down a coal-pit, 'why did not you say so before?" Now how many readers of the formidable volume, whose title heads this article, will there be, with whom a cursory perusal, like the Frenchman's field-day, is an *opus operatum*, suggestive only of weariness? How many to whom it is worse than the Durham coal-pit, who plod heavily through the folio, to *say* they have? And, lastly, how many (pray we that they be not in high places, Boards and Council Chambers) who, inwardly deriding such simplicity, adopt Sheridan's ready suggestion, and openly appropriate the very deed for their want of will?

But be the numbers, under these and other categories, what they may, it is at once our own most serious belief and fear, that to the multitudes dwelling in this land, whether rulers or ruled, civil, commercial, or military, the deeply important subject so carefully, searchingly, and, we would advisedly add, so dispassionately discussed in the Madras Report, is neither tempting, palatable, nor digestible.

Lord Ellenborough's idea of Indian official composition is amusingly betrayed in his recently asking a witness, if he did not, from his own knowledge, believe that in any

correspondence a preliminary sheet of foolscap would be devoted to extraneous matter, before the introduction of the ostensible subject of the despatch. We beg our readers to believe that the three Madras Commissioners, whose zealous labours are about to occupy our attention, are not men liable to the ex-Governor-General's censure; and the apprehensions we have expressed, that their proceedings will fail to obtain general currency and popular acceptance, are grounded on the limits to which the investigation of the Commissioners has been restricted, to the exclusive nature of their inquiries, to the localities being little known or loved, and to the professional character unavoidably attaching itself to the Official Report. But to the increasing number of those who wish and advocate the steady march of enlightened and conscientious progress, it is so desirable that an accurate knowledge of the conclusions to which the Madras Commission has arrived, should be conveyed; and so important is it, that somewhat of the nature, extent, and reasons governing the proposed reforms and future administration of the Madras territories, should be rendered more or less familiar to the public, that we shall endeavour to place before our readers as comprehensive a summary (albeit of necessity, imperfect and superficial) of the first part of the Report, as our limits will allow, that haply, thereby, we may either attract attention to the work itself, or awaken a more general spirit of sympathy and inquiry into the past, recent, and present condition, as well as the future prospects, of that Presidency, popularly denominated "The Benighted."

When instructions, founded upon a very able and interesting general letter from the Court of Directors, dated 30th January, 1850, for the assembling at each Presidency of a Commission of Inquiry into the Department of Public Works, reached India, shrewd observers were heard to quote Campbell's familiar line:—

"And coming events cast their shadows before."

Significantly adding that, but for the gentle coercion of the 30th April, 1854, already ominously "looming in the future," no such field of searching investigation and of startling disclosure would have been opened to the keen scrutiny of parties selected for their experience, ability and acumen; and whose labours, moreover, were plainly fore-doomed to all the publicity of a return to an order of the British House of Commons. The Court's letter authorizing the measure calculated to produce such vast benefit is dated as above-mentioned, in January, 1850; and its orders were carried into effect, without very much, or unusual delay. In Calcutta the Commissioners appear to have

first assembled in December of the same year; at Madras they met for the despatch of business on the 21st March, 1851; and at Poonah, in the Bombay Presidency, in the beginning of April, 1851. But before making that more minute examination of the Madras Report, which we shall shortly do, our attention is drawn irresistibly towards the very notable contrast offered by the respective treatment and positions of the sister Commissions at Calcutta and Madras. In each case, the composition of the body, and the selection of members by the higher powers, would seem to have been not only unobjectionable, but peculiarly happy and appropriate. A civilian of reputation, enjoying the confidence of Government, was associated with two military officers of rank, amply and undeniably endowed with professional qualifications of a high order, ripened and matured by long practical experience. We apprehend that both the nature and the range of inquiry were so very different at the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, that no pertinent conclusion is to be drawn from the fact of the one body having completed its researches and digested its Report in little more than three months, whilst the other has been found to require a seven-fold period, to put forth only the portion now before us; nor, indeed, in this stage of our Article, can any useful comparison be instituted between the productions of the two Boards, as submitted to their several Governments, respectively, on the 5th March, 1851, and the 23rd December, 1852. But, (as if with the prescriptive infelicity which the Report shows to have locally clung to the Madras territories, since they became a British possession,) whereas in Calcutta, the grateful scene presents itself of the head of the Government carefully reviewing the work of his subordinates within a brief interval from its receipt, luminously arraying the Commissioners' opinions, and, backed by a unanimous Council, supporting their recommendations with all the vigour of a clear and practised intellect, to the final full acceptance of the proposed organic and administrative reforms by the Home Government, we are regaled, on the other hand, by the very different spectacle of the Benighted's Chief rewarding the admirable exertions of his nominees by a public assurance that—"they are unworthy of confidence!" Now a certain great man is said to have declared, that he could hardly talk with a stranger during a passing shower of rain, without learning something of value; and the great dramatist, in speaking of a wise man's solitude, says:—

> "And this our life——
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in every thing;"

But it must have been kept in special reserve, we presume, for a once eminent plenipotentiary to read a treatise by authors of conspicuous merit and ability, and then to discover that its 300 pages of condensed matter, and 200 of appendix, do not contain one scintilla of information—do not disclose one abuse needing reform, nor offer one suggestion of practical utility. Yet that to such a *caput mortuum* has the intellectual chemistry of the Governor of Madras sought to reduce the Report, and that there is no over-statement on our part, we submit to be proved by His Excellency's own words, which run thus—"The 'Report is not entitled to that confidence which such a docu-'ment should command, to render it of any practical use." Elsewhere, and everywhere, we confidently anticipate a very different verdict, and one which we notice that the local press has already pronounced by acclamation.

Notwithstanding the length to which our preliminary observations have already extended, it is still indispensable that the exceptional position of Madras, as compared with Bengal and Bombay, should be fully explained and appreciated, before the composition and structure of the Report in detail can be advantageously examined. The increasing tendency towards generalization now prevalent makes it vain to expect the forbearance, and much less the sympathy or admiration of our readers, for the valuable labours of the Madras Commission, unless the subject be approached with a previous intelligent understanding of the essential differences between the territories of Fort St. George, and the mass generally of our other Indian possessions. The local peculiarities, the hydrography, the wants and the status of Southern India, embracing its land settlement and sources of wealth, must be fairly and patiently contrasted with the fixed zemindari systems of Bengal and Orissa, the puttadari tenures, by ten and thirty year leases, of the Punjab and the North West Provinces, and the Revenue settlements of Bombay, before the importance of the extensive reforms advocated by the Madras Commission can be adequately recognized. Indeed, unless we greatly err, it is to the absence of suitable intellectual impartiality, at once free from bias, prejudice and ignorance, that we have chiefly to look for any bar to Southern India receiving, cordially and at once, a large measure of the enlightened and profitable treatment, which it has been ably shewn equally to require and to deserve. Hence we can hardly sufficiently deprecate the too common indulgence of fore-gone conclusions in this matter, nor can we fail to warmly protest against withholding from the *terra incognita* of the Carnatic, what plainly there may be no necessity for granting to the rich valley of the Ganges. Earnestly also

would we pray, that the favourite process of so-called assimilation (warmly commended to "our Governor-General in Council," in the 62nd para of the Court's Despatch of the 30th January, 1850) be not extended to things dissimilar; but rather that each projected alteration, based on mere uniformity, should be cautiously scrutinized, before its practical introduction be sanctioned. The apprehended danger of ill-considered generalization is probably made more imminent by the rapid legislation already applied to the Bengal Department of Public Works; and were it not for the tedious, and, perhaps, abortive, gestation of the Local Government, it is more than likely that the new rules (clad, as all leading Imperial measures now are, in the comely apparel of a most charming state paper) would attract the Madras system within their influence. Yet no more apt illustration of discrepancy can be adduced, than the very title of the Department we are discussing. If not an opposite, certainly a very different signification belongs to the Bengal and Bombay, and to the Madras Departments of Public Works; for the latter has a meaning specially belonging to itself. A former denomination, albeit imperfect, viz., the "Tank Department," would have been more appropriate and less deceptive; for the primary, though not the sole function, of the Department, is the conservancy and extension of the irrigation of the whole Southern Peninsula. It has but little concern, comparatively speaking, even with roads, and still less with buildings; nor, in its technical local acceptance, has the *Military* Board at any time been connected with it. It may be stated, in short, that as contrasted with the two other Presidencies, every member of the Department of Public Works is a Revenue Officer; and that an annual Revenue, of no less than a crore and a half of Rupees, is more or less dependent on the efficiency, in skill, experience and numbers, of the scientific body now engaged in the irrigation of the country. But this, be it remembered, only applies to the Department of Public Works, as constituted when the Commission met; for originally, it would seem that the Madras Engineers were, for the most part, employed under the orders of the Military Board and Government of Fort St. George, very much as Engineer Officers still are in other parts of India. A single individual was at first deemed sufficient for the care of the numerous valuable hydraulic works with which the Madras territories are studded;—(their number exceeds 70,000—*Report, page* 213);—and it was only gradually, and by slow degrees, that, as sounder views prevailed respecting the vital importance of irrigation, the Tank Department attained its present prominence and

strength. That strength is not only the entire Corps of Madras Engineers, (with a very small fractional exception,) but it includes amongst its still insufficient numbers officers of the line, considerably more numerous than the entire scientific body, on which, as a make-shift, they have been temporarily engrafted. It is a distinction then very necessary to recollect, that the primary signification of Public Works in Madras is a Department under the Board of Revenue, engaged in the hydraulic works, from which an annual return of Rupees 15,000,000 from irrigation is obtained; and still more necessary is it to bear in mind, that the ryotwari yearly field settlement at Madras gives Government a direct and immediate interest in every improvement introduced; whereas such is only partially and indirectly the case under the land tenures of Bengal and the North West Provinces. We have now only further to add, in behalf of the Commissioners, that, as addressing the authorities actually administering the territories, they pre-suppose a general acquaintance with the condition of the country, and have no scruple in making frequent use of terms of native origin, having extensive technical currency, in preference, apparently, to the English equivalents. Of these, we need only briefly mention two: the word "*muramut*" is employed to signify the system of Public Works in the Irrigation Department generally, and not limited, as from the word itself might be inferred, to operations of mere *repair*; and the word "*annicut*," as now indissolubly associated with the bold designs and admirable hydraulic constructions of Colonel Arthur Cotton, may gracefully be substituted for dam, wier, or reservoir.

The Commission opens its proceedings by an outline of its intended work; and has observed much method in the general structure of its Report. Ancillary to this, the "Blue Book," as issued from the Parliamentary Press, is prefaced, both by a table of contents, and by an index to each of the 725 paras. into which the eleven leading sections are subdivided. It need hardly be stated, how much this adds to the value of the book, as a convenient work of ready reference, and as a magazine, from which valuable stores may be expeditiously extracted.

In the first section, the Commissioners show that three different and independent authorities have the superintendence of Public Works at Madras; viz., the Board of Revenue, over the whole of the Irrigation Department, together with all civil buildings, bridges, and most of the Mofussil roads; the Superintendent of Roads, over certain of what have been considered the leading communications of the country, at first

ten in number, and styled "Trunk Roads;" and the Military Board, over the Barrack Department generally, judicial buildings and fortifications.

The second section is confined to the first of these three, Irrigation and the Board of Revenue. This body, composed of two members, is ostensibly in control of the irrigation of twenty Collectorates (of which only three are zemindari), formed into nine departmental divisions under the like number of Civil Engineers, each having usually two districts, with an average range of 15,000 square miles in extent. These officers in irrigation, &c., &c., are, to the Madras Provinces, not unlike what Superintending Engineers are, in their circles, in respect to barracks, buildings, bridges and roads, in Bengal and Bombay. They suggest, they plan, estimate, inspect and report; but, ex-officio, they are not practically employed in carrying their own projects into effect. Executive means have to be obtained from the native subordinate fiscal authorities, acting, it is to be presumed, on the general responsibility of the Collector of each Province; but the doctrine of pecuniary suspicion, as shewn in security bonds, certainly has not yet attained the growth in the Madras Mofussil, that has long been practically developed in Bengal. In short, the system is, that a collective body of two civilians forms a Board of Works; that nine Civil Engineers, with their assistants, Revenue Surveyors, and office establishments, with a bricklayer mistry, compose a professional and scientific branch for projecting and inspecting; and that twenty Collectors, by and through the Tahsildars of each talook, are the Executives; and these gentlemen (who are also Magistrates) find materials and labourers, pay the work-people, keep the accounts, and prepare and submit, through Civil Engineers and the Board of Revenue, bills of expenditure for the sanction of Government. But this statement overlooks, as yet, such professional element in the Board itself, as has been gained, by giving to the Chief Engineer, or other Engineer Officer (such as the Stipendiary Member of the Military Board, one of whom was so employed for many years) a voice in the deliberations of the Board of Revenue, when sitting as a Board of Works. Practically, however, such influence may easily be shewn to be feeble, inasmuch as, even in abstract questions of hydraulics, the Chief Engineer, should he unite in himself the sagacity, ingenuity and science of Smeaton, Brunel and Telford combined, and be fortified, to boot, with the opinion of the Collective Civil Engineers' Institute, may, at any moment, be left "in a minority of one." Besides which,

we find (para. 23,) that "he has but little time to give to the general business of the Board, or "to devote to the improvement of the Department." Our further omission, that the ministerial officer of the Board has been taken (hitherto at least without exception) from the Corps of Engineers, is of much more importance; for such weight attaches to his opinion in the current despatch of business, and so much is this functionary, almost of necessity, both consulted and trusted by the Board, that the Report tells us, as might easily have been foreseen (page 9)—"In point of fact, the Secretary has long been its real head." Proceeding then, in their examination into the working of the body, and into its fitness for the onerous duties (increasing in a rapid yearly ratio) committed to it, the Commissioners are finally constrained, after ably vindicating it against unmerited allegations by Government, to record their unfavorable opinion! Their remarks are so candid, and so forcibly expressed, that we quote them at length:—"But though we are of opinion that the Board have, to this extent, acquitted themselves of the duties committed to them, we are of opinion that they have come much short of what ought to have been done in more important parts of their duty, viz., in the higher functions of a general controlling authority. We find an absence of any thing like a general view of the resources and of the wants of the different parts of the country. With one imperfect exception, there has been no attempt to ascertain the number, size or condition of the works of irrigation throughout the country; there seems to have been no comparison of one district with another, either as to the quantity of work done, the cost of doing it, or its results; no inquiries as to the capabilities of districts for improvement, or as to the backwardness of some officers to bring forward improvements, compared with the multiplicity of such recommendations received from others. And as to the roads, there has been no comprehensive view of the wants of each district, no general scheme of roads proposed, no consideration of the sort of road, or other means of communication, most proper in each locality. In short, the Board have done their best, with the aid, in general, of a highly efficient Secretary, but with a very inadequate office establishment, to deal with the business brought before them; but they have attempted very little beyond that, and have rarely taken the initiative in suggesting improvements."

Reverting now to the Executive, which we briefly mentioned as destitute of all organization, and as improvised for each occasion by the talook authorities, it is satisfactory to state,

that in many localities, it has lately had an efficiency, unknown in former times, infused by the introduction of non-commissioned officers from the Sappers and Miners, under the title of Overseers and Assistants. This experiment is but of very recent origin on the Madras side, and has been most successful, notwithstanding the illiberal, not to say unfair spirit, with which their valuable services have been treated. Selected at Chatham for their skill as artizans and their general intelligence, they are not sent out to India, until something has been imparted to them of a practical professional education. Their employment is already of long standing in the Department of Public Works of Bengal and Bombay; and in those Presidencies, advantages of warrant grades, and of pay, have been held out to them, well calculated to ensure their zealous and profitable exertions, and the development of their abilities. Notwithstanding that, taken collectively, the Madras Overseers, employed under the Board of Revenue, under the Superintendent of roads, and in the recently included Provinces in Central India, have been most highly spoken of, they as yet enjoy few of the privileges, and none of the prospects of progressive advancement, secured to their brethren in Bengal and Bombay; yet their services are more indispensably necessary, and of much greater immediate advantage to the State. The grades of Supervisor, and Assistant Supervisor, are still withheld from the Madras Sappers and Miners. Let us hope, however, that the exemplary character, not only for zeal, activity and intelligence, but also for integrity, which these excellent public servants have already established, will be duly appreciated and rewarded; and that the Madras Government will no longer, by an unwise and exceptional parsimony, be exposed, as at present, to the loss of good men, who seize the earliest opportunity to purchase their discharge from a service, which, hitherto, (vide paras. 43 to 54) has acted, as if its chief function were to depress and to discourage. In great contrast, as the Commissioners state, to the heart and good will, to the physical vigour and fearlessness of exposure, and to the unflinching honesty of the lately appointed European Overseers, is a branch of the permanent *muramut* establishment, coeval with, or perhaps senior to, the Civil Engineers themselves, and called the "Revenue Surveying Department." But here also, the title "Revenue Surveyor" is only calculated to mislead both "Ditchers and Ducks." There has been no Revenue Survey in any part of the Madras territories. The Revenue Surveyors, Assistants and Sub-Assistants are, for the most part, East Indians, who, in boyhood, get a smattering of education in

the so-called "Survey School" as topical draftsmen; and after acquiring the rudiments of mensuration and levelling, are sent up the country, to be attached to Civil Engineers, as "Sub-Assistant Revenue Surveyors." They are seldom of much use at first, but by degrees they learn the various duties of estimating, levelling, and surveying; and are then fit to detach either for examination and check of petty works; or for taking series of levels under the orders of the Civil Engineer, in furtherance of such of his projects as may be under investigation or execution. Ultimately, such of this class as do not succumb to the temptations by which they are surrounded, or yield to the sins of indolence, pride, vanity, or self-conceit, too often found to beset them, become very valuable aids to the Civil Engineer. However these Eurasians may appear to disadvantage, side by side with the energetic Anglo-Saxon race, lately enlisted in the Muramut Department, we are led to infer, that in the investigation of details, and in hydrographical surveying, they have largely contributed to the success and usefulness of the over-worked irrigation officers in the provinces. In paras. 37 to 43, the Commissioners have dwelt prominently on the peculiar defects they impute to the East Indians as a body; and after a somewhat tedious enumeration of their inherent shortcomings, arrive generally at an unfavorable opinion respecting the "Revenue Surveyors," in which, such experience as we ourselves have had, does not lead us entirely to concur. The early age at which their office of checking the measurements and bills of the native fiscal subordinates confers on them a position, for the time, of seeming authority, is doubtless inimical to habitual discretion and sobriety of demeanour; and their rarely refused claim for septennial preferment may cause a perfunctory discharge of duty, during the non-productive blank intervals between each grade; but, if not too frequently, nor too remotely detached; if habitually repressed, or encouraged by the superintendence of the head of the office; and if stimulated by a perpetual example of diligence and zeal, we apprehend that, as the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Madras Department of Public Works, no better body of men could be desired, than that by misnomer called "Revenue Surveyors."

In our desire to explain clearly the machinery, by which the works that yield so large a proportion of the land revenue, are maintained or constructed, we have somewhat out-run the necessary description of the works themselves; thus inverting the sequence observed in the Report.

The *leading* features of the Madras Presidency are, one

comparatively wide plain, sloping seawards from the great Western Ghauts, with an eastern aspect, and which is either scantily, or precariously, supplied with water by the Coromandel north-east monsoon; and a much narrower belt of land, facing westward, under the ample and unfailing plenty of the south-west rains. In each case, the water-shed is towards the sea-coast. But the Carnatic is traversed in its breadth, by several rivers, (the Tambrapoorney, the Vigay, the Umravutty, the Noil, Bowani, Cavery, Pennar, Toombuddra, Kistnah, and Godavery,) having a general eastward course, whose sources, or affluents, lie so far west, as to be under the influence of the earlier and most copious monsoon. The inestimable value, then, of streams thus fed, during the driest period of the year, to a community, chiefly agricultural, of more than ten million souls, who subsist entirely, or nearly so, upon rice, with but few of the various cereal grains in such general use as articles of food in Central India, the Punjaub, and the North West Provinces, may easily be imagined. Hence the problem for practical solution obviously has been (would that we had not to add, and still is!) how to turn upon the thirsty land, every drop of water thus bounteously bestowed; and how to so interpose hydraulic science and skill, during the droughts of the summer solstice in the Carnatic, as to intercept the freshes of every stream, before they uselessly discharge themselves into the Bay of Bengal! To a certain extent, this noble end has been attained, so far as low freshes are concerned, by wiers that throw off lateral channels, on a higher level, and with a smaller incline, than the parent stream, and which thus fertilize the included space; or the channels supply reservoirs (some being of prodigious size) in which water is stored for bringing the crops to maturity. In many cases, permanent dams are dispensed with; and channels, often of immense value, (throwing the Ganges, Jumna, and Bani Doab canals, completely into the back ground) are supplied by temporary embankments, of a construction too frail to divert a heavier body than the banks of the irrigating duct are able to bear; but in these cases, the high freshes are altogether lost, and the bank of sand and grass, or brush-wood, is entirely swept away. Thus the *principle* of a highly artificial irrigation, in outline at least, is as practically established, as in the celebrated plains of Piedmont and Lombardy; but it is to be understood, from even this popular exposition of the usual and most important and interesting hydraulic works of the Carnatic, that although the "royalty" of water vests in the Government, the chief dams, channels and tanks owe their origin to individual

enterprise, or ostentation; that there is seldom any connexion or mutual relation between works dependent on the same source of supply; no systematic professional management of large canals by Government; and that, for the most part, foresight, contrivance, economy and science, are still "absent without leave," or if our readers prefer it, "on urgent private affairs." Not, however, as might be inferred from the preceding sentences, that wet cultivation is limited to the neighbourhood of the large rivers that intersect the Peninsula; for in point of fact, almost every large village in the south of India has its tank, big or little, and its paddy fields. These vary in size, from the Veranum reservoir in South Arcot, with a bund nine miles long, and twenty-one feet high, with a revenue of more than a lakh of rupees, to the little better than village ponds, with a supply as precarious as the Coromandel rains, yielding 300 Rupees perhaps a year. Irrespective of classification, as founded on capacity, strength and condition of bund, security by means of masonry escapes, and working order from number and efficiency of sluices, the true value of tanks is altogether dependent on the character of the supplying channel. If a reservoir, howsoever happy its site, be fed but by the precarious plenty of a jungle stream, only roused into brief existence and activity by an occasional thunder storm, no permanent prosperity can, or do, its landholders enjoy; but, wherever the river floods are laid under contribution, plenty, comfort, enterprise, and agricultural capital and stock, attest how highly appreciated the favored locality is. No less than 43,000 tanks, in tolerable repair, have already been counted; and with pain be it recorded, that 10,000 more have been thrown into disuse, by neglect.

And now, before further filling in the picture of the ryotwari "nunjah" districts of Madras, we would enquire, with reference to the almost entire loss of the high floods, to the number of channels without regulating heads, and to the innumerable tanks without either masonry escapes or sluices, whether reforms so beneficial, and improvements so conspicuous and comprehensive, do not now, and ought not long ago to have commended themselves to the statesman's eye, and to the heart of the philanthropist? The reply that the Commissioners furnish ready to our hands is, that if we deduct from the present hydraulic *block* of the Carnatic (valued at 15,000,000 Rupees) all that we have inherited from the piety, superstition, or munificence of our predecessors, an Irish residue of depreciation and dilapidation would be the attesting witness to our liberality and wisdom! "To whatever part of the country we turn," say the Commissioners, in language with

which the eyes of Secretaries are little familiar, "we find 'the vast majority of tanks, even in a good season, watering 'far less land than they once did, and far less than they could 'now irrigate, if kept in proper repair; and there is abundant 'evidence to show, that if the existing tanks were generally 'restored to their original capacity or efficiency, a very large 'increase of cultivation and revenue would be the result.

"The total extent of Government land entered in the revenue accounts of Fusly, 1259, as capable of irrigation in the 'twelve chief irrigation districts, is 26,82,260 acres, bearing 'an assessment of Rs. 1,84,21,555. The total extent of cultivation in the same year, which was almost everywhere a good 'season, was only 17,87,909 acres, with an assessment of Rs. '1,12,89,352, leaving waste no less than 18,94,359 acres, with 'an assessment of Rs. 71,32,203.

"Making an allowance for disabling causes, by the deduction of even as much as one-third of the whole extent entered as irrigated, there will remain, in these twelve districts 'alone, 12,62,906 acres of land, with an assessment of Rs. '47,54,802, once irrigated and cultivated, and capable of being 'so cultivated again, if the existing works only are well repaired."

In the succeeding para., the Commissioners quote the following passage, to a similar effect, from a letter written by Captain (now Lieut.-Colonel) A. T. Cotton:—"So generally indeed 'have I found the works in a defective state, that I believe I 'may say, that nearly all the tanks in the country, and nearly 'all the channels, except those of Tanjore, and the very large 'ones of other districts, water less land than they once did; 'many only one-fourth, and very great numbers from one-half 'to three-fourths. And the actual revenue derived from several districts some years ago, compared with the present, fully 'supports me in this opinion. It appears that the nunjah 'revenue of North Arcot is three lakhs below what it was ten 'years ago, out of fifteen lakhs; in South Arcot, two lakhs out 'of twelve; and in Tinnevelly, three-quarters of a lakh out of 'eleven and three-quarters."—*(1st Report, pages 93, 94.)*

In fact, amidst all the unexpected revelations made by the Report, nothing perhaps seems more surprising, than that it should have been reserved for the present generation certainly, if not for the present day, to see clearly what the chief characteristic ought to be, of a just and flourishing administration of the Madras territories. Can this be true? it may be asked; and can it be, that the celebrities of former times, who still enjoy the homage of our hero-worship, were, after all, so dull,

that they could not detect the full scope and wide import of a progressive amelioration, whose secret is at once penetrated by the three officials, evoked for the nonce, by Leadenhall apprehensions of attack from the virtuous and one-sided men of Manchester! Amidst the gubernatorial giants of old, amongst a list resplendent with such names as Lord William Bentinck, Sir George Barlow, Mr. Elliot, and Sir Thomas Munro, were there none capable of adequately recognizing the wise policy of a conscientious and liberal expenditure upon irrigation? Could not the latter, especially, when invested with the Government of Fort St. George, after his long and successful management of the ceded districts, enforce the connexion of water with wealth and plenty; and of famine and pestilence with its absence? We cannot answer these, and a hundred other like questions. Neither can we explain the refusal of Lord Dalhousie, to allot a sum of £1,000 for the exploration of the river Godavery, when solicited to do so three years ago (para. 439); nor his silence towards repeated applications for an enactment, to prevent the shooting of ballast into the different harbours of the Benighted, during the last eventful lustrum of his reign (para. 454.) But *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus;* and we hope such consolation may make his "bosom's Lord sit lightly on his throne," whilst honestly appropriating the share of blame so righteously meted out to his Most Noble self. But, on the Madras Government, the effect of the repeated denunciations, and ever recurring accusations of incapacity, or something worse, cannot but be more damnatory than Mr. John Norton's "dead level of incompetency" so bravely imputed to the judicial service of Fort St. George. No less than five pages (31 to 36) are devoted by the Commissioners to a detailed examination of certain local legislation, proposed for the Muramut Department, after all the light and experience gained up to the January before last, had been brought to bear upon the subject. Now the five new rules in question exhibit an ignorance so crass, and supply us with so good a gauge of the intellectual calibre of the Madras Government, that we also will trespass somewhat on our readers' patience, to place the matter closely before them. Our mental attitude will, perhaps, be a more fitting one than at present, if we first read and apply the following words of the Commissioners:—"We have seen 'that on the average of a considerable number of works, costing 'in the whole about five and a half lakhs of Rupees, the clear an-'nual gain to Government has been 71 per cent. on the outlay; 'but we will suppose that the return in revenue is much 'smaller, that it is no more than 25 per cent. on the outlay

'(and there is a vast field for the expenditure of money on 'the formation of works which would pay more than that,) 'even on this supposition the profit is very great. It may 'safely be assumed, that for every Rupee of revenue paid to 'Government, the total value produced is not less than Rupees 'two and a half, therefore an increase of revenue to the amount 'of 25 per cent represents an increase of produce, in other 'words, an addition to the national wealth, of 62½ per cent. on 'the outlay. Now, when it is remembered, that of the total 'area of the Madras territories, only one-fifth is cultivated; 'that of the whole cultivation only one-fourth is irrigated, that 'millions of acres of good land require only water to make 'them richly productive, and that immense volumes of water, 'which might be turned to this use, now flow waste into the 'sea, when these facts are considered, some idea may be form-'ed of the vast extent of that field of improvement which is 'before us."—(*Report, page* 120) Now bearing this, the normal condition of the irrigation in the Carnatic, in mind, be it known that the Right Honorable the Governor in Council has proposed.—

1*st* "That no reference of an estimate, above 2,000 Rupees, 'for making a new, or repairing an old work, shall be made to 'Government, unless the Collector or Sub-Collector shall have 'previously made personal inquiry on the spot as to the accu-'racy of the alleged returns"

2*nd*. "That previous to submission, it be ascertained, that 'the increase of revenue from the works is sure to fully repay 'the outlay, under all circumstances, that the supply of water 'is sure and to be depended on, and that the ryots are able to 'take advantage of the improvements!"

3*rd*. "That a Civil Engineer shall chiefly confine himself to 'each one of the two Collectorates forming his division, in 'every alternate year!"

4*th*. "That in future all check and control over works 'costing less than 1,000 Rupees be entirely withdrawn!"

5*th*. "That periodical reports of progress for all large 'works shall be sent in, and that the Assistant Collector shall 'visit all such works once a fortnight, or oftener, if necessary"

As to the first proposed rule, the return of expected advantages, under the Collector's signature, was already an indispensable preliminary to the submission of an estimate, and we have to presume, therefore, that a coup d'œil of the localities will, in some occult manner, add to the authenticity of an expected result, to the accuracy of which the Collector was previously pledged. Like all other faithful revenue servants in

India, Collectors and their subordinates are already over-worked; and as they cannot leave their cutcheries without much inconvenience, the solitary obvious gain, by the proposed rule, is the delay caused by the time required, for the Collector or subordinate, to reach the scene of projected improvements.

The second rule is thus summarily and finally disposed of in the Report. "Both the supply of water, and the consequent increase of revenue, obviously depend mainly on season and weather, of which the incidents are inevitably uncertain beforehand to human knowledge. It is like forbidding the commander of a ship to leave port without the certainty of a fair wind all the voyage. But if it be said that the certainty intended is not mathematical certainty, but only a high degree of probability, then we would say, first, that the language of the rule should be qualified; and, second, that even of probability only so much must be required as the nature of the case permits and warrants. That high degree, which we call "a moral certainty," is not generally applicable to cases such as the present, but only that lower degree which is indicated by the expression "a reasonable expectation." With respect to detailed information as to the ryots' agricultural stock and the supply of labour, we will say little here. We will only remark that, in general, ryots are very ready to take advantage of improved means of irrigation, unless there are special disabling, or indisposing causes, the chief of which is not want of means to cultivate, but an exorbitant assessment."—(*Report, page* 97.)

A more glaring absurdity, or more conclusive instance of the ignorance and incompetency of the Madras Government, than the third proposed rule, establishing years of alternate activity and repose, for each half of the Presidency, it were difficult indeed to imagine; and we heartily re-echo the following sentence:—"For it is here declared that such is the insufficiency of the Professional Department, as to make it necessary both to deprive entirely of the benefit of their science and skill five-sevenths of the whole expenditure on Public Works, and also to stop the progress of all such works as are still left under their control, in ten out of the twenty districts, every year."—(*Report, page* 34.)

With respect to the fourth rule, leaving all outlays under 1,000 Rupees to themselves, we have to remark that in 1850, there were altogether 4,339 estimates, making a total of nearly seven lakhs of Rupees. Out of this large number, only ninety exceeded 1,000 Rupees each; and a remainder of 4,249 estimates, aggregating Rupees 4,97,117, are thus proposed by Sir Henry

Pottinger to be executed without check or control. Upon this notable proposition, the Commissioners quietly observe, "We 'would deprecate it in the strongest terms, as decidedly a retro-'grade step, as inflicting a very heavy blow on the efficiency 'of the Muramut Department, and as tending to undo very 'much of the improvement that has been effected in it in the 'course of the last thirty years."—(*Report, page* 35.)

Without troubling our readers with any observations of our own on the fifth sapient regulation, we will now close our too tedious epitome of the second section of the Report (which, from its character of local distinctiveness, novelty, and importance, has received a larger share of notice than our limits will allow for the remaining sub-divisions of the work) by entreating thoughtful attention to the following concluding remarks of the Commissioners. "Again it is objected, that under the present system, ill considered plans are sent up by the Civil Engineer, and hastily adopted by the Board of Revenue, and that estimates are very frequently insufficient. Our examinations of the Records of the Board have led us to the conviction that this is not the case, by any means, to the extent indicated by the general terms used; but it may be confidently asserted, that in whatever degree it is so, it arises almost solely from the same cause, viz., the paucity of officers. This insufficiency in the number of officers has long been acknowledged, but up to the present time it has always been thought better that the works should be done in a manner short of perfection, than not done at all; and, assuredly, this is the correct view, for even limiting our regards to the narrow subject of revenue, we find that the direct profit to Government from the outlay incurred, has, on the whole, been very great. We fully admit, and we are anxious to bring home the conviction to others, that works have sometimes been expensively and injudiciously constructed from want of a sufficient quantity of scientific and skilled superintendence; and that some few works have been executed which have not been successful, and which probably would not have been undertaken, if the projects could have been fully considered; but even with these admitted defects, and including these failures, the total result has been largely profitable; and such being the case, it is obviously the wiser course, until adequate additional strength is granted, to continue the present system, imperfect as it is, rather than to paralyse under the idea of improving it. It would plainly be most unwise and senseless to reject the 40 or 50 per cent. of direct annual profit, obtainable by outlay, even with existing means, because

'it is possible that, by the improved means, not now available, 'the first cost of the works might be reduced five or ten per 'cent.

"For we would observe, lastly, that the whole tendency of 'the proposed rules is to stop improvement, as we have already 'remarked in noticing them in detail, and for this reason, if for 'no other, would we earnestly deprecate their adoption. The 'country is destitute of the means of transport, and vast sources 'of wealth flow waste in our rivers; hence commerce lan-'guishes, and industry is depressed. This then is not a time to 'contract still more the too limited scale of our expenditure on 'such works; to restrict the utility even of the means of con-'trol already existing, by requiring increased minuteness of pre-'vious detail. The proper course, recommended by policy, and 'fully justified by past experience, is to employ those means over 'the widest possible field, and to increase them as rapidly as 'possible."—(*Report, page* 36.)

If in travelling thus far through the Report on Public Works, we have carried our readers along with us, their impression may easily have been, that our descriptions have referred to a goodly and fruitful land, inhabited by people, whose high state of civilization is unquestionably proved, by the ingenuity and enterprise displayed in their various works of irrigation; and as a matter of curious inquiry, it would have been very interesting to have been informed, when it was that an artificial and complicated system was first introduced, capable of sustaining an advantageous comparison with the elaborate constructions in the Lombardo-Venetian States, dating, we believe, only from the 13th century of our era. The Commissioners conceal whatever antiquarian lore they possess; and in the next section, on which we have now entered (though we can no longer engage to adhere closely to the order observed by our authors,) they tell tales calculated to lead us to conclusions, perhaps as much too unfavorable to the "gentle Hindus," as the accounts of their agricultural advancement may have induced us to unduly exalt them. We learn that, on first taking possession of the country, it emphatically was roadless, and as a necessary consequence, cartless. Such exceptions as did exist, were chiefly in mountain passes, opened for purposes of military conquest or oppression, and which speedily fell into neglect, as the despotisms creating them were swept away. Pilgrim lines, too, in several parts of the country, hundreds of miles in extent, had been marked out by spacious avenues of trees, whose shade afforded a welcome refreshment to the once innumerable devotees of the various favorite shrines in Southern India; but

these routes soon became depressed by traffic below the surrounding surface of the country; and were presently converted into general lines of drainage.

It was not in our power to withhold an honest expression of censure, whilst reviewing the revenue management of the Madras Government in its conservancy of water works; notwithstanding an admission that, during the last thirty years, there has been a very visible and progressive improvement, accompanied by a growing sense of the duty of promoting the comforts, and protecting the industrial interests, of the people: it may indeed be, and we fear it is, the case, that the present administration (although reluctantly coerced into an outward support of particular Public Works of vast size and cost) is apparently retrograde, if not actually hostile, in its tendencies; but whatever increased facility of inter-communication now exists, and whatever beneficial alteration has already taken place, since the days when a cart was nearly as rare as a steam engine now is, may be entirely and thankfully ascribed to the British authorities. The ascertained existence of at least 90,000 carts, (*Report*, 110 *Para.*) probably little more than half the real number, places the fact of considerable amendment, we think, beyond a doubt.

The motto of our excellent Commissioners, if not in all things, at least in this their third section, is plainly, "*Nil factum reputans si quid superesset agendum*," and we consider that they have not sufficiently regarded the tender years of road-making, as a branch of statemanship, and instrument of good Government. So great a man as the late Sir Charles Metcalfe, so lately as when he was Member of Council in Calcutta, deliberately writes, "In the course of much travelling, in various parts of India, I have not been impressed with the belief that there is any general want of communication, proceeding from a want of roads. It seems to me that there is commonly a sufficiency of communication, according to the demands of the people." This, as it must seem to us, incomprehensible dictum was penned in 1829, and in February, 1831, the Ex-Under-Secretary to the English Treasury (now one of the most active promoters of the Kentish Railways), then Governor at Madras, states, that "a full consideration of the difficulties opposed to 'the maintenance of good roads, in other places than the 'immediate vicinity of large towns, has satisfied Government, 'that the attempt should not be persisted in;" whereupon, the almost completed undertaking of a good and direct road between Hyderabad and Masulipatam, an admirable line, at once commercial and military, or political, after 176 miles out of 210

had been made at a cost of Rs. 8,40,000, is directed to be discontinued ! ! Most unhappily, to discontinuance was superadded abandonment; for long after the expediency, if not the obligation of road-making, had dawned upon our drowsy perceptions, the exigency of subsequent maintenance, and the application of the homely proverb of "the stitch in time," was hidden from our eyes. Thus then not only was the benefit of so large an outlay for those days, as Rs. 4,540 per mile (spent by a mistake it would appear), compromised by the failure of joining an important inland capital with a convenient seaport, by stopping forty miles short of the natural terminus, a measure that in itself might have gone far to arrest the rapid decadency of the protected states in the Deccan; but by overlooking the necessity of a vested provision for future repair, even the 176 miles of made road, acquired at so unwelcome a cost, were sentenced to speedy decay and destruction, and they have, in point of fact, already descended into the tomb of the Capulets, with no epitaph of "*Resurgemus*" inscribed. Let it be noticed that this is the history of an incident that took place only twenty years ago; but brighter days were at hand. Let us not, however, so entirely neglect, or out-run our text book.

For a very long time, the magnitude of what was required for the roads, presented itself in so appalling a guise, that by universal consent the general and practical liability of Government, as a principle, was ignored; but here and there, and from time to time, its paternal character cropped out pleasantly, in special grants, for certain favored localities, where the interests of the lieges happened to be strenuously represented. It has been already mentioned that the custody and care of roads was vested in the Board of Revenue, the Collectors and the Civil Engineers, as immediately as the works of irrigation; but the professional body has always been, and formerly even, more than at present, much too closely engaged in their hydraulic occupations, to have leisure for giving that attention to the communications of the country which such a subject demands. Partial and desultory local improvements, chiefly small bridges of a single arch, or a few tunnels, were occasionally recommended and sanctioned; but road-making, as either an important, or prominent duty of the Department of Public Works, was hardly recognized, until the appointment of Lord Elphinstone as Governor of Madras. Under the efficient administration of that nobleman, the subject was invariably treated with an attention, respect, and liberality, that communicated a very sensible impetus to the Department of Road Repairs. It was previous, however, to Lord Elphinstone's arrival in 1837,

that one of the Madras districts had, by the energy of a single enlightened gentleman, risen in a space of six years (from 1829 to 1836) from the prevailing normal state of roadlessness, to one abounding in excellent carriage roads in all directions. It is true that the district of Salem (to which we refer under the management of Mr. Orr) is favored with a generally hard soil, and its ways are intersected by few streams needing bridges, or alluvial plains requiring embankment; and it is true also, that the so-called "free labour," by which the work was mostly done, was "forced labour," and that his tax of one Rupee on every cart per annum, established for future repairs, was an exaction, as illegal as it was wise, at the particular time when imposed; yet, the example of constructing nearly 400 miles of smooth and hard road, capable of well sustaining a light traffic, with assistance from Government, not exceeding 100 Rupees a mile for the whole period, or sixteen Rupees a year, is both striking and praiseworthy. A succeeding instance of Mr. Blackburne, the Principal Collector of Madura, who, with far greater difficulties to overcome, accomplished even more than Mr. Orr, would lead to the belief that there is no little truth in the current saying, that "a good Collector makes good roads." It were trite, stale, flat, and unprofitable, to dwell here upon the contrast presenting itself in the external aspect of a District, where the inhabitants enjoy a ready means of intercourse, and of transit for their agricultural produce or merchandize, and of a Collectorate, where a man's house is indeed his castle, and often almost as inaccessible. But if good roads contribute so greatly to the comfort, intelligence and general well-being of the people, the concurrent benefit to the public revenue is not, when duly sought for, less palpably obvious. Thus, in Canara, the road expenditure, chiefly in opening passes through the Western Ghauts into Coorg and the Mysore, during the fifteen years, from 1836 to 1850, was Rupees 5,25,000, and the increase of revenue during the like period, was Rupees 16,39,575! "Mr. Maltby enumerates several causes which have contributed to the advancement of Canara, but he ascribes the greater part of this gratifying state of things to the opening of the communication with the interior; and he expressly declares his opinion that the roads have paid for themselves. Such truly appears to be the case. Supposing as much as one-half of the aggregate increase of the land revenue to be due to causes unconnected with the road improvements, the remainder, Rupees 8,19,787, is 50 per cent. more than the expenditure on these improvements during the whole period. And this is from the *land revenue* only; there

'has also been a very large increase in the revenue from salt 'during the same time"—(*Report, page* 164) given (in para. 402) at Rs. 15,60,488, half of which, namely, Rs. 7,80,244, the Commissioners place to the accounts of the new roads; or aggregating the two halves of each item of augmentation, we have an outlay of Rs. 5,25,000, yielding a return of 16,00,031 Rupees.

It ought to have been mentioned in an earlier page, that in reply to a recommendation to that effect from the Board of Revenue, in 1813, the Court of Directors willingly consented, some years afterwards, that the net surplus of all ferry funds should be applied to the construction of bridges, and to the general improvement of roads, in the districts yielding such surplus. If man, regarded individually, be omnivorous, this propensity would seem to lose none of its intensity, when collectively banded into Boards and Governments. The insatiable "miscellaneous" financial maw of the Madras Government has devoured, not only what the Court had bestowed, as a local benefit, in 1817, but it swallowed (though only to eventually disgorge) the collections of the one rupee Salem cart tax; whilst it still retains, for grateful rumination (*Report, page* 186), a sum of Rs. 1,64,945, set apart by Act XIII. of 1839, for improvements of harbours and roadsteads. In the single Province of Malabar, the excess of receipts for ferries above expenditure in twenty years, amounted to Rs. 6,84,161; and the outlay upon roads in that Collectorate, during the same time, was altogether Rs. 31,164 (*Report, page* 161), which moreover included at least one road, made for the benefit of another district. Now not only is the balance of Rs. 3,72,497 an indisputable debt of Government to the roads in Malabar, but the entire ferry surplusage equitably belongs to that Collectorate, as forming an inalienable local boon, definitively conferred by the Court of Directors, altogether irrespective of any expenditure separately allotted by Government. If not perfectly just and true, it is at least charitable to assign shortness of memory, the privilege of quick parts, as the real cause of our having had to make this episodical record, which has somewhat detained us from the consideration, now inviting our attention, of the first formation, in 1845, of a Department, with no other duty but road-making or mending to attend to.

We are not yet arrived at that stage of our labours, which we have proposed to ourselves as a fitting one, for offering such views as we have been led to entertain on points discussed by the Commissioners, when our own opinions are not exactly coincident with theirs (which, for the most part, they cordially

are), or we should at once state here, that we do not regard the appointment, *per se*, of a Superintendent of Roads, as either uncalled for, or ill-judged—(*Report, page* 165.)

We learn that the ostensible reason alleged by the Marquess of Tweeddale, for the creation of a Road Department, in direct communication with Government, and "self-contained," to borrow a term from "Auld Reekie," was the acknowledeged inability of the Civil Engineers, in the growing wants of the day, to spare time to attend, as minutely and habitually as was (at last) thought desirable, to the state of the communications within these several divisions, to say nothing of the absence of sufficiently extensive and well-connected views. His Lordship's proposal, and his nomination of the accomplished Officer on whom his selection for the post had fallen, were both agreed to at once by the Court of Directors; and a sum of four lakhs having been granted for the operations of each year, it was considered, that, within this limit, Madras was again emancipated from the leading strings restraining and galling her, since 1834, and re-possessed of the substantive power withdrawn at that, to her, unhappy epoch.

In the ten years, from 1825, the whole outlay had been Rs. 8,45,030, and in the next ten years, to 1845, had been Rs. 17,93,480, of which latter amount, nearly ten lakhs being applicable to the Western Trunk Line from Madras to Bangalore, besides a considerable sum to the Sumpagee ghat and road to Mangalore, a net residue for distribution over the Provinces, less than the previous annual average, is left, and thus the comparative munificence of the new assignment, in 1846, is shewn to stand out in the brightest colors. But in point of fact, the views of Government were much more liberal than we have yet stated; for it would appear that the "four lakhs fund," thus placed at the annual disposal of the Superintendent, was reserved, chiefly, if not entirely, for four trunk roads of some 1,300 lineal miles only; the branch, cross, and minor district roads being left under the Civil Engineers, with facilities just as great as they had previously been, for obtaining the means of improvement, if they happened to find or make time for the requisite estimates. And again, in further addition to this, all such cross roads, thus in charge of Civil Engineers and Collectors, might annually receive from the latter, on the responsibility of the former, an average expenditure of fifty Rupees a mile. The really large total amount thus allotted to the local authorities, if it *had* ever been granted as authorized, would, in our opinion, when laid out judiciously as to time and place, have produced exceeding benefit; but most unaccountably,

this discretionary power was never promulgated by the Board of Revenue, in whose archives it remained a dead letter!—(*Report, para.* 127.)

Thus then, in 1846, invoked by Lord Tweeddale, a new and brighter era had dawned upon the Benighted; but seldom does fulfilment wait on promise, in the still Cimmerian regions of the Carnatic. The Superintendent of Roads, a man of rare gifts and rarer acquirements, with physical powers of activity and endurance happily seconding his mental endowments, was speedily paralysed by a *bureaucracy*, powerful chiefly by the weapons his own overflowing zeal had placed in its hands; and some time before death overtook one of the brightest ornaments of his corps and of the service, the office, though held by Captain Best, had been nullified, and the Road Department, from which, in its functions and accomplished head, such extensive benefit had been anticipated, had become an admitted and recorded failure. In corroboration of what has been so swiftly narrated as to have again outstripped the text, the Commissioners supply us with a perfect superabundance of matter. "It must be admitted that, as a department for the management of the Trunk Roads of the Presidency, its failure has been complete; but we feel confident that we can show that the result may be fully accounted for by the impracticability of the original instructions, the restrictions since imposed, and the withholding of the necessary means and assistance from the late most zealous Superintendent, who can only be held responsible to the extent of having taken upon himself duties which, if well supported, no one individual could have performed."—(*Report, para.* 132.) Captain Best was denied the establishment he considered necessary, he was expected to be ubiquitous, to work without hands, to personally superintend four so-called "Trunk Lines" radiating in different directions from one common centre, to send in special reports on every completed five miles of road, and with only one assistant, submit detailed bills of the four lakh expenditure, and forward annually a general report upon all the Trunk Roads. Lord Tweeddale, or his Secretary, strangled his bantling in its birth, when the Superintendent's application of the 4th March, 1846, for an establishment of less than Rs. 17,000 per annum, was over-ruled, because "inexpedient 'to sanction so large an establishment as that proposed." "He 'was not to be engaged" (Minutes of Consultation, 12th April 1845) "in laying out new roads, or in examining new lines. The 'object of his appointment was limited to keeping the roads 'already made in perfect repair; and to superintend there-'fore in person the execution of those timely repairs, which all

'formed roads in this country so especially need." We cannot find room for various subsequent orders, each more unwise, inconsiderate, and suicidal than its predecessor; but we will afford space for the *coup de grace*, dated 4th October, 1850. "The Governor in Council resolves, therefore, to lay it down 'as a general rule, that the Superintendent of Roads should 'confine himself to the execution and completion of such great 'lines of roads only as he can personally and efficiently inspect; 'and he is of opinion, that a system of superintendence, based 'upon this principle, by which the energies of the Superinten-'dent and his Department will be concentrated, will, in the end, 'be found the most economical and effective, and better cal-'culated to yield permanently beneficial results, than by the plan 'now pursued by that officer of passing hurriedly throughout 'the whole Presidency, leaving the works in progress to his 'assistants, without his frequent supervision." Nor can we deny our readers the rational gratification of perusing the remarks of the Commissioners on this display of bureaucratic imbecility—"This order reduced the Road Department, in the 'formation of which so much had been intended, and from 'which so much had been expected, to the position of a 'small executive agency, under the constant personal manage-'ment of the Superintendent; its operations were to be con-'fined to 360 miles of road only; while the rest of the roads, 'which had been withdrawn from the direct management of 'the Collectors and Civil Engineers, in order to be placed 'under the Road Department, being 1,898 miles, were now 'left without any systematic management whatever. Though 'selected as the most important lines in the country, they were 'in this respect worse off than the cross roads, and far worse 'off than they themselves were, before the Road Department 'was formed, when from their importance they received a 'special share of the time of the Civil Engineer's Department. 'They remained nominally under the Superintendent, but he 'was forbidden to visit them, so that although he had to forward 'the bills done on the previously sanctioned Estimates, he 'could not inspect it, or speak with any confidence as to the 'manner in which the money had been expended."—(*Report, para.* 140.)

At the end of six years, the expenditure amounted to thirteen lakhs only, instead of twenty-four; and out of these thirteen, five lakhs were in point of fact spent by Civil Engineers on bridges and estimates prepared by themselves, the money being taken from the "four lakh fund," as a ready means of obtaining the amount; for as the Commissioners truly say "the cause of this

'result unquestionably is, that the Road Department was on a 'scale utterly disproportionate to the work laid upon it."—(*Report. para.* 156.) We now add the words in which the Commissioners finally sum up, and express their opinion, on this portion of our subject. "Having thus reviewed the working of 'the Road Department, we are compelled to record our opinion, 'that it has failed, and that its failure is to be ascribed to the 'anomalies, and incongruities of its original constitution, 'aggravated as they have been by subsequent measures; viz., 'first, by refusing the necessary establishments; second, by 'withholding sanction for estimates; and third, by bringing 'the Department down into a fettered and useless position, by 'the order of the 31st January, 1851. It has failed to spend 'the money assigned to the roads; it has failed to effect any 'thing towards their improvement, commensurate with the ex-'pectations held out at the time of its formation; and it has 'failed to afford any material relief to the Civil Engineers, or to 'the Board of Revenue."—(*Report, para.* 164.)

In a division of the allotted task, wherein we have carefully but vainly endeavoured to infuse some expression of a loyalty and respect which we should have been equally glad to entertain and to confess, we have felt that the tedium of perusing our brief digest of the third section of the Report might be somewhat lightened by borrowing from a more advanced portion of the work, in order to give at once a general description of the present position of the Madras Presidency, in respect to its roads. But consistently with the scheme we have laid down, there seems little in our power in this respect; the application, and the results of the expenditure from the "four lakh fund," are admirably tabulated in the Appendix LI., but the table seems to be of too purely a local interest to warrant its insertion here. We must content ourselves by stating that the Madras parallel (*quam longo intervallo*) to the Calcutta and Delhi Trunk Road, is "the Great Western," by Vamiembaddy to Bangalore. The former, with the Soane and Jumna still unbridged, has, we believe, cost little less than a crore of Rupees; and for permanent maintenance, it has three and a half lakhs a year, or 350 Rupees a mile from Hoogly to Delhi. But our readers may be unprepared for the information that its traffic is only from one-sixth to one-third of that ascertained to pass along the Bangalore road, which has cost about fifteen lakhs, but with a maintenance of 470 Rupees a mile, (the rate for the great Ceylon thoroughfares being fully 600 Rupees yearly per mile); an excess caused, doubtless, quite as much by its surface never having been brought into the high order generally marking

the Agra road, as by the heavier traffic. Since the improvement of this road was begun, the cost of carts has fallen 49 per cent., and the loads have increased 77 per cent. ! The southern trunk, from Madras to Trichinopoly, now rapidly approaching completion, is also deserving of some attention, not only on its own account, but by reason of the great size and boldness of two of its brick bridges, respectively over the rivers Cavery and Colleroon. For many years past, Southern India has deservedly enjoyed a pre-eminence, both for the number and beauty, and also for the dimensions of its bridges, particularly in the Tinnevelly and Tanjore districts. But we believe that the two large works alluded to are quite unrivalled in any part of India, and are of a class commonly considered by Road Engineers in Bengal and Bombay, as not feasible with such a material as brick, which it is needless to say is usually very indifferent both in point of shape and of general quality. The Cavery bridge has thirty-two elliptical arches, each of forty-nine feet span, with a rise of 12 ft. 2 in., its piers being twelve feet high, and it has cost a fraction less than a lakh of Rupees; and the Colleroon bridge, with no less than thirty-eight elliptical arches of a uniform span of sixty feet, with versed sines of fifteen feet, (being but little less than half a mile in length of span,) has been completed for half as much again; or, to speak correctly, Rs. 1,49,645. It must be admitted that these two noble undertakings, whether regarded as works of much constructive skill and difficulty, or of general utility and convenience, would reflect credit on any Government. Their position, too, amongst the most fertile of the rice-producing talooks, gives them an especial value; and we quite agree with Mr. Chapman, in his late evidence, respecting the necessity of equal encouragement being given to means of transport, and to means of produce. Some very painful examples are given of the lamentable ignorance of the present Madras Government upon this subject, (*Report, para.* 336) where liberality in irrigation is made the *pretext* (since the *reason* it cannot be) for parsimony in roads! Mr. Chapman's evidence is so apposite, and is so pithily expressed, that we quote his very words, and commend them heartily to both our rulers and readers. "If works 'of irrigation are made, before there are works of transit to 'carry away the produce, I conceive you do nothing, but accu-'mulate the produce upon a spot where it is not wanted; and 'some very remarkable instances of that kind have taken place." One might think that he had the Rajamundry district in his eye, its prodigious increase of rice cultivation by Colonel Cotton's magnificent annicut, and the refusal of £1,000 to make eight miles of road from Samulcottah to Cocanada, which

would have completed the connexion between the grain-growing parts of the Godavery delta, and the shipping port; the only communication being by pack-bullocks across swamps and nullahs. As an example of the "*stet pro ratione voluntas*" in this matter, be the Madras Government judged out of its own mouth; on the 30th March, 1849, it decides that "no expense 'of this kind will be sanctioned in Rajamundry, until the works 'of the Godavery annicut are completed," as if seeking to adroitly turn the very reason supporting the desiderated grant, into a motive for unqualified refusal. We might here reasonably descant upon the infelicity of our own office, in which it is so frequently our unhappy fate to find intended eulogy converted into censure, and subjects we had hoped to distinguish by applause inevitably ramifying into the ground-work of blame!

Having now been involuntarily betrayed beyond the limits of the section more immediately engaging our attention, we will, at the risk of interfering with our future arrangements, place at once before our readers a small table, showing *in extenso* what the Madras Presidency, with its area of 138,249 square miles, can boast of, either as to made roads, or those naturally practicable for carts; and to which we will add, in conclusion, some tolerably long, but very interesting, quotations from another part of the Report, to which we hope hereafter to return :—

No.	*Districts.*	*No. of miles.*	*No.*	*Districts.*	*No. of miles.*
				Brought forward	165
1	Ganjam.....	40	12	South Arcot	9¾
2	Vizagapatam	0	13	Tanjore	533½
3	Rajamundry	8½	14	Trichinopoly	50¼
4	Masulipatam.....	2	15	Salem.....	400
5	Guntoor.....	39	16	Coimbatore	531⅛
6	Nellore	15	17	Canara.....	80
7	Bellary	9	18	Malabar	133½
8	Cuddapah	3⅛	19	Madura	682⅛
9	Kurnool.....	0	20	Tinnevelly	293⅛
10	North Arcot	36¼		Made roads by Road Department	230
11	Chingleput.....	11¾			
	Total . ..	165		Grand Total	3,110½

"Such is the state of the communications in the extensive countries forming this Presidency; a condition necessarily fatal to any attempt at improvement in wealth. We have not exaggerated the case; we take Bellary and Cuddapah as examples of the state of the country generally, on account of the large size of those districts; and we believe that, with the exception of a few better off for roads, their condition as to internal communications aptly represents that of the country at large, and whether we look at the tone and sentiment of the Collectors' Reports, or at the views of Government, as expressed in their orders upon them, we see no prospect of any material improvement. We fully admit that, compared with the work done in any similar period previously, much has been accomplished in the last ten years. But it seems considerable in that contrast only; compared with the requirements of the case, the only just comparison, all that has hitherto been done is quite insignificant, so that at the present rate of proceeding, it is absolutely impossible to calculate when the country will have any thing deserving the name of a system of internal communication.

"Among the Collectors we find one here and there, who evidently understands the full value of roads, and is urgent that something decisive should be done to improve those of his district; but in general there is a want of full apprehension of the importance of the subject; some officers speak of some few lines, as though those constituted the whole roads of their districts respectively, which need attention; one gentleman describes his 'roads as not worse than the general run of roads in India;' another admits that all his roads are in a ruinous state, but every year he is unprepared to suggest improvement; a third states that the roads of his district, 3,000 square miles in extent, are kept in good repair, at an outlay of forty pounds a year. In general, there is no attempt to take up the subject as a whole, or to exhibit the actual state of roads as they are, prominent mention being only made of some one or two lines, of the sums that have been expended, and of the small improvement thereby affected. We find no comparison attempted between the roads here and in other countries, nor any statistics given, except in a very few instances, of the traffic on different lines, or any data by which to judge of the rise or decline of trade, as roads are improved or neglected.

"And the tone of the orders of Government on those reports is still less satisfactory; still less encourages any hope of improvement hereafter; the object most conspicuously

observable in them is to get rid of the papers. No real interest is exhibited in the question, no anxiety is evinced to call forth the zeal of officers, or to promote improvement; no help is offered to those officers who display a strong desire for the improvement of their districts in this respect; no interest is manifested in the pictures which they draw of the want of roads, or any sympathy in the feelings with which they cannot but look on the reality daily before their eyes; and on the other hand, there is no word of disapproval, of admonition, or of instruction, for those who have no eyes for these vital wants of their districts, or who, seeing them, are indifferent, and make no effort or suggestions for their removal. And Government certainly over-estimate the value of the efforts and of the sacrifices which they have made, misled, apparently, by a too limited view of the sphere of operations. Thus, in speaking of the northern road, they refer to various sums sanctioned in the course of several years, and amounting on the whole to Rs. 56,625, for the improvement of the road; but it is apparently forgotten that the whole length of this road is little short of 700 miles, and that though £5,662 may seem a large sum looked at by itself, it becomes utterly insignificant, when regarded as the whole expenditure in four years on such an extent of road; and this, not to keep in repair a road already made, but for the most part to make one, where there was none at all before, and not only no road, but a surface much worse for traffic than many parts of the country where there is not even the name of a road. But whatever may be thought of the magnitude of the grants, the simple fact of the actual state of the road is quite sufficient to destroy all self-gratulation upon it.

"And as they over-estimate the means employed, so also they greatly over-rate the progress made. It is great when compared with those years in which nothing at all was done; but we see nothing in the operations of any single year, or any single district, that gives the faintest hope, that the present system can supply the great desideratum of cheap carriage generally. Such comparisons as are often made between improvements in different districts, or between those of different years, are dangerous; they stand in the place of those which ought to be made between the state of the communications in this country and in England, or even in the most favoured parts of the Company's possessions in India. No one talook as yet has nearly enough roads for its wants; and the improvements made, though they appear considerable when taken singly, are very partial: they affect only a few districts, and

that very partially, while they leave the country generally, unaware of their existence. Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Rajamundry, Masulipatam, Guntoor, Bellary and Kurnool, with an area equal to that of England, know nothing of the late improvements, nor do many other districts, except over an extremely limited portion of their extent."—(See *Report, pages* 157, 158).

The third independent superintending body in the Madras territories, under which the construction of Public Works is carried on, is the Military Board; and it is ably, though somewhat succinctly treated of in the fourth section of the Report. A yet further corroboration of the exceptional character of the Southern, as contrasted with the Western and Metropolitan Presidencies, is very abundantly afforded, not only in the exceedingly limited influence exercised by the Madras Military Board, over the Building Department, but in the almost entire exemption enjoyed by that body, from the reprehension conscientiously bestowed by the Commissioners on the Irrigation and Road Departments. The general reader, familiar with the unwelcome name of the "*Military Board*," as a bye-word, comprising at once vexatious interference, delay, obstructiveness, tyranny, and incompetence, will be surprised to learn that, under the Government of Fort St. George, the quiet system pursued by its Military Board, for the construction and repair of the buildings, required for the standing army of the Presidency, appears from the Report to be neither dilatory, costly, nor ineffective.

The "gigantic grievance," "monstrous excrescence," "perennial wet blanket," "the impending sword of Damocles," are all epithets to be culled from public prints as pet "*noms de ten dresse*," for a Bengal and Bombay institution, which the fourth section of the Madras Report describes as a useful working body, concerned in an annual average outlay of not more than two and three-quarter lakhs of Rupees, which it controls with a success assuredly surprising, when we consider the very small executive professional agency that the all-absorbing "Muramut Department" has left at its disposal. So little salient, so mild, and so brief, is the Madras Military Board Chapter, that our Article must needs *disappoint* the many, who may naturally have expected a racy pungency, trying to keep pace with the "dissatisfactions, irregularities, paralysis, extravagant cost, 'inconsistencies and inexcusable delay," so liberally imputed by the Bengal Commissioners on Public Works, vainly striving to rival the fiery Napierian invective,—"'The Military 'Board is a curse on the Indian army. During the ten years of

'my connexion with India, it was a source of overflowing evil. 'Take whatever may be injurious to the army in India, dissect 'it, and surely, directly or indirectly, *the Military Board* will be 'found the cause;" or, lastly, seeking to emulate the more dignified expression of my Lord Dalhousie's emphatic conviction, that "the Military Board is not merely ill-adapted, but 'is entirely unfit to be entrusted with the control of a most 'important branch of the Government of India." Our preceding pages have shewn, that in point of fact, the Madras Military Board never has possessed that power of evil, so unhappily given to, and so unscrupulously exercised by, the bodies bearing the same designation at Fort William and Bombay. A system (one that we would fain believe to be antiquated, but which has still a too strong *vis vitæ*, and tenacity of existence,) combining disbelief in individual honesty, distrust of individual responsibility, confidence in assumed collective wisdom, a shopkeeper's keen love of getting good pennyworths for his pence, by ex-officio, and, therefore, gratuitous labors, and a yet greater love of checks, based on supposed want of purity, together with a perpetual bureaucratic tendency towards repeated and universal *reference*, has been, and is, an invariable Indian administrative vice, dating from the dishonest days of Lord Clive; and it is to this corrupt source that we owe the monster nuisance now in a fair way of abatement.

We owe our readers some apology, which we beg that they will duly accept, for the few sentences we have written, with our thoughts disloyally withdrawn from the Madras Commissioners, who truly still furnish us with too much, and too important employment, to admit of, or to excuse further digression.

When the Report was compiled, the Military Board was composed of four members, two ex-officio, viz., the Commandant of Artillery, and the Chief Engineer; and two stipendiary, one a Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, whose service had been chiefly passed in the Board's Office, as Deputy Secretary and Secretary; and the junior, a Brevet Major of Artillery, whose former just titles to respect have now been honorably augmented by the share he has taken, as one of the Commission on Public Works, in the preparation of its able, fearless, and, as an Honorable Member of Council expressively phrases it, "discussive" Report. In the interval that has elapsed, (long enough for the accumulation of further sins of omission, by the neglect of the Government of Fort St. George to introduce any of the minor reforms upon its notice, and earnestly recommended for early adoption, of which several in the section before us,

requiring only the orders of the Local Government, would have been of immediate practical benefit and utility) a vacancy has been caused in the Board by the death of the senior paid Member; and judging from the time taken to supply his place, by an administration seldom at a loss for "heaven-born" experts to fill, at a day's notice, any office, from a Superintendent of Electric Telegraphs to a Judge of the Small Cause Court, we are led to conclude that, in future, all the current and emergent business of the Military Board, hitherto performed by the two Stipendiary Members, is to be permanently accomplished by a single paid officer. In the Department of Buildings and Repairs, we find the Military Board in correspondence with Commanding Officers of divisions or forces, instead of with Superintending Engineers, as in Bengal and Bombay. The Engineers styled "superintending" on the Madras side are simply Executive Officers, as understood elsewhere; and the inspecting department, to which so much respectability and weight are attached in the other Presidencies, the Commissioners acquaint us (para. 181), is altogether omitted in that of Madras. Plans and estimates, whether for the construction of new buildings, or for the repair of old, reach the Board direct, without having undergone any of that rigorous scrutiny as to rates, or professional examination as to dimensions and design, to which similar documents are so usefully subjected by the Bengal and Bombay Superintending Engineers. The custody and general charge of all military buildings, and the care of cantonment roads, are vested in the local officers of the Quarter Master General's Department; and in the Madras Mofussil, the name and office of Barrack Master are unknown. The corps or department in occupation is responsible for the condition of every public building, and when repairs are thought requisite, application is made, through the division station staff, to the officer commanding, who, if they be emergent, can sanction an outlay of Rupees 500, and if of a petty description, can authorize Rupees fifty, half-yearly, on each separate building. This last named discretionary power was only granted four years ago, and it has acted admirably, both in saving correspondence, and in ensuring the application of timely repairs; to the general improvement of Government property, and, what is of much greater consequence, to the comfort of the troops and the sick. When repairs or alterations exceed Rupees 500, or when new works are required, the officers commanding divisions or forces apply to the Quarter Master General of the army, who, by order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, addresses the Military Board, the only authority, that

at any time (*Report, para.* 177) can call for plans and estimates, and the invariable channel also of orders for work, other than that above particularized. From this outline, it is to be gathered, that the practice of assembling Committees, whether for deciding upon, or for examining repairs, or inspecting new work, and that the system of "annual repairs," have alike fallen into desuetude. The single inspection of the officer commanding has superseded Station Committees; and the rule which obliges the corps or department occupying buildings, to take the necessary measures for their needful reparation, does away with all occasion for "annual repairs" specially so called. The numerous periodical returns, that occupy so much of the time of the Executive and Superintending Engineers in Bengal and Bombay, do not appear to be called for by the Madras Military Board.

In contrasting the Madras routines with those which prevail elsewhere, we think it must be admitted, that there is a practical freedom from forms and encumbrances in the former, and a straightforward vigour and simplicity, warmly commending themselves to our approval. But whilst this may be admitted, and also that the action of the Military Board is auxiliary instead of obstructive, our own observation has led us to much question, whether officers commanding divisions and forces, and local members of the Quarter Master General's Department, are the most suitable authorities, to be substantively concerned in, or consulted regarding, the construction, repair, or position of public buildings. In some cases, not unfrequent, the age or infirmity of the former incapacitates them from forming or exercising a sound and wise judgment; and the latter class, being almost always appointed through the accidents of interest or private favor, are not often well adapted for becoming, what they so generally are, the influential local authority that chiefly guides the Military Board in their orders and arrangements for military buildings in the Provinces. Generally, too, we have further to remark, that whilst the present system may be found to work not altogether unsatisfactorily, where commanding officers have professional assistance at hand, in the Executive Engineers (by misnomer called superintending), this appears to be often far otherwise, when the execution of work devolves upon the Staff Officer or Cantonment Adjutant, (as is the case in all the divisions of the Madras army within the frontier,) who only holds office so long as his regiment forms part of the force or garrison. The real way, in which such an anomalous posture of affairs has been brought about, is, that the exigency generally of the public service having been

considered, just administrative principle and sound policy gave way to compromise and superficial expediency; the smaller want yielded the *pas* to the greater, and instead of Government coming forward with a broad well-considered measure for re-organizing the revenue branch of the Public Works, by an increase which would have repaid its expenses, and added largely to the resources of the country; instead of this, we say, the Revenue Board, with its yearly outlay of about twelve lakhs of Rupees, was strengthened, and the Military Board, with its expenditure annually of less than three lakhs, was weakened, by taking away the four Executive Military Engineers of divisions within the frontier, and making them Superintendents of irrigation ("Civil Engineers"), with instructions to attend to the orders of the Military Board, whenever their new, and much more important duties, would permit them. How matters went on, after the Military Board was thus denuded of its professional subordinates, is, in one case, *et ex uno disce omnes*, graphically narrated by the Commissioners. "As 'an instance in point, we may quote the case of the Ramnad sepoy barracks. These buildings, estimated to cost 3,675 Rupees, were ordered to be executed in 1847. In 1848 the young officer commanding the detachment at that place received an advance of Rupees 900, which he paid over to contractors for materials to be supplied; but before any materials were delivered, this officer was relieved by another equally inexperienced; the latter found it impossible to induce the contractor to fulfil his engagements; he appears even to have maintained that, as his contract was made with the first officer, he had nothing to do with the second, and at the same time he could not be persuaded to take the proper steps to get the contract transferred to the name of the latter. Ultimately, after multiplied vexations and delays, the First Assistant Civil Engineer of the division was placed in charge of this trifling work; he has been engaged on it already for many months, and it will probably still engage him for many months more. Thus the plan adopted, in this case, for rectifying the evils of the new system, was simply a return to those for which the old one was abrogated; one of the two Engineer Officers charged with the direction and control of the Muramut expenditure, in a division containing 16,400 square miles, and with the professional care of the many thousands of irrigation works, and all the roads within it, was withdrawn for nearly two working seasons from these important functions, in order to superintend the construction of a small and simple building, the necessary superintendence of which might

'have been performed fully as well, at one-fifth of the cost, by 'an intelligent European overseer, or by a qualified officer 'selected from the line, with a small staff allowance."—(*Report, para.* 186.) On the 1st May, 1851, there were advances outstanding in the Board's general military books, of Rs. 48,653, at the individual debits of seventy-six unprofessional and unremunerated officers from all branches of the service (*Report, page* 71) causing, as may be supposed, a very voluminous, and sometimes, vexatious correspondence.

With the exception of the Executive Engineer at the Presidency, the only Engineer Officers now left under the Military Board are four; one at Bangalore, a large military station, and the head quarters of the Mysore division, (but who is also under the Commissioner and Government of India,) one with each of the large subsidiary forces in the Deccan and Nagpore states, stationed at Secunderabad and Kamptee, and one in Central India, at Saugor, who, however, has two subordinates in the commissioned grade, (belonging to the artillery we understand,) in the dependent executive ranges of Mhow and Jubbulpore. This leads us to notice an apparent error in the Report (para. 175), where *four* officers are enumerated as employed under the Military Board in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. It is true, indeed, that the general management of the Engineer's Department, and the distribution of the excellent European overseers in the Saugor division (with nearly 100 miles of the Bombay and Agra road, and several important military and commercial lines, and a general area of 30,000 square miles) depend on the Executive Engineer at Saugor, and that he, as stated in the Report, is alone in direct correspondence with the Board regarding the works of the division generally; but we have not succeeded in finding more than the two executive subordinates, at Mhow and Jubbulpore, as already mentioned. We should not have brought forward this seeming mistake, had we not seen the error re-produced in greater detail in para. 203, and again in the tabular list of offices, for which permanent provision should be made from the Corps of Madras Engineers.

The mode in which the inspecting element and other proposed reforms are to be introduced, will be examined with greater convenience hereafter; and connected with this section, we will only add that the minute details of the Military Board's strange, ill-assorted and multifarious duties, and of the even more various and numerous offices devolved on the Chief Engineer, as described at length by the pains-taking Commissioners, offer nothing, we think, from which we can extract matter of general

interest; unless, indeed, it be, that the non-adjustment of their respective avocations, in the convenient manner prescribed, and for the sufficient reasons assigned, by the three *amici curiæ*, goes pointedly towards the aggravation of our repeated apprehensions, of either indifference or aversion (on the part of the present ruling local power) to a branch of Indian Government, which, in Bengal, we have seen to be held conspicuously worthy of the warm support, and of the thoughtful and comprehensive consideration of the Governor-General of India.—(See Lord Dalhousie's Minute, dated 24th July, 1851).

At length we have arrived at a sort of resting place, or debateable land between the past or present, as it has been, or is, and the future, as, it is to be devoutly wished, it should be; and from this, after our prolix description, historically, of the three different executive branches of Public Works in the Presidency of Madras, we can survey to advantage, though with small complacency, at least three obvious cardinal administrative defects that have rendered the Report more a narrative of misfeasance and of failure, than a record of advancement and success. We see a want of unity, as shewn in varying and often conflicting rules that govern each of the separate offices; we see a want of knowledge, as evidenced by practical disconnection of means of transport with means of produce; and we see a want of liberality, as exhibited in denial of efficient agency and skilled superintendence, by which alone measures of comprehensive improvement can be carried into effect, with full benefit to Government and the people. Under these three heads of charge, instances in illustration might be multiplied to the mingled wonder, incredulity, sorrow and satiety of our readers, did not regard to *their* already much-abused patience, and to our own limited space, forbid our thus adding "perfume to the violet."

Looking next at our three zealous and experienced labourers in the neglected Madras garden of economic improvements, as to a body, duly and deliberately commissioned by the Home Government, to amend as well as inquire; we think it may not be amiss, before we cross the threshold of their proposed reforms, to seek some authorized expression of their own, that may embody the sentiments with which they approach this part of their appointed duty. As public servants delegated to suggest remedies for what they see and show to be defective, inefficient, or fallacious, something like a confession of their faith may either conciliate or repress our own confidence in their wisdom and discretion; wherefore, as a key note to the system which they advocate for the future pro-

secution of all Public Works throughout the Madras territories, we now quote, for general canvass, their opinion, that it is "wasteful and unwise to have several controlling offices, each ignorant of the operations and the experience of the others, and two of them at least deficient in professional strength, and other two destitute of agents in the provinces, when by a union of all, the experience of all would be concentrated, the professional skill available would be most efficiently employed, and the local agents would be all under one head, and their services would be turned to the best account;" and also the *fact* that —"The control of a large expenditure (24 lakhs a year) is now divided among a number of Boards and individual officers, with little attempt at system or order, so that the total outlay is never presented to Government at a single view, and some not inconsiderable items are liable to be left out of sight altogether."—(*Report, pages* 80, 81.) As for ourselves, we submit that nothing of cavil or disproof is to be alleged against the positions contained in the former extract; nor is any thing to be urged substantially in favor of continuing the absence of all system described in the latter quotation. But before entering at length upon the leading and most conspicuous feature in the Report, namely, the constitution of a single united professional Board, not unlike the scientific and admirable, *Departement des ponts et des châussées* in France (with its special Minister of State, the *mot d'enigme* we trow to its success); we beg leave, at this early stage of the question, to refer somewhat at length to the fact of a very different result having been arrived at by the sister Commission in Bengal, and which has already been approved by the Governor-General, and sanctioned by the Court of Directors.

The abolition of the Military Board, as a chief practical obstruction, is one main proposition of the Bengal Commission; and the interposition of similar *vis inertiæ*, whether caused by the Revenue or Military Boards, on the Madras side, is equally proposed for abrogation by the Coast Commissioners. But in Bengal, a new head of the Department of Public Works is to be erected in each Local Government; and very strong and convincing reasons have been given for the appointment of one Chief Engineer in Bengal Proper; one in the North West Provinces; and one in the Punjab. These departmental authorities are to be always in direct and immediate communication with their respective Governments, and to inherit all the power and to discharge all the functions hitherto so injuriously exercised by the Military Board of Calcutta. The comparative vigour and promptitude, confidently anticipated by Lord

Dalhousie, must seem to all to be an inevitable sequel of these great changes, which possess the strong recommendation of an individualized responsibility, the nearest possible guarantee, alike to original selection solely by merit, and to the nominee's own subsequent efficient discharge of duty. Nevertheless, it by no means follows, because a plan has been struck out of so much *promise*, and so well adapted to the three Lieutenancies in Bengal, that one equally well suited to the Madras Presidency, albeit differing in its provisions, should not have rewarded the much longer consideration of the subject by *its* Commissioners. But no words of our own could enforce this view of the case so excellently, as the following extract from the Report:—"We would remark in the first place, that even if any one system could be pointed to as having been tried and proved to answer perfectly well under certain circumstances, yet other circumstances might make it unsuitable elsewhere. And we conceive that the mere facts that a large part of the revenue of this Presidency depends on the works of irrigation, and that much more than one-half of the whole expenditure on Public Works is devoted to the maintenance and improvement of irrigation, are alone sufficient to make a system that may be suitable to Bengal or Bombay, not necessarily applicable here. But even if this objection did not exist, no perfect or even eminently successful system can be appealed to in any part of India. On the contrary all the objections urged against the working of the Madras system, such as inadequate and ill-considered estimates, long delay in settling bills, and great cost of superintendence, appear to be found in a still greater degree at the other Presidencies. There is no existing system then, that can be proposed as a model; and any new system must be an experiment. We propose that one which, after careful consideration, we fully believe to be the best adapted to work well at this Presidency; but we do not recommend it as the best for the other Presidencies, nor on the other hand can we admit that the best plan there will of necessity be the best here."—(*Report, para.* 211.) To this we would add, as in deprecation of assimilation, that whereas the works on which the new Bengal Chief Engineers will have to report, can all be disposed of professionally, as questions of Engineering simply; in Madras, the fiscal considerations attached to hydraulic projects (especially such as illustrate the Cottonian era) have hitherto always been thought to require the most careful concurrent consideration of a very experienced revenue authority. Moreover, such works as the Madras Engineers are chiefly concerned in, works of irrigation,

(particularly if on a large scale, affecting extensive areas of waste or uncultivated land, with proportionate increase to the public revenue, and if also, as so frequently happens, doubtful latent mischief lurks therein, whether professional, fiscal, or sanitary,) require specially and emphatically, *to be "discussed."* Now, by this we do not mean the perfunctory elimination of any number of a Secretary's conventional sentences, or the oft one-sided and wrong-headed minute of a ready writing Councillor, wherein influence or authority are the substitute for reason, and an intimate comprehension of the subject, by courtesy supposed to be "under discussion;" but we mean a *bonâ fide* collision of picked minds, of different calibres, endowments, and attainments mayhap, but alike disciplined by professional training, and equally with each other personally interested and responsible in the business on hand. We claim a collective professional consideration then for all new hydraulic constructions if of any magnitude; and we have been told it is the opinion of, perhaps, the very best authority on such a subject, that the incalculable benefit arising from such animated and intelligent "discussion" as we have described (contrasted with mere jejune paragraph-making in answers, rejoinders, sur-rejoinders and rebutters) has, within his own knowledge, been strikingly shewn in many instances. Hydraulic art and science are far from having yet attained the exactitude and precision of other branches of Civil Engineering; and doubtless further collateral advantage might be derived from the permanent professional Board proposed for Madras, by instituting systematic courses of experiments, under prescribed conditions, the results of which might be tabulated, in a reasonable expectation of supplying many desiderata still felt by the Civil Engineer, and of correcting existing formulæ, so that the now considerable discrepancies between theoretical and practical results should in a great measure disappear. In the large project for throwing a dam directly across the river Kistnah, for which no less a sum than £155,000 has lately been sanctioned, it was at once felt that the enterprise and ardour of the projector of so extensive an undertaking might have beguiled him into exaggeration and extravagance; and the needful professional scrutiny was only obtained by the nomination of a special Committee, composed of Engineer Officers, necessarily brought from considerable distances, and withdrawn from their own occupations, to the greater or less inquiry meanwhile of the public service.

Add to all this, exclusively based on the different *staple* of Engineers' employments in the different Presidencies, that of

Madras, it may already be predicated, *Habet fœnum in cornu;* and pursuing the Horatian figure, we may remind our readers how notably the Chief Secretary's horn has been seen to gore the unfortunate late accomplished Superintendent of Roads, although nominally enjoying an authority, even greater than that with which Lord Dalhousie means to invest his Chief Engineers. Plans involving the welfare of a whole province, and representing the anxious labours and computations of weeks or months, may, as in Captain Best's case, be rendered nugatory by the *ipse dixit* of a Chief Secretary; and it may be confidently predicted that the result of appointments in Madras, after the pattern in Bengal, would be dependency on the Government office as the focus of obstruction, reticence and ignorance; and also, the eventual re-transfer to the Council Chamber of precisely that very discussion, which it is so highly desirable should have been previously and finally completed by the collective voice of a Board, so composed as to carry irresistible weight in its own deliberate professional convictions. We put these urgent statements, thus apparently out of place, before our readers now, because it is currently reported that the Honorable Mr. Councillor Thomas, the celebrated Road Chief Secretary, has taken upon himself to follow in name, though in a widely different spirit, the Governor-General's lead; and also, because we have the best means of knowing that, with the exception of the author (who is destitute of Mofussil revenue experience) all practical men at Madras, and in the Provinces, anticipate only unmixed evil from the propositions.

As a final, and what perhaps would better have been a preliminary objection to the assimilative treatment against which, by anticipation, we enter our cordial protest, we would point out that the promising expedient of three Chief Engineers, hit upon by the Bengal Commission, owes its origin plainly to the three separate Governments for which they had to legislate; whereas in the Madras Presidency, there being no similar *imperia in imperio*, there are no different administrative heads to whom Mr. Thomas's different Chief Engineers can be accredited, by way of overcoming a mischievous centralization of vicious geographical position.

Perhaps no better exemplification of the happy results of individual agency could be adduced than the vigorous direction of Public Works in the Punjab, by Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, C. B., and certainly only very strong reasons can reconcile us to the exclusion of a system which we have the advantage of seeing in such extensive and beneficial

operation. We candidly and at once admit, that our own adhesion to the proposed arrangement has not been given without hesitation, and such reluctance as is inspired by unfeigned distrust of diluted and divided responsibility;* but we do think that the reasons of the Commissioners, when taken together, are impregnable; and as such we invite attention to them as stated in the text, since any digest of ours would impair their force. 'In the *first* place a Board is permanent, and the personal 'experience and knowledge of individual cases obtained in the 'course of business, is not lost to the department on every one 'of the changes of officers so frequent in this country; *second*, 'the work to be done would certainly be vastly too much for 'any single officer, even with an ordinary assistant; and either 'it must be incompletely done, as we are so anxious that it 'should not, or the head of the office must be provided with 'one or more assistants of standing and experience, who would, 'in fact, share his work, though not ostensibly his resposibility, 'and upon whom he might be tempted to throw too large a share 'of it; *third*, the Department of Public Works is one in which 'it is pre-eminently undesirable that all questions should be de-'cided by the judgment of any one man, however able; and 'many questions would occur, in which Government would 'justly feel that it could not cordially and confidently accept 'the decision of an individual at the head of the department; '*fourth*; the variety of the works coming under the Board's 'cognizance, being so great, and the geographical extent 'of its jurisdiction so large, the varied experience of the 'members composing it, both as to place, and as to species 'of occupation, would be in itself an advantage; *fifth*, although 'the two qualities of promptitude and direct responsibility are 'supposed to belong only to the agency of individual officers, 'still it is certain that the former may be secured in a Board, 'also, by proper arrangements; and we believe that the latter 'may be obtained in a high degree, in a Board composed of

* The evidence of Colonel Kennedy, on the 14th July last, upon this particular question of corporate or individual agency, is so decisive and forcibly expressed, that we beg to ask our readers' attention to it. "With regard to Commissions, I have served with several, both executive and deliberative, and I believe that the best Commission, composed of the ablest and most conscientious men that can be put together, is still a very bad head for an Executive Department. As a deliberative body, a Commission may be useful, although, I think, its recommendations seldom offer more than a compromise of antagonistic opinions, without consistence as a whole; but of all the Commissions I ever heard of, the Commission for managing Public Works in India was the worst constituted, and its practice perfectly accounts for the difficulty that the Indian Government must have had in any useful Public Works."—*Evidence before Committee of House of Lords, 14th July*, 1853.

'a small number of members carefully selected, by giving the 'free right of recording minutes of dissent, and of sending up 'such minutes to Government."—(*Report, para* 210.) If the validity of this powerful exposition be admitted, we anticipate no objections in the abstract to the proposed constitution of the Board, three fixed and salaried members, one a civilian and two military, from the Corps of Engineers; though in the concrete, we may not be unprepared for demur to the appointment of a highly paid Revenue Member of the new Board. Besides that the stipend required for a civilian of eminence and experience,—and he will be useless if he be not thus distinguished,—as allotted in para. 216, would amount to the aggregate cost of all the rest of the Board, with its Secretary taken together, it may perhaps not unreasonably be urged, that the special cases of land tenures and revenue generally, which will come before the body in its current despatch of business, are not likely to be so numerous or so complicated as to occupy the whole time of the senior member, that in the intervals he will find little to engage his attention, that in purely professional questions he probably would rather embarrass than enlighten, and that by voting wrongly, he might even do mischief instead of good. Considering that the element of fiscal scrutiny is mingled largely in the local proceedings connected with each estimate and new undertaking, the opinion of the District Collector being invariably obtained and recorded,—we cannot say, with perfect truth, that we ourselves regard the appointment of a highly paid Civil Servant as essential *per se* to the practical efficiency of a Board of Works; but yet we apprehend that even if the proposed lucrative office were a sinecure (from which respectable and now rare institutions, we shrewdly suspect it will not greatly differ), it might be wise and economical to make the concession, on a full and distinct understanding, that no military man, or set of military men, acting in a civil or departmental capacity, will ever in the Madras Presidency command adequate influence or weight; or will long escape the fate that so speedily overtook Captain Best, unless he or they have a Civilian representative. At once a protection, support, and dignified make-weight, we do not believe that a Revenue Member, selected from the covenanted body of the Civil Service, could be safely dispensed with at Madras; and we think that if duly selected from men of the fine stamp of the Messrs. Sullivan, Kindersley and Blackburne of bye-gone days, considerable and frequent advantage would accrue from the august society and fellowship of such zealous and highly gifted public servants; so that upon the whole we cordially hope the

Commissioners' scheme may be accepted without alteration. The two working Stipendiary Members are to be Officers of Engineers, not necessarily taken by regimental roster, though to possess the requisite experience, they must needs be of considerable standing; the Chief Engineer, being relieved from session in the Revenue and Military Boards, is to have an ex-officio seat in the Board of Works, which, as a matter of course, is further to have an Engineer Secretary. Excepting always the remuneration proposed for the Revenue Member, the amount of which may not be tampered with, taxed, or revised, there is small likelihood of fault being found with the scale of intended salaries on the score of *over* payment. The proposition that one of the members shall be liable to make professional journies, (para. 215) we think objectionable, as leading to loss of time, and devolving on the single remaining working bee more labour than can be properly executed; particularly as the Secretary is to be strictly a merely ministerial officer, and is neither to share in the deliberations of the Board, nor to aid in the composition and compilation of the Reports in course of preparation. A second provision in the same paragraph, for *vivâ voce* explanations in the Council Chamber, seems to us clearly dependent on the retention of the Revenue Member; he might, without danger, lose the prestige of *omne ignotum pro mirifico*, but the spectacle of rulers speaking as they write, we rather imagine should be reserved for the privileged, and by no means be exhibited *coram populo*. We should both transgress decorum, and invite disbelief, were we to transfer to our pages the not invisible pencil annotations which certain Madras irrigation-work papers are supposed lately to have received from the hands of Right Honorable or Honorable writers; but we must seriously and sorrowfully assure our readers, that if they would do us the favor to refer to an earlier page of our Article, and apply to the distinguished writers each of the choice epithets accepted by Lord Dalhousie from the Bengal Commissioners as suitable exponents of the qualities of the Calcutta Military Board, they will assuredly commit no kind of injustice. Unquestionably radical as is the reform proposed by the Commission, and prompt and beneficial as we firmly believe its operation would prove, we still fear that the labour of the Government in the Department of Public Works may commonly issue in miscarriage, unless the services of a dry-nurse be permanently at command. It is a painful, but bounden duty for us to state that it is more than discreditable, it is destructive of general respect, and it is literally suicidal, that Honorable Councillors, from ignorance more to be pitied than blamed, should any

longer be exposed to a temptation they rarely seem able to resist, of stultifying themselves by transparent fallacies, and of neutralizing the inherent elasticity of the public Revenue, through want of that royal road to learning, which might be commodiously provided by a "Consulting Engineer," to be ever at the elbow of the Council, like Major Kennedy or Major Baker, in the vice-regal closet at Barrackpore. A link in the professional chain, we think, is still wanting, *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* It seems to us that not only on great or special occasions, but in order to infuse an habitual uniform, consistent, systematic, and far-seeing sagacity throughout the length and breadth of the Department of Public Works, some thoroughly confidential *Amicus Curiæ*, whether designated "Consulting Engineer," or "Secretary to Government in the Department of Public Works," should be allowed to a Government, of whose Provinces four-fifths are at this moment entirely uncultivated, and of the total extent under the plough, namely, one-fifth only of the whole area of the territories, (*Report, page* 120) barely one-fourth is now irrigated!! Scruples of mere finance are surely out of place, when considerations of such vast magnitude engage the attention; and if the Commissioners, when they have deserved such high praise throughout their whole mission, can be thought more entitled to commendation for some parts of the Report than others, we believe it is when, breaking through the trammels of convention, and of limited local and class interests, they take broad comprehensive views, placing before Government, not merely that comminuted detail to which they are habituated, and regulated by which they dole out a patch-work piece-meal fragmentary administration, but such a wide territorial *coup d'œil en masse*, as to the eye of a Roman Proconsul, or of an enlightened British Statesman (like him who has just left us, lamented by all, but with deepest cause for sorrow, by Madras) might unfold the secret of a prosperity, hitherto without parallel in India. At present, alas! all hope of the regeneration of Madras is buried in the grave of Mr. Thomason.

We fear from our own dealings with the Report that its "suggestiveness" may be objected to: but our further survey of the work, with which we now proceed, will show that no sins of omission, from neglect of particulars, lie at the door of the Commissioners. The duties to be confided to, and performed by the "Board of Works," constituted as we have detailed, embrace all those (with many important ones superadded) hitherto discharged by the Revenue and Military Boards, and Superintendent of Roads, acting independently of each other; but it is justly held to be essential to its successful working, that it be strictly controlling, so as to systematize the expenditure generally, and

to give it such direction as shall make its beneficial influence as extensive as possible. One chief duty is "to take a general view of the whole country, of its capabilities, and requirements in every part, and to see that every province, and every branch of improvement, shall receive its due share of attention." Details are to be almost entirely left in the hands of the local authorities, (now greatly invigorated by an inspecting class, of which more hereafter;) and it is earnestly recommended that they should openly enjoy a confidence, and an enlarged discretion as to execution of works, and repairs within certain limits. It will be found on sufficient examination, that in reality, local officers possess these already, though fettered by having to pass through various channels to Government, who, at last, can only be guided by the opinions of the self-same local authorities, the sole source of information. Several other changes, some in principle, and some merely in routine, are suggested; and particularly in the glaringly absurd practice of occupying the time of Government by the individual sanction of every bill for work executed on a previously authorized estimate. The true and pithy words of the Commissioners on this subject run thus:—"The Government has not the means of really dealing with the details of bills; and it is almost superfluous to say that the real check afforded by their submission in that form is nothing at all. But it bears the semblance of effective check; and with that prevailing jealousy which so much characterizes the system, the power is, for the sake of that semblance, taken from the controlling Boards, which have the means of exercising it efficiently, and added to the mass of detail which, from all departments, takes up so much of the time of Government;"—to which we subjoin their statement of the general principles which they recommend for adoption; viz., *first*, that all repairs to buildings, as well as to irrigation works, should be undertaken by the local officers, without the previous sanction of higher authority; *second*, that the same should be the case with regard to made roads, but that the plan of a permanent allowance for the repair of every such road, a plan which has been fully approved by the Honorable Court, should be generally adopted; *third*, that bills for repairs should be passed by the controlling Boards without a reference to Government; *fourth*, that in the case of new works or improvements, when an estimate has been sanctioned by Government, the bill for the work should be finally passed by the Board, unless it exceed the estimate by a certain percentage to be fixed; *fifth*, that the operations of the Board under the preceding four rules shall be brought under the review of Government in periodical reports."—(*Report, page* 224.)

The remainder of this chapter exemplifies the intended operations of the new Board, throughout each set of circumstances incident to the control, construction and repair of every class of Public Works; they strike us, after careful and deliberate consideration, as excellent throughout. With this hearty general commendation, we should dismiss this portion of our subject, as not presenting further matter of general interest; but we think it would be unjust to withhold from the knowledge of our readers the very interesting prospect held out by the projected preparation, for the first time, of the important papers described in the following extract:—"Another important duty of the Board of Works should be to lay before Government annually an account current of the works under their control, especially those of irrigation. We trust that we have shewn to the full satisfaction of all who read this Report, that irrigation works are really valuable to the Government, and that the cost of constructing and maintaining such works is not capital thrown away, but so invested as to return a very handsome profit directly into the Treasury. But in order that this quality of that expenditure may be duly kept in mind, it is necessary that the outlay and the return should be periodically shewn in comparison. For if the latter appears only as a part of the general land revenue, and is nowhere shewn in its real character, while the former appears by itself, unconnected with its results, the expenditure will be regarded with jealousy and disfavour, and a disposition will prevail to restrain it within the narrowest possible limits. Whereas, if the annual account of disbursements is accompanied by a statement of the profits, it will be seen that the outlay is not a source of loss, but of gain; and it will come to be regarded as one important means of developing the resources of the country and increasing the revenue, the light in which, we are persuaded, true economy requires that it should be viewed. In order to carry out this idea, we propose that an account should be taken of the value of all existing works of irrigation, somewhat resembling the "Dead Stock Account" already kept of buildings; and that all the charges for such works, new or old, and the whole revenue derived from them, should be annually balanced and laid before Government. The value of the old works must be taken arbitrarily at some fixed number of years' profit; that of works recently constructed, and of all formed hereafter, would be the actual cost. A certain per-centage of ordinary deterioration must be allowed annually as a deduction from their value, and on the other hand, all additions and improvements, and even ordinary repairs, would appear as increasing it. While making this recommendation, we are well aware that it will involve no

'little amount of labour to keep accurately and punctually 'such an account as we are speaking of, but the end in view 'seems an important one, and worth the cost and trouble." —(*Report, paras.* 227, 228). With this additional specimen then of the excellent performance before us, we now conclude our very feeble notice of Section V. of the Report, on which, in a great measure, hinges the practical benefit to be derived by the Madras Presidency from the labours of its fearless Commission on Public Works.

Vigilance, promptitude, and vigour, are the qualities hitherto defective in the different Madras systems of Public Works, which the Commissioners confidently expect to secure by the creation of a special Board of Works, composed chiefly of professional and scientific members. After carefully arriving at this opinion, the next office of the Commissioners has been to provide a suitable subordinate agency, whether inspecting or executive, duly proportioned in numbers and range of duty to the actual requirements of the country. It is quite plain that, unless this relation be satisfactorily made out even to demonstration, the scale which may be proposed for the permanent future strength of the establishments throughout the Provinces, may be summarily branded with the epithets of vagueness and arbitrariness, disentitling it to the respect and adoption of the ruling authorities. To effect this important purpose, we find that two long sections have been intercalated in the Report, the first of which is devoted to a comprehensive examination of the value of irrigation to the revenue and general wealth, and to a consideration of the advantage of its maintenance and extension; and the second is given to an extended view of the roads and communications of the country in their present condition, and to an exposition of the neglected and still decaying state of the various harbours on the sea-board. With equal industry and ability, the Commissioners have accumulated, from the most authentic sources, a vast mass of information, which places before us both what has been done, and what has been left undone; and various striking examples are given of the admirable results that have followed the adoption of liberal measures in carrying out the schemes of improvement suggested by Colonel Cotton, and his like-minded brethren of the scientific body. The average returns are so vast as almost to stagger belief in other parts of India, and we question whether they would be generally credited, if they were not found to be corroborated by official returns of undoubted authenticity. We subjoin a Table of thirteen improvements effected during the last fourteen years (*Appendix Z showing the entire list of such undertakings*), and from this it will be seen, that their aggregate cost was Rupees 2,34,901, and the total net *annual* gain in revenue, after deducting the

annual charges, was Rupees 3,17,357, being at the rate of 134 per cent. per annum on the capital expended :-

District.	Works.	First Cost.	Average yearly outlay in Repairs and minor Improvements.	Average yearly increase of Revenue by the work.	Average yearly net increase, deducting the cost of Repairs, &c.	Per-centage of the yearly net gain to the first cost.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Rajamundry	Samulcottah Channel	13,472	2,840	13,289	10,449	77 $\frac{9}{16}$
	Boopiah Caluay and other works	19,259	1,362	18,975	17,613	91 $\frac{7}{16}$
Masulipatam	Pullairoo Channel	13,713	1,759	27,600	25,841	188
	Apparow Channel	8,756	577	23,287	22,710	259$\frac{3}{8}$
Guntoor	Cochinapoody Tank Channel	366	459	1,181	722	197$\frac{1}{4}$
	Vellatoor Channel	7,087	723	7,013	6,290	88$\frac{3}{4}$
Nellore	Vervor River Channel	1,751	83	2,393	2,310	132
South Arcot	Lower Coleroon Anicut and connected works	74,234	2,855	1,01,641	98,786	133 $\frac{1}{16}$
Tanjore	Upper Coleroon Anicut	83,401	18,159	1,38,861	1,20,702	144$\frac{11}{16}$
Coimbatore	Pillioor Tank and other works	6,311	248	5,862	5,614	86 $\frac{9}{16}$
Madura	Improvement to a small Anicut on the Vigry River	2,466	470	2,681	2,211	89$\frac{5}{8}$
Tinnevelly	Teroovengadanadapoorum Tank	643	...	1,048	1,048	163
	Autoor Tank	3,242	623	3,684	3,061	94$\frac{3}{8}$
	Total Rupees...	2,34,901	30,158	3,47,515	3,17,357	134

It should be particularly remembered, that the Table Z in the Appendix, above referred to, and from which. the above is an extract, is a catalogue of ALL moderately large "occasional" (special) outlays during the last fourteen years; and is not a picked list of projects, the execution of which has been attended with peculiar profit. Humanly speaking, there was not the smallest reasonable likelihood of any similar return being ever called for from the able professional Secretary of the Board of Revenue, and the outturn, great as indeed it is, must not be regarded as an unexpected "*trouvaille*" to be celebrated with trumpet and drum, but is, in every sense, an average return, spread over a large space of time, of the benefit which the Madras Government is continually solicited to graciously accept at the hand of its professional body in the Mofussil. And if results like these (134 per cent.) are found to be gained, from what may fairly be regarded as common samples of the undertakings frequently pressing themselves on the attention of Civil Engineers of Divisions, whilst vainly striving to keep pace with the annual routine of ordinary repair; still more beneficial consequences are shewn to accrue, when the attention of a scientific and enterprising officer is not frittered into segments by daily check, by constant change of place, by numerous minor expenditures, but is concentrated upon one or other of the gigantic schemes, which the leading geographical features of the land suggest to the affluent professional conception and constructive skill of such gifted public servants (and may we not in simple truth term them "public benefactors") as Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Cotton. We now offer to our readers the great gratification of perusing, in the words of the Commissioners, some account of the large works, still in course of a too tardy prosecution in the District of Rajamundry, having added to the instructive Table No. 2 a statement of the export returns for the two years that have elapsed since that in Appendix D. (*Report, page* 321) was published; and we had hoped to have similarly continued Table No. 1 for the years 1851-52 and 1852-53, for which authentic materials had been collected; but in this matter we have been unexpectedly disappointed.

No. 1.

Statement showing the Collection, the Expenditure on Irrigation Works, and the Clear Revenue, in the District of Rajamundry, for a series of years.

Years.	Total Collections	Increase above the average of the 11 years before the Anicut Works were begun.	Outlay on Irrigation Works.	Net Revenue, after deducting the outlay on Irrigation Works.	Increase of Net Revenue above the average, prior to the Anicut Works, after deducting the outlay.	Remarks.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1835-36	19,83,888	....	5.654	19,78,234	....	
1836-37	21,43,769	....	9,017	21,34,752	....	
1837-38	19,94,614	....	5,948	19,88,666	....	
1838-39	15,54,148	....	16,917	15 37,231	....	
1839-40	17,13,201	....	19,772	16,93,429	....	
1840-41	16,83,767	.. ..	40,833	16,42,934	....	
1841-42	19,23,702	.. .	17,166	19,06,536	....	
1842-43	18,77,745	.....	12,258	18,65,487	....	
1843-44	19,86,148	....	37,858	19,48,290	....	
1844-45	20,37,358	....	34,187	20,03,171	....	
1845-46	20,91,085	.. .	44,734	20,46,351	....	
Average of 11 years.	19,08,129	....	22,213	18,85,916	....	
1846-47	22,19,098	3,10,969	2,44,182	19,74,916	66,787	
1847-48	22,73,485	3,65,356	3,45,561	19,27,924	19,795	
1848-49	23,18,180	4,10,051	2,20,611	20,97,569	1,89,440	
1849-50	22,02,984	2,94,855	2,55,067	19,47,917	39,788	
1850-51	24,81,700	5,73,571	2,00,000	22,81,700	3,73,571	
Total Increase	....	19,54,802	....	....	6,89,381	

No. 2.

Statement showing the value of Goods exported by Sea, from the District of Rajamundry, from the year 1843-44 to 1850-51.

Year.	1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.	1846-47.	1847-48.	1848-49.	1849-50.	1850-51.	1851-52.	1852-53.
Value of Produce Exported	Rs. 6,33,991	Rs. 7,29,297	Rs. 9,06,554.	Rs. 13,53,503.	Rs. 10,95,397	Rs. 10,56,727	Rs. 9,76,719	Rs. 13,96,226	Rs. 13,06,614	Rs. 15,73,427

"So long ago as before the close of the last century, an Engineer (Mr. Topping) had observed the facility with which the Godavery might be made to irrigate the districts on its banks, and had brought to the notice of Government how desirable it was to throw an anicut or dam across the river, so as to raise the water, and thus make it available for that purpose. The project was allowed to sleep for half a century, but in the year 1844, the district and its revenue being in the declining state already noticed, it was again taken up. The Civil Engineer, Captain A. T. Cotton, first made a general report (12th August, 1844) on the feasibility of the project and the probable results: and having been directed to collect and submit more specific information, he made a second and more detailed report on the 17th April, 1845, with detailed estimates of the cost of an anicut across the Godavery river, and a more general statement of the probable cost of a system of channels and other works in connexion with it, for the distribution of the water. The project received the approval of the Government, and ultimately of the Court of Directors; and the construction of the anicut, the only part of the works at first sanctioned, was commenced early in 1847.

"The undertaking was a gigantic one; a river exceeding two miles in actual width, besides the islands which at that point divide it into four branches, and running over a bed of pure sand of unknown depth, was to be arrested in its course by a dam twelve feet high thrown across it; and a large part of its waters was to be diverted, and distributed over an extent of 3,000 square miles, by means of a net work of channels, each one of which must not only be taken at that elevation which would enable it to perform its allotted part, in conjunction with the rest, in bringing the whole tract of country under irrigation, but must be adapted as to size and gradient, to convey exactly the quantity of water required, and no more. And all this was to be done in a country where such works had never been heard of before on a scale of any magnitude, or at least only by tradition, and to be effected by the agency of workmen most ignorant and unskilful, who had to be taught almost every thing, with a very scanty number of skilled or professional Superintendents, and where almost all the means of abridging or facilitating human labour, if obtained at all, must be fabricated on the spot by means of the same defective agency. The difficulties encountered in the prosecution of the work, from the combination of all these unfavourable circumstances, can certainly be fully realized only by those who had a part in the

task of overcoming them; some glimpse of their character and amount may be obtained from Colonel Cotton's reports. But our business here is not with the difficulties of the undertaking, but with its cost, and its results.

"Captain Cotton's estimate for the works amounted to twelve lakhs of Rupees, distributed as follows:—

"The anicut with locks, sluices, &c.....	5·lakhs.
"Embankments to the river	1
"Irrigation channels	2
"Drainage works.	1
"Sluices, locks, and other small works of masonry....	1
"Roads and bridges	2
Total.....	12 lakhs.

"But his more accurate estimate for the anicut itself amounted to Rs. 4,75,572. He supposed that the whole of the works would be completed in five years; and he calculated that at the end of the first ten years the works would have afforded a net surplus income, above the average revenue of the district in the preceding eleven years, to the aggregate amount of Rs. 26,80,000 after deducting their first cost, and repairs.

"The completion of the works has required a longer time than was then anticipated, partly from delay in obtaining sanction for the channels and other works of distribution, partly because the extent of the operations necessary was found to be larger than was at first computed, and partly in consequence of the very inefficient means placed at Captain Cotton's disposal for laying out and planning the channels and other works. The cost too has been larger than was expected. The work had not proceeded far before it was found that the anicut would cost more than the estimate; the stone quarries turned out to be deceptive; and the material could not be laid down at the price supposed; a larger quantity than the estimate provided was found to be necessary; and lastly, a more finished and substantial style of construction was adopted. Upon the recommendation of a committee appointed to consider the question, the Government, in February 1849, sanctioned a supplemental estimate for the anicut, to the amount of Rupees 4,07,506, in addition to Rupees 5,03,703 already expended; and in the same month of 1851, a further sum of Rupees 65,742 was added, for the purpose of extending one end of that work. Thus the total estimated cost of the anicut itself became Rupees 9,76,951, and that may be taken as its actual cost. The total expenditure on all parts of the project, up to the present time, is about thirteen lakhs; and it is calculated by

'Colonel Cotton that about eleven lakhs may still be required; 'making twenty-four for the whole system of works, including 'a most important line of navigation, and a lakh and a half of 'expenditure on roads."

"In exhibiting the results of this project, we will first show 'those already realized in comparison with the expenditure up to 'the present time, and then state the very much larger advan- 'tages which we are thereby fully warranted in anticipating, 'when the whole of the works shall be completed and in actual 'operation. And here we must observe that a comparison 'of the expenses and returns up to the present time is very 'unfair to the project, for two reasons—1*st*, because the 'total cost of the anicut (a work which will supply the means 'of irrigating the whole tract) is now shewn against the gain 'from a very small part of that extent, in consequence of the 'present incompleteness of the channels for distributing the 'water; 2*nd*, because the large sums expended even on the 'works of distribution, in the last year at least, have not yet 'had time to give a return in revenue, and yet their whole cost 'also is included on the debit side. But even viewed under 'these disadvantageous circumstances, the benefits from the 'work are seen to be very great. We will first take the whole 'revenue of the district, as shewn in the appended statement 'No. 1. It is here seen that on the average of the eleven 'years preceding the commencement of the works, the whole 'land revenue of the Rajamundry Collectorate was Rupees '19,08,129; and even that is too favourable a statement, for 'in the last two or three years of that period, the revenue of 'parts of the district had improved greatly, in consequence 'of the clearing out of some of the old channels, previously 'very much choked with deposit. In 1849 the work at the 'anicut commenced, and the revenue instantaneously felt the 'benefit of it. In that first year the collections were larger 'than in any one of the preceding eleven years; and each 'of the succeeding six years has shewn an advance above the 'preceding one, with the exception of the single season '1849-50, in which there was a destructive flood in the Goda- 'very; and even in that year the collections exceeded those 'of any one of the eleven years before the anicut was begun. 'Nor is this all; in the very first year of the works, and in 'every subsequent year, the increase of revenue above the 'previous average exceeded the sum expended on the works; 'so that the net revenue, after deducting the amount of that ex- 'penditure, has been actually greater in every year, even while 'the works have been in progress, than the average of the

antecedent eleven years. And up to the close of the revenue year 1850-51, with which the statement closes, the aggregate amount of such net gain was no less than Rupees 6,89,391. The total expenditure on the works had been Rupees 12,65,361, and the total increase of revenue above the previous average was Rupees 19,54,802; leaving a net surplus gain, as already said, of Rupees 6,89,391.

"This striking fact deserves special notice. To what are we to ascribe the instant rise of revenue, and the sudden spring of prosperity of which it is the index, taking place immediately on the commencement of the works? It could not then be wholly the effect of irrigation, for in the first year the benefit in that way must have been very small; and even now, the increase of irrigation, large as it has been, is not sufficient to account for the whole gain in revenue. Another cause then must be sought, and we believe it may be found in the condition of things repeatedly noticed by Colonel Cotton, viz., in the vast stimulus given to industry and production by the employment of labour and the circulation of capital, involved in the expenditure of large sums in a depressed and poverty-stricken district. This is an important element among the incidents of such undertakings as the present, which has been too little recognized. Colonel Cotton indeed dwelt upon it in his very first Report on the Godavery irrigation, and his expectations of profit from the works were framed with reference to it; but in general it has been entirely overlooked. In the present instance indeed its operation has been increased by the fact that a large Madras firm, which has a sugar factory near Rajamundry, has been enabled very much to augment its purchases, as the extension of irrigation made it possible to extend the cultivation of the cane. But though this fact explains the otherwise strange circumstance that the increase of revenue exceeds the sum expended, it does not weaken, but confirms the great and important fact, that the outlay of capital in a district, in the employment of labour, whether by Government or by private persons, produces an immediate and powerful effect on the revenue. Practically indeed this has long been known; every Tahsildar in the country is well aware how much more easily his collections come in years when merchants are making large advances in his talook for sugar, indigo, cotton, &c.; but it has not been adequately recognized by the Government, or seen in its real bearing on the outlay of money by Government on the works of irrigation or on the roads. In future it is to be hoped it will not be lost sight of, in that relation.

"We will now briefly state what appear to be the future 'prospects of benefit from the anicut. We have already said 'that Captain Cotton computed, that at the end of ten years, 'it would show an aggregate net gain in revenue of Rupees '26,80,000 over and above all charges, in excess of the average 'revenue prior to the improvements. We have seen that 'one of the elements of this calculation, viz., the cost of the 'works, was very materially under-estimated; and the period 'for the completion of the works being much protracted 'through the causes already noticed, another element of the 'calculation was modified, for this delay necessarily postponed 'the time when the whole system of works would be in opera-'tion. But though the estimate was thus disarranged, there 'still seems good ground for believing that the anticipation 'of net results will not be found to have been too sanguine. 'Captain Cotton's calculation in 1845 was as follows:—

"Expenditure in the next five years (*i. e.*, dating from the commencement of actual work) to put the Delta in order	12,00,000
"Ditto, annual repairs from that time for five years, at 1 per 'cent. yearly, on twenty-four lakhs of revenue.....	1,20,000
Total expenditure...	13,20,000
"Increase of Revenue in ten years, at an average of four lakhs 'yearly	40,00,000
"Net gain in the next ten years by a liberal expenditure	26,80,000

"The calculation at present may be stated as follows:—

OUTLAY.

"Actual expenditure up to the present time (five years).....	13,00,000
"Estimated further expenditure in the next three years.....	11,00,000
"Ordinary repairs and minor improvements for two years, at 'Rupees 1,20,000 yearly.....	2,40,000
Total...	26,40,000

INCOME.

"Actual increase of revenue up to the present time.....	19,54,802
"Probable increase during the next five years, at an average of 'seven lakhs yearly	35,00,000
Total...	54,54,802
"Probable net gain in ten years from the commencement of the 'works.....	28,14,802

"It will be seen by statement No. 1., that the excess of col-'lections in the single year, 1850-51, over the average before

'the works were begun, was five lakhs and three-quarters; the 'revenue has largely increased since the very first year of the 'improvement, and there is no doubt that it will continue to 'rise at an accelerated rate. Not to mention other channels 'and works, one single work constructed this year, the Ganarum 'aqueduct, will convey water to a tract of country of 30,000 'acres, which alone will yield a revenue of little less than a lakh 'of Rupees. We feel sure, therefore, that we are quite safe in as-'suming seven lakhs as the average yearly excess of collections, 'during the next five years, over the average before the works 'were commenced; we fully believe that in point of fact it will 'be still larger. If then Captain Cotton largely under-estimated 'the cost of the project,* there seems good reason to believe 'that he also greatly under-rated its benefits; and that after 'deducting the increased expenditure, the net gain at the end 'of ten years will be even larger than he expected.

"And if we carry our views further, and contemplate the 'probable eventual results, we cannot but feel persuaded that 'his largest anticipations will be realized, both as regards the 'direct profit in revenue to Government, and the vast accession 'of wealth to the people. We cannot forbear to glance hastily 'at this promising future. The tract capable of being watered 'from the anicut is 3,000 square miles, or two million acres; 'and there is more than sufficient water for this extent. But 'as a part of it is capable of being watered also from the 'Kistna, by means of the anicut to be constructed at Bezwar-'rah, Colonel Cotton takes 1,200,000 acres as the actual extent 'to be irrigated. And out of this there will be water for 'about 100,000 acres all through the dry season, which will 'probably be all cultivated eventually with sugar-cane, betel, 'chillies, plantains, and other valuable products. The richness 'of the soil adapts it admirably for the sugar-cane, the cul-'tivation of which has very much extended since the anicut 'was built; and a Madras mercantile house has a large sugar

* "It is an apt illustration of the mode in which undertakings of this nature are regarded at Madras, that while the Committee who investigated the causes of the insufficiency of the estimate, and the probable cost of completing the work, received the thanks of the Government, and very deservedly, there was nothing but severe censure for the officer who devised the project and superintended its execution, at enormous and incessant labour to himself, both mental and bodily. No matter that he had given a net addition of several lakhs annually to the revenue, and that he had brought industry, enterprise and wealth, to a community of a million persons, previously poverty-stricken and desponding. He had committed the grave offence of making too small an estimate, by an error of judgment which might have been supposed pardonable in an undertaking of such vastness and such novelty; he had represented the money price of all the enormous advantages of the work, utterly insignificant in reality, as more insignificant still."

factory very near Rajamundry, as already noticed. The growth and manufacture of sugar are likely to increase immensely. Colonel Cotton reckons that after the works have been completed, a yearly outlay of Rs. 1,20,000 will be fully sufficient to maintain these works in good order; and adding to this sum Rs. 50,000 for the yearly cost of the engineering, and muramut establishments, being on a liberal scale and an outside estimate, and the further sum of Rs. 1,20,000 as the interest at 5 per cent. on the capital invested, twenty-four lakhs, the total annual charge will be Rs. 2,90,000, which will give less than four annas per acre as the yearly cost of conveying the water to the land. The increased income to Government is reckoned at only two and a half rupees an acre, though it will hardly any where be less, and will be very much more over a great part of the tract, because a large part of the newly irrigated land will be such as was never cultivated at all before, and never paid any thing. Even at that moderate rate, however, the total increase of revenue will not be less than thirty lakhs annually; being more than cent. per cent annually on the outlay, after deducting all charges; and large as this appears, there seems nothing impossible or incredible in it, if we look at Tanjore, which now actually pays with ease and alacrity a revenue of forty-seven lakhs.

"And this triumphant success, this magnificent addition to the revenue, is not to be gained by exaction, by trenching on the fair rights of property or industry; on the contrary, the noblest feature of all is that this vast gain to the Government is to be obtained by adding in a far higher degree to the wealth, comfort, and happiness of the people. The value of the crop on an acre of dry land does not exceed Rupees 6, but that of an acre of rice is Rupees 20, and of an acre of sugar-cane it is Rs. 230; being a gain of Rupees 14 an acre in the former case, and Rupees 224 in the latter. The gain to the producer, therefore, by the improvements in question, may be stated as follows, at a low estimate:—

	Rs.
" 100,000 acres of sugar-cane and other valuable products, ' at Rupees 200	2,00,00,000
" 11,00,000 acres of rice, at Rupees twelve	1,32,00,000
Total...	3,32,00,000

"Reckoning the value of the crops at these moderate rates, and taking no notice of the fact that much of this will be

land now altogether waste and unproductive, or of the certainty of the crops under river irrigation, compared with their precariousness at present, we find that the gain to the ryot is 332 lakhs, and if he pays thirty lakhs in revenue, he will still be a clear gainer of 300 lakhs a year. It is no wonder that the greatest anxiety is displayed to get a share of the irrigation, or the greatest alacrity to use the water when so obtained; nor is there any thing surprising in the striking change which Colonel Cotton so prominently remarks on, in his later reports, as exhibiting itself in the character of the people, activity, enterprise and life having taken the place of their former apathy and despondence."—(*Report, paras* 258 to 265.)

Appealing in this wise to the self-interest of Government, and exhibiting a theatre for the display of improvement on a scale of surprising magnitude, the Commissioners, after thus conciliating the intelligent judgment of their readers, proceed to establish conclusively the average annual expenditure necessary, under each head of charge, to meet the undeniable requirements of the country. There are no *lacunæ* that we can detect; no gaps in the chain of argumentation by which the deductions are obtained; and we do not know of one position taken up, that has been left unsupported by proof. The wants then being shewn, and the wisdom of supplying them having been incontrovertibly demonstrated, it only remains to bring the requisite machinery into play. There can of course be no closer connection, than that between money grants for particular purposes, and permanent establishments for carrying the objects into effect. Redundancy, or insufficiency, are patent to the inspection of all. The sixth and seventh sections of the Report contain a correct and vivid picture of the Madras territories in their present state, as to works of irrigation, communication, and harbours; the eighth section deduces the expenditure called for by the posture of affairs exposed in the two preceding chapters; the ninth assigns the strength of establishments required for the annual outlay thus fixed; the tenth treats of the educational means necessary to impart full efficiency to the subordinate agency provided in the previous chapter; and the eleventh and concluding section of the Report recapitulates and epitomizes the salient points of the entire treatise, which are here enforced with a more conspicuous vigour and eloquence than the Commissioners have been tempted to display in the general staple of their work.

The brief and meagre outline we have given above is

intended to exhibit the general structure of a Report, which it has now been intimated to us is of too great a bulk, and of matter too valuable, in reference to the important results affected by its adoption or rejection, to be, satisfactorily to our readers, or with justice to the compilers, disposed of in a single Article. We have, therefore, in this Number of the *Calcutta Review*, been reluctantly compelled, after only completing our cursory examination of the first five sections, to stop abruptly in our detailed notice of the first part of the Madras Report. Our paper in continuation will be prepared under fewer disadvantages, and may be expected to contain more interesting matter than it has been in our power to bring forward in the present Article. Some portion, however, of the object we had in view, has, perhaps, been accomplished by what we have already written. We hope we have satisfactorily shown, that the inquiry which has at length been brought to a conclusion at Madras, was urgently required, and may lead to very beneficial results; that that Presidency generally is in a very different position from Bengal and Bombay, and is able, upon a more liberal expenditure than has hitherto been allotted to her, to make far greater proportionate returns; and, lastly, that the investigation itself has been conducted with a candour, fearlessness, and comprehensiveness of view, entitling the gifted Commissioners to the highest respect and admiration, not only of the community generally in this country, but of all who are connected with India, whether by ties of duty, interest, or affection. Of the deservedly high estimation in which the Report is held in England, there are, within our own very limited observation, two testimonies of a different kind, each of which we think must have brought its measure of gratification to the Commissioners. The first is the obvious respect and approval with which the Examiner of Indian Correspondence, Mr. Peacocke, speaks of the treatise in his evidence before the Select Committee on Indian territories, on the 11th of July last, using it as the best text-book for his replies, even on the statistics of the great canals in the North West Provinces; and the second is that surest test of popularity and importance, admission into the columns of the English *Times* newspaper, of a series of very able letters on the Madras Report, under the signature of FRIEND OF INDIA, written in a brilliant pointed style, easily identifying the author with a retired revenue officer of distinction, well known for his successful administration of one of the Madras Provinces a few years ago. The local press, which has never been conducted with the literary ability of which it may justly

boast at present, has repeatedly eulogized in high terms the services conferred by the Commissioners in bringing such an irrefragable mass of well-digested evidence to bear upon the hitherto too much neglected state of the roads and rivers of the Presidency; whilst, lastly, from Delhi has appeared, in the lively pages of a monthly periodical, a very witty and effective resumé of the Report—light indeed in style, but the very reverse of superficial in its substance; since there is not an omission of one essential feature of the schemes supported by the nominees of Government. But the most flattering tribute of all, the prompt and cordial acceptance of the recommendations, needing only local approval to be immediately adopted, is as yet withheld, and the Commissioners' natural disappointment at this delay has not been alleviated by those personal courtesies and attentions which a grateful Government can so gracefully bestow.

The first part of the Report was presented on the 23rd December, 1852; and the less interesting, but hardly less important duty of investigating the methods observed in keeping the accounts of outlay, making advances to the executive, forms of estimates and details of bills, was then undertaken without delay. The second and concluding part of the Report, which, we have heard, has struck out a very notable improvement in the cumbrous routines current hitherto for obtaining final sanction of all bills and accounts submitted, was finished a few weeks ago, and with its completion terminated the very responsible, anxious and laborious duties of the Commission on Public Works.

The Governor of Madras, for more years than we are careful to enumerate, has been an Officer of the Indian Army; by service he is a Lieutenant-General of the Bombay Infantry; by the gracious favour of Her Majesty the Queen, he is a Baronet and G. C. B.; and through the influence of Manchester, who very mistakenly believed him a disciple and exponent of "progress," he is the recipient of the special bounty of the Courts of Proprietory and East India Directors, embodied in a pension of £2,000 a year. To these various distinctions was added a halo of political renown, won in the mazes of Scindian, Chinese and Caffrarian diplomacy by the Plenipotentiary, the Right Honorable Lieutenant-General Sir H. Pottinger, Bart., G. C. B., coincident with whose arrival as Governor on the shores of Madras, it was confidently predicted, and generally believed, would be the inauguration of a luminous and beneficent era for the Benighted! Like some other

public men, he may have had bad advisers (we ourselves have never yet heard of his taking counsel of any,) and like most other public men, he may, from defect of judgment, of experience, or of information, have been betrayed into error; but from whatever cause, it can no longer be denied, after the lapse of considerably more than the accustomed quinquennial gubernatorial lease, that disappointment has been great and universal. Few, perhaps none, save His Excellency the Governor, have done more to expose, in unmistakeable colours, the true character of the Madras Government under its present Head, than the three Commissioners appointed to enquire into, and report on, the state of Public Works, by the Governor-General of India, under instructions from the Court of Directors; and with a singularly happy congruity, it has been reserved for these gentlemen, personally, to supply an unexpected attestation to the veri-similitude of what officially they may seem to have implied. The Report contains many passages, from which it would appear undoubted that certain personal qualities in the Head of the Government are usually found to react practically, and exercise considerable general influence on the development of the resources of the country, and consequent welfare of its people, just as the trustfulness and liberality of Lord Elphinstone, and the industry and conscientiousness of the Marquess of Tweeddale, can be satisfactorily traced out in the impulse unquestionably given to improvement during their respective administrations.

On Tuesday, the 9th November, 1853, the Commissioners attended a *public* breakfast at the Madras Government House, in order subsequently to present to His Excellency their second volume, and to report the complete fulfilment of the duties confided to them. In addition to our many other obligations to the Commissioners, we further thankfully owe it to them, that it is now in our power gently to inquire, as we respectfully do, from our readers, what *must* be the personal qualities of a Governor who, on so public and formal an occasion, could unceremoniously eject from his reception-room gentlemen of such high position and character, and acquaint them, by an aide-de-camp, that an admission, the common claim of all, had been in their particular case "*a mistake*"?

Since the above pages were written, the proceedings of the Madras Government, on the Report which was their subject, have come before us, and we are unwilling to pass them over

without some notice of what is unquestionably the most important document among them.

We can afford to pass over the minutes of the Governor of Fort St George. In the first of them, a short memorandum—written after a cursory perusal of the Report—he observes that "it is not entitled to that confidence, though some facts in it 'may be well supported, which such a document should com-'mand to render it of any general practical use" In the second, a more elaborate paper—written after the perusal of the minutes of the Members of Council—he states that he has "not discovered the smallest reason to modify those impressions."

These unfavourable sentiments have prevented a hearty adoption of the general recommendations of the Commissioners, and without their adoption, we do not anticipate that any very marked improvement is likely to be effected in the Public Works Department Neither shall we make any detailed remarks on the minute of the Hon'ble J. F Thomas, who, while entirely agreeing that the Department is deficient, that more Engineers and Assistant Engineers, and an improved status of the subordinate officers, are requisite, turns much of his attention to objecting in detail to various remarks of the Commissioners.

Let the following extract suffice as an example —"I think their statements in this section are too often loose and deficient in accuracy. Take for example their assertion, * * * that the *whole* of the territories of the Madras Presidency carry on their cultivation in great part by means of artificial irrigation, the waters for this purpose being obtained either by channels taken off from the rivers, or by the tanks or reservoirs. The truth being that it is only a few districts which thus depend so greatly on artificial channels and tanks, while some of our largest, and most important Provinces, (as will be seen by the following data,) scarcely depend at all on artificial channels and tanks * * *

"The facts are as follows, in 1851-52 —1 Guntoor had lands 'under tanks and nullahs, but 21,408 acres. Under other cul-'tivation 7,19,004. This manifests how little the Province was 'dependent on artificial irrigation."

We shall not further extend this extract, and give the details of other districts. The case of the Guntoor district will suffice for our purpose, and it is truly lamentable and inconceivable, that this example should be brought forward by a member of the Madras Government as a proof of the unimportant amount of irrigation. It should rather be adduced as accounting for the great famine twenty years ago, as a proof

how that fearful visitation, and the vast loss of life and property it entailed, were of no avail as a warning,-as a testimony to the supineness of the Madras Government, and its disregard of the applications of its local officers, any thing in short rather than as a justification of its short-comings.

We turn with pleasure to the able and judicious remarks of the Honorable Daniel Eliott, and while citing some of the instances in which he records his concurrence with the Commissioners, we call the attention of our readers to the fact, that on most of them there can be little difference as to their general principles, among men who earnestly desire the improvement of the country, and believe that that improvement can be effected. Mr. Eliott states that he has always been an advocate for extended irrigation works, but that his convictions have been greatly strengthened by the perusal of the Report; that an extended system of works and roads will largely augment the revenue, with infinite relief to those who pay it; that there is room for profitable works in every district; that at least eight lakhs of Rupees a year should be allowed as a road fund; and that if the state of the finances should not permit this and the yearly allowance for irrigation works to be paid out of public revenue, the money should be raised by loan, it being morally certain that the investment will create a fund for repayment; that if a considerable fall of prices follows an extension of irrigation, the assessment on land should be adjusted; that a Board of Public Works should be established, and an increase of the numbers and efficiency of the establishments, both of Engineer Officers and their subordinates, should be provided. We shall not follow him into these details, or enlarge on the absolute necessity of improved means of education for the subordinate *employés*.

Mr. Eliott also remarks that it is undeniable that the lines of road from the interior to the coast, which are of most importance with a view to opening up the resources of the inland districts, have been most unaccountably neglected, and that the condition of the military road from Masulipatam to Hyderabad is not to be excused. In the face of this admission, and of others which are scattered through the proceedings, it will be needless for us to enter on the question, unimportant in a public point of view, of the tone of the Report. The Commissioners are accused, and not without some grounds, of "studied reflection on the Government;" but such truths could not be stated palatably, and a clear statement of the whole case was a public duty.

The aim and object of the Report is not petty and trifling: to improve the means of cultivating the land now irrigated, to create new irrigation works, watering large tracts of country, to open up new roads for the commerce of the world to pass to provinces now inaccessible, to give a stimulus to production in a great country inhabited by twenty-two millions of men, "to scatter plenty over a smiling land"—these are objects which may well excuse the over-earnestness of zeal, and defend it from the cavils of those who do not sympathize in them. Such undertakings are worthy of the highest genius, and would be ornaments of the most brilliant career; and we fervently hope that if they are not such as are acceptable to the Government of Madras, a still higher authority, the Government of India, may not think them too trivial for its notice, or too distant for its interposition.

ART. V.—*Defects, Civil and Military, of the Indian Government. By the late Lieut.-General Sir Charles Napier, G. C. B.*

IN noticing this book, we are going to deviate from the custom hitherto observed invariably in this and similar *Reviews*, by permitting the Reviewer to write in his own name. This deviation from a custom which we regard as good in general, seems to be justified by the peculiarity of the case. Besides notices of other subjects treated of, or touched upon, by Sir Charles Napier, the following notes contain a special vindication of Sir Henry Lawrence and the Punjab Board of Administration, of which he was President, from the grave charges brought against them. Sir Henry being personally attacked, was unwilling to reply anonymously, and urgently requested us to allow the following "notes" to appear in their present form, rather than in the usual form of a review.

In this book, the "Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab," of which I had the honor to be President, and many public matters connected with that country, which are necessarily well known to me, have been so misrepresented, that I feel called on to lay before the public a few notes which I have made in reading it. They are plain spoken, but have not, I hope, caught enough of personality from the book they discuss to be amusing; and I wish their only claim on the interest of the reader, to be that of contributing some truth to a question of contemporary history. The work entitled *Defects, Civil and Military, of the Indian Government*, would probably have fallen dead from the Press, had it not been bolstered up by the name of Napier. Unqualified praise, indiscriminate censure, and exorbitant egotism, are its marked and main features. *Praise*—of the admirers of Scinde and all pertaining thereto; *abuse*—of supposed opponents of all classes; of all Indian Administrators in General,* and Punjab Administrators in particular; and *egotism*—unparalleled. In this book, Sir Charles has done his worst.

There was a gloss over the superlative self-praise contained in the *Conquest and Administration of Scinde*, those volumes

* Every rule has its exception. Sir Charles Napier praises Thomason, Shore, and Mr. W. Edwards. He associates the first and last, and thereby stamps his own powers of estimating administrative ability. The Hon'ble Mr. Shore was a good, honest man, of strong prejudices, ill-directed energies, and moderate talent, fitter to lead a squadron than administer a province. His book did good, though he too often took the exception for the rule. Nine-tenths of the abuses he remarked on have since been corrected.

having been given to the world by Sir William Napier. The sentiments—often the very words—were Sir Charles Napier's own; but they were adopted and put forward by Sir William.*

Brother may extol brother. Sir Charles may consider the *Peninsular War*, as the one true record of the day; and Sir William may laud Sir Charles, as a man of "subtle policy," "unsurpassed resolution," "matchless activity," the "just padishaw," "the peaceful legislator."† These hyperbolical and inapplicable epithets may raise a smile; but the world can forgive fraternal affection, however exaggerated.

The case is here different. This third volume, which in reality is a supplement to the two previous ones, being announced as by Sir Charles Napier himself, though edited by his brother, makes the former his own trumpeter. It is Cæsar, not only putting forth his own modest commentaries, but showing how great a man he was, how small a man Pompey, what blessings he had poured on Gaul, what curses his rival had inflicted on Spain.

Sir William Napier dedicates his brother's book on "Indian misgovernment" to the people of England, because "it exhibits faction frustrating a great man's efforts to serve the public." Similar sentiments crowd the work, but though I have read it more than once, I have in vain sought for proof of the faction which marred the General's efforts. I find many assertions of opposition and intrigue, but no corroboration thereof.

The special proofs, given in the first chapter, of "that 'secret base hostility, which is proverbially difficult for hono-'rable men to repel," are, firstly, that the Directors sought for a precedent for excluding the new Commander-in-Chief from the Supreme Council, and, secondly, that they declined letting him bring to India Lieut. Wood, a retired officer of the Indian Navy.

Considering Sir Charles Napier's antecedents, the only surprise is, that his appointment to India was not altogether opposed at the India House: indeed, it seems strange that the writer of the following passage should have desired to sit in the Council of Calcutta:—"He (Napoleon) had nothing vile 'or cruel in his object, whereas the object of the English Go-'vernment was to enrich a parcel of shop-keepers—the '"shopocracy" of England, as it has been well termed; and a 'more base and cruel tyranny never wielded the power of a 'great nation. Our object in conquering India, the object of

* See "Administration of Scinde," pp. 14, 15, 42, 43.

† "Administration of Scinde," p. 16.

all our cruelties, was money—lucre. A thousand millions sterling are said to have been squeezed out of India in the last sixty years. Every shilling of this has been picked out of blood, wiped and put into the murderers' pockets; but wipe and wash the money as you will, the 'dammed spot' will not 'out.' There it sticks for ever, and we shall yet suffer for the crime, as sure as there is a God in Heaven, where the commercial interests of the nation find no place; or Heaven is not what we hope, and believe it to be. Justice and Religion are mockeries in the eyes of a great manufacturing country, for the true God of such a nation is Mammon. I may be singular, but, in truth, I prefer the despotic Napoleon to the despots of the East India Company. The man, ambitious of universal power, generally rules to do good, to subdue nations. But the men, ambitious of universal peculation, rule only to make themselves rich, to the destruction of happiness among a hundred millions of people. The one may be a fallen angel, the other is a hell-born devil!"*

As it is not usual to invite enemies to the Council Board, posterity will probably exonerate the Directors in this matter. The General was a good soldier: they were therefore content he should lead their armies. His administrative opinions were hostile and ultra: they accordingly objected to his taking part in the superintendence of their civil and diplomatic affairs. Surely there was no "base hostility" in this!

The Court's refusal to allow Lieut. Wood to come to the Punjab as Pontooner General being construed into proof of "base hostility," is even more unreasonable. Wood was a good officer, had done good service, had been up the Indus, and had written a pleasant and sensible book, narrating his journey to the Oxus; but he was not, as asserted, a man "knowing the rivers, and speaking the languages of the tribes on their banks." He knew only the Indus, if one upward voyage can give competent knowledge of a river. Of the languages of the people he was necessarily ignorant. It may raise a smile, to find that he "was to enlist a body of English sailors at Calcutta, and so form a powerful Bridge Train." Well might the the Directors be startled. Here was a scheme likely to prove as expensive as the Baggage Corps,† and quite as unnecessary.

* "Lights and Shades of Military Life," edited by Sir C. Napier, pp. 297,298.

† "Some Account of the Baggage Corps of Scinde," published anonymously, but acknowledged by the distinguished commander of the Scinde Horse. He tells us that "the Baggage Corps scheme was merely ridiculous, and cost the revenue of India more than £150,000, a sum sufficient to have made excellent roads all over the Province." No one can doubt the fact. It was a scheme, however good in principle, involving the payment of half a crown for a shilling's worth.

It would probably have ended in the death of all the poor sailors before the year was out. Supposing, then, that such appointments lay with the Directors,* their aversion to another experiment, particularly when shadowed out in so wild a form, was not unreasonable. Colonel Napier, the excellent Civil Engineer of the Punjab, has managed to supply all the rivers with boats and flying bridges, on cheaper terms than Lieut. Wood, ignorant of localities and of all other requisites, could possibly have done, even had his Europeans been salamanders, proof, not only against the sun's rays, but the deadly miasma of the Punjab rivers at their ebb.

A similar rebuff was given to myself, when in England, in 1848. On the breaking out of the second Sikh war, the President of the Board of Control, desiring that I should see the Duke of Wellington, procured me an audience. It ended in his Grace's saying that I ought to return to the Punjab. I expressed my readiness, and wrote to the Court, offering to go at once. They replied politely, ignoring me, and leaving me to act on my own judgment, as I was on medical certificate. I was disappointed, but perceived no hostility in the Court's act.

While thus I can discover neither "faction" nor "base hostility" arrayed against the conqueror of Scinde, I find in this posthumous book unmeasured abuse of the Indian Government, of the Governor-General, and of various minor authorities. I also find, that not content with commanding, and looking to the efficiency of an immense army, he arrogated to himself the right of carping at the civil institutions of the country; and that while constantly, and without reason, complaining of civil interference, he was as constantly himself interfering in civil affairs,† criticizing them unsparingly and, as it were, with personal bitterness, and invariably measuring their efficiency by the tale of his own Scinde arrangements.

The Board, of which I was President, is frequently noticed, but almost invariably in disparaging, and sometimes in insulting terms. We are accused of stirring up a cruel war, and carrying it on in a barbarous manner. We are taunted with the grossest ignorance of all that was going on in the province under our charge, and with *not even knowing* that cannons were being cast in the jungles around us.‡ We are

* At page 430, Lieut. Wood himself tells the simple truth—"There (the India House) I was told that the Directors had no power to originate a single appointment in India.

† Though the Commander-in-Chief is ex-officio a Member of Council, he has no powers as such, while absent from Calcutta.

‡ Page 370.

" gentlemen who wear red coats, but who are not soldiers."* We are " ignorant Civilians and beardless Politicals."† We are a weak and dangerous Government. We had no police a year after annexation.‡ We could not, even at that period, " relieve the gate guards of the town" of Lahore. His confidence in our military capacity " was entirely shaken" by our having desired to spend several hundred thousand pounds, in uselessly repairing the walls of Lahore; by our asking for a new fort at Kohat, an idea " too puerile to need remark;"§ and by our desiring to accumulate troops at Adeenanugger, " a place well known to be *uninhabitable* even by the natives at a certain season." Our " self-sufficiency and ignorance" are asserted to have justified his " indignation." " In military ' matters the Punjab Administration were only worthy of ' censure, and its system of Civil Government tended to pro- ' duce early dislike to our rule, and possibly insurrection." * * * * * * *

" There was no other reason for the retention of so great an ' army in the Punjab."—(*Pages* 43-44.)

There is very much of the same sort of rabid assertion loosely scattered over nearly a hundred of the four hundred and thirty-seven pages in the book. My readers, however, who have been accustomed to Sir Charles Napier's writings, and have observed how, in the words of a brilliant living writer, he had " the faculty of believing without a reason, and the faculty of hating without a provocation—"* * * *—; how " what he calls his opinions, are in fact merely his tastes;" will not be surprised to hear, that nearly every statement above made is contrary to fact. I do not mean that Sir Charles Napier thought so. He doubtless believed he was telling the truth, but this reduces us to the conclusion, that a man of genius, of unquestionable ability, of indomitable courage, and of great natural kindness of heart, was so blinded by prejudice and passion, as to have been utterly unable to see what was before him; and that, having for years lived in a tempest of contention, he went out of the world, leaving to his country a final out-pouring of his wrath, rather than a testimony of his judgment.

I have neither desire, nor expectation, that my statements should be taken on trust. I have the means of proving all I have asserted, and shall presently proceed to do so; here premising, that I shall be happy to stake such reputation as I enjoy, on the Lahore and Kohat defence questions, on the

* Page 407. † Page 430. ‡ Page 399. § Page 427.

Adeenanuggur locality dispute, and indeed on the essential inaccuracy of all the accusations brought by Sir Charles Napier against the Board of Administration.

There was much in the conqueror of Scinde to regard and respect; and until I had opportunities of closely scanning his acts, I looked on him as one, in all points of his military character, to be emulated. With many others who disliked his Scinde policy, I admired his vigor, his decision, what appeared his even-handed justice, and above all, his seeming desire to better the condition of the private soldier. On these grounds I warmly welcomed him to India, and anticipated much good to the Bengal army from his coming among us. Accordingly, about February, 1849, when the Governor-General informed me that Sir Charles was coming out, I replied, "I am very glad, but he will give your Lordship trouble." Lord Dalhousie rejoined: "I do not think so; he knows his duty, and I know mine." This reply may help those who take literally the statement made at page 10 of the book, that Lord Dalhousie said at the first interview, "He 'would take d—d good care I should not encroach upon his 'power."

On the 9th of May I introduced myself to the new Commander-in-Chief, by a letter to an officer on his confidential staff, in the following words:—"I am right glad to welcome you to India. Little did I think, when we parted in Dublin, that a twelve-month would bring us together in this far off land: I trust it is for good. Many, nay most of our aims, are in common, and I hope we shall be able to assist each other in carrying them out. I hope Sir Charles Napier's health has not suffered by the hot journey. The war is over, but I look for much good to our army, from his energy and ability. I am again the worse for wear, but in a fortnight hope to be at Kussoulie, near Simla, and to stay in the hills for a month. Before I descend, I hope to see your party. I hope that you intend to pay Lahore a visit in the cold weather."

The above will show that *I* was no party to any "faction," and that I was influenced by no "base hostility" towards the coming Commander-in-Chief.

My visit to Simla was paid; but though the Governor-General desired that I should see the Commander-in-Chief, it was a full week after my arrival, and only a day before my departure, that I could obtain an audience. Sir Charles was courteous, listened to what I had to say, and appeared to agree generally in my views, especially as to not having the Pesha-

wur Cantonment on the Khybur side of the city; also as to the necessity of a permanent bridge over the Indus at Attock, and the importance to the peace of the Punjab, of having the means of *instantly* putting down the first germ of insurrection. I cannot say he ever afterwards favored me with a private interview. In August 1849 he went through the form of consulting me by letter regarding the strength and disposition of the troops in the Punjab; but he not only disregarded the opinions which he had invited, but treated with contempt the account I gave of the strength of the Cashmere army, though my reply, in which I reported on both subjects, was written from Cashmere itself. I insert my letter in a note, as expressing my sentiments on several points here discussed.*

When Sir Charles arranged to visit Lahore in December, I invited him and his Secretary to put up with me, and every member of the Punjab Administration paid him the utmost respect. We soon found that he would not transact business with us. He was always personally polite, even asked me to dinner, though he declined dining at my house. He preferred, however, talking on any subject, rather than that of the Punjab and the Frontier. Information was not what he wanted, much as he complains that he could obtain none.

Cashmere, 11th October, 1849.

* My Dear Sir Charles,—I only received your note of the 1st instant yesterday, and therefore fear that anything I can now say, will be of little use. I have, however, long since laid my opinion on the military occupation of the Punjab before the Governor-General, and have not my books here, to enable me to furnish your Excellency with a copy I will, however, so far as I can recollect, lay before you an abstract of what I have at different times said or written on the subject

The internal security of the Punjab will depend on several considerations, besides the presence of a regular army, such as the employment of the people; the occupation, in *perfect* security, of such forts as Govindgurh, Lahore (citadel) Attock, Mooltan and Peshawur, as well as several in Hazara, three or four in the Peshawur valley, and as many in the Derajat.

To these I would add places of security in every cantonment where, at utmost, a wing of a regiment could protect all stores, munitions and baggage, while the troops moved out to the field. A proportion of these to be able to move at three or four hours notice. I am quite satisfied that 500 men, moved on the instant, and able to move fifty or sixty miles within the twenty-four hours, will be more valuable than 5,000 sent into the field after a week's preparation I would have a battering train in the fort of Attock, and a bridge over the river, and good roads from Ferozepoor and Jullunder to the frontier. From 35,000 to 40,000 men, one-third Irregulars and about one-quarter Europeans would then suffice, supposing we have a military police of not less than 10,000 men. There will be more danger of disturbance two years hence, than at present. In five years the force may probably be reduced by a quarter,

The distribution I propose would be somewhat as follows.—

	Men.	*Field guns.*
In the Lahore and Umritser neighbourhood	10,000	30
On or about the Indus, including Peshawur	12,000	40
Wuzeerabad	2,000	6

Now for the other side of the picture. A twelve-month later, a warm admirer of Sir Charles expressed to me his regret at the differences between the Commander-in-Chief and the Board of Administration. I replied that we were sorry, but could in no way blame ourselves, as we had done all in our power to preserve amity. He then told me, that when in Scinde, after the first Sikh campaign, he had asked Sir Charles for an introduction to me, on which he went out of the room, returned with a volume of the *Calcutta Review*, containing a disparaging Article on the conquest of Scinde, and remarked, "The man you ask me to introduce you to, wrote that." He was in error. I had neither written a line of the Article, nor had I the slightest concern in it.

Another fact must be mentioned, which appears to me to show, that prejudiced as Sir Charles was when he returned to India in 1849, he was then, to a certain degree, willing to

Mooltan	2,000	6
Hazara	2,000	6
Derajat	2,000	6
Leiah	2,000	6
Pak Puttan	1,000	0
Mithunkote	3,000	6
Jeylum	2,000	6
Jung	1,000	0
	40,000	112

Such is in the rough, what I have said, or what I now think, will be requisite for at least the next two or three years; and, as your Excellency has done me the honor to ask my opinion, I do not hesitate to give it, repeating, however, that I have no documents by me here, to refer to, and adding, that I am in all the confusion of a march.

This valley seems, as it were, out of the world, every thing is so quiet and so different from India. The Maha Rajah's whole force does not much exceed 20,000 men, scarcely half of whom are regulars. They do not use musquets, but each man is armed with a gun, called a permair, a little longer than a musquet, most of which have flint locks. Each regular carries a sword, slung behind him, across his back. The men are active, intelligent, good soldiers, but by no means so tall as the Seikhs. The cavalry can hardly exceed 1,000, and the guns may perhaps number—but not one-quarter of them are equal to our six-pounders, the more common calibre being one or two lbs. The strength of the Maha Raja is in his country, his ability, and the influence he has over the minds of others. This is very great.

(Signed) H. M. LAWRENCE.

P. S.—In my opinion, the Derajat and Hazara can best be held by Irregulars, and that they will suffice for Jung and Pak Puttan. From the days of the conquest of Mysore, downwards, much of the rough work of new countries has been done by Irregulars. According as the military police, men armed and paid as Irregulars, are increased, so may the regulars of the army be decreased. There are many excellent soldiers in the Punjab, men who have done good service to us but who chafe at even the discipline of the Irregular horse, and will only enlist in brotherhoods of twenties or fifties.

(Signed) H. M. LAWRENCE.

co-operate with me; but that in a few months he entirely changed his tone. At our Simla interview, I begged him to visit the Lawrence Asylum. He said he would do so, keenly adding, he had wished to speak to me on the subject, as he desired to know if I was willing to amalgamate the Lower Orphan School with it. I replied, that I should be delighted; that the eventual junction had always been my aim. "That will do," he said, "I will speak to the Governor-General this very day." I heard no more until some time after, when a friend wrote to me saying, that the Commander-in-Chief was prevented stirring in the matter, as he had heard from the medical officer of the Asylum that it was extremely unhealthy. I instantly wrote to His Excellency's Secretary, telling him that the statement was false; and begged that a Committee might be appointed to make a thorough enquiry. I received a cordial reply, assenting to my proposal. Eventually *one* doctor was sent. He made a full report, showing that the Asylum was singularly healthy. I heard no more of the amalgamation scheme from Sir Charles, who, however, visited the Asylum for a quarter of an hour, recorded the annexed minute, and promised to subscribe five hundred rupees (£50), on the *odd* condition, that the outstanding assets were realized. When they were nearly so, one of the guardians informed Sir Charles, and begged him to pay his promised subscription. He coarsely replied, that he would not give a rupee; and he kept his word. Lord Dalhousie and Sir William Gomm have each given about two hundred pounds. Lords Hardinge and Gough made handsome donations, and all found time to spend more than a quarter of an hour on the premises.*

"It is impossible for me in a quarter of an hour's visit, to give any other opinion than this, that the healthy looks of the children vouch for the good management of the Direction and the healthiness of the air."

(Sd.) C. NAPIER.

"24*th October*, 1849."

This is all much more personal than I would wish, but the book I am answering is altogether so; the gist and purport of

* For English readers, I may remark, that while European children in the Barracks die at a frightful rate, fifteen and twenty per cent per annum, sometimes forty and fifty per cent., only one child, out of an average of one hundred and six, can be said to have died at the Asylum, during five years and nine months, of illness incurred there. Three other casualties have occurred, but they were new arrivals, who brought with them the seeds of death. The Report for A. D. 1852, shewed one hundred and seventy-nine inmates. Negociations opened by some of the Managers of the Lower Orphan School, are now nearly concluded, for merging it in the Asylum, when eight hundred or a thousand children will enjoy the breezes of the Himalayas, and be rescued from Barrack temptations. Of the one hundred and seventy-nine present inmates, sixty-two are entire orphans, thirty-one are fatherless, fifty-one motherless, and only thirty-five have both parents.

it being that Sir Charles Napier was the one able and honest man in India, while all around him were ignorant intriguers: that there was a set against him, that he was opposed and thwarted by faction instigated by his enemies in England, until, finding he could no longer do his duty, he reluctantly resigned. For myself, I can say that I have no intimacy with a single Director; that there were few with whom I had the slightest acquaintance; that I was not in correspondence with one: indeed, that the only man in power in England with whom I had communication, was one who, by his acts, had proved himself a friend of Sir Charles Napier.

In short neither my brother, Mr. Mansel, nor myself, had the slightest motive for opposition. Our one object was the peace and prosperity of the Punjab. Who more able to help or mar our projects, than the Commander-in-Chief? Moreover, while we were on excellent terms with each successive General Officer and Brigadier, why should we add to our labours by making an enemy of him? We should indeed have been dolts to have intentionally done so. But it is idle to suppose that a Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel and two Civilians* could have stood for a moment against a Commander-in-Chief, unless our cause had been beyond question. Without further preface, I proceed to notice portions of the book, which most prominently misrepresent the acts of the Punjab Board of Administration, touching as lightly as I can on other matters.

The first page of the preliminary notice contains two fallacies. The author states that, as Lord Dalhousie was going to sea, "the Commander-in-Chief remained the man of highest 'power and responsibility in India: if danger arose, external 'or internal, he was to deal with and answer for the public 'safety." I doubt not that this was Sir Charles Napier's own opinion, but such a doctrine *he* would never have tolerated in a subordinate. He was *not* the highest authority, and was responsible for internal danger to but a limited extent. The President in Council was the highest authority, and the Commander-in-Chief was as much amenable to him as was any other Officer in India. The Local Governments also were responsible for internal danger, and he took good care, in the Punjab at least, that they should feel the full weight of their responsibility.

I notice thus prominently this apparently trivial observation, because in reality, it is at the bottom of many of Sir Charles

* "This Board of Administration was composed of a Captain of Artillery, and two Civilians."—(*Page* 163.)

Napier's most objectionable acts. The man who never bowed to authority, who, as a subordinate, had offensively criticized his superiors, now, as Commander-in-Chief, chafed at any soldier being independent of his authority. In this spirit, I am twice twitted with being a Captain of Artillery, Lord Hardinge having more justly found in the fact (when I was really only a Captain) grounds of commendation. In like manner, Sir Charles, at page 151 of his book, incorrectly styles the Officiating Deputy Military Secretary to Government, "a *Captain and Brevet Major* in the army under my orders," and italicizes the monstrous fact of an Officer, thus asserted to be under his orders, being employed to sign a letter of Government disapproving of his conduct. The truth being, that the Military Secretary is no more under the Commander-in-Chief in India, than is the Secretary at War at Home under the Horse Guards.

The other fallacy is the assertion, that a mutinous spirit pervaded some thirty Sepoy Battalions. The Governor-General having fully disposed of the mutiny and resignation questions in his minutes already published, I should not meddle with them, save that, having been a spectator of much that occurred, my silence might be misconstrued.* I may therefore observe, that the immediate day and hour of resignation were doubtless influenced by Lord Dalhousie's expressions of disapproval, but that it is unnecessary to seek for reasons for the Government of India having been deprived of Sir Charles Napier's services, when his own book tells us he came out unwillingly; and at page 150, he quotes his own words to the Governor-General, in a letter dated March 1850:—"I have taken Bentinck Castle for the season, where

* Since writing the above, I have seen the Duke's letter, and annex its concluding passage —

"I have no hesitation in stating my opinion, that there existed no sufficient reason for the suspension of the rule or order, of the 15th August, 1845, at Wuzeerabad.

"That the Governor-General in Council was right, and did no more than his duty, in the expression of his disapprobation of the act of the Commander-in-Chief, in suspending an order of Government in relation to the pay of the troops, and in ordering the adoption of a former repealed order providing for the same object.

"I regret that the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, should have thought proper to resign the highest and most desired situation in the British army, to fill which he had been selected in a manner so honorable to his professional character. But as he has resigned, and I declare my decided opinion that the Governor-General in Council could not with propriety have acted otherwise than have expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of General Sir Charles Napier, in suspending the order of Government of the 15th August, 1845, at Wuzeerabad, I must recommend to her Majesty to accept the resignation of his office."

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

'I hope soon to have the honor of again meeting your Lord-
'ship, the only satisfaction I have drawn from the mutiny;
'for had it not been for that, *I should have been far on my way*
'*to England.*" (The italics are mine.)

As to the mutiny, I was in the midst of seven of the so-called mutinous regiments, and had a sentry from one of them over my house. I was in correspondence with Officers of all ranks throughout the Punjab. I also repeatedly waited on the Commander-in-Chief during the twenty-one days he stayed at Lahore, on his way to Peshawur, and again on his return; yet I do not recollect receiving a single letter on the subject, except from Govindgurh; nor did Sir Charles ever allude to a bad feeling existing among the troops, in any conversation I had with him. In his book he refers to sixty thousand disbanded Sikhs in the Manjha looking on at the Govindgurh proceeding. Surely then, if the mutiny were so formidable, it would have been proper to have given some hint of the danger to the Civil authorities.

If in France or England a mutinous spirit pervaded the army, and large bodies of armed peasantry and disbanded soldiers were at hand, ready to take advantage of the misconduct of the troops, the Commander-in-Chief would think it necessary to warn and consult with Ministers, with the Prefects, Mayors, &c. If such be true, then in the event of a general spirit of mutiny being rife in the Punjab, the local Civil Officers, who had at their disposal considerable bodies of military police, and irregular troops, with interests and feelings opposed to those of the sepoys, should surely have been kept acquainted with the fact. Their not having been so, seems to me strong indirect proof, that a mutinous spirit did not pervade the army, and that, though there may have been partial and individual mutiny, the general feeling was no other than might have been expected, of disappointment and annoyance, at being deprived of a high rate of pay long enjoyed. This feeling, it is true, might have ripened into mutiny, but it certainly had not done so, even up to the Govindgurh affair.

I said I had heard from Govindgurh. It was on the day of the so-called mutiny. My brother, Mr. John Lawrence, and I, took the news to Sir Walter Gilbert. I then proceeded with the General to Govindgurh, thirty-five miles from Lahore, and attended him throughout the day, seeing and talking to the Officers and sepoys. Next day I was present at the Court of Enquiry, and myself examined many of the sepoys' letters, all of which, as certified by Colonel Bradford and Major Mayne, were seized. On my return to Lahore, I took bundles of them

with me. In no single letter did I discover a word approaching to treason, or even a reference to the Batta Question. Nor did I, though in the most cordial intercourse with Sir Walter Gilbert and Brigadier Penny, ever after hear of treasonable letters having passed between the regiments. I therefore entirely discredit the statement, that the discontented regiments were in more than usual communication. Indeed, Sir Charles Napier's own pages give pretty good proof that they were not. To strengthen my personal evidence as regards the 66th, I give in full the replies of the President of the Court of Enquiry, Major Mayne, to four questions put by Government regarding the correspondence of the regiment :—

First.—"All the papers and correspondence of the 66th 'regiment were seized by my orders immediately after that 'regiment quitted the fort."

Second.—"The papers seized, included not only the day's dâk, 'but the correspondence of months before."

Third.—"The whole of the papers and correspondence were 'examined by Captain Siddons, formerly Interpreter, 1st Light 'Cavalry, who was a Member of the Court of Enquiry."

Fourth.—"Not one word, as I was informed, of a treasonable 'nature, or indicative of any pre-concerted plan of mutiny, 'was found among the documents seized."

(Signed) W. MAYNE,

Major and President of Court of Enquiry.

Had there been concert between the native infantry regiments, the expression of discontent would have been simultaneous, and not on three far apart dates. Two regiments at Wuzeerabad would not have hesitated to take their pay, when confronted by three European corps and a large body of European artillery. Nor would the 66th have taken the occasion of the near approach of a considerable force of all arms, under Colonel Bradford, for their display of feeling. No; had there been any pre-concerted design, there would have been a general demand in all parts of the Punjab at once, or any outbreak would at least have occurred where few or no Europeans were located, at Jhelum for instance. It seems to me that in the following passage, the Governor-General has conclusively shewn that Sir Charles Napier did not, at the time, consider the feeling that prevailed, dangerous :—

After very frequently perusing the remarkable exposition of His Excellency's views of the advantage and necessity of his proceeding at that time to Peshawur, I am compelled to say that it has not convinced my mind, nor will it convince the minds of others, either that the best means by which the head of the army could prevent a serious outbreak of insubordination

was by quitting the scene of it, or that the choicest measure which the Commander-in-Chief could have adopted, in January last, for promptly repressing a mutiny in the plains, was to march to Peshawur across the Indus.

If 40,000 men had then been infected with a mutinous spirit, so as to put the State in great peril, the Commander-in-Chief would at once have placed himself where he would be able to act with most authority and effect to repress the spirit and to avert an outbreak. His Excellency is compelled to admit, that the cause of discontent being the reduction of allowance, there was no probability that the troops at Peshawur would have shewn insubordination, since no reduction was ordered there. Wherefore, with few exceptions, the whole of the 40,000 men among whom the mutinous spirit prevailed were in the plains of the Punjab; the first duty and object of His Excellency was to repress that spirit, to prevent its breaking out into open and violent mutiny; and for that purpose he would unquestionably have remained in the midst of it. It was the post of danger, and he would not have quitted it; it was the point of action, and he would have abided by it.

M. December 4th, p. 5.

He would have remained (not "shutting himself up in a cantonment or in the fortification of Lahore, cowering under the insolence of mutinous troops," as His Excellency, utterly without warrant, asserts I would have had him do; but he would have remained) moving rapidly "from station to station," if he thought proper, showing no "fear of mutiny," but *near at hand to the scene of discontent.* I say he would have remained there, because there he would be best prepared to exercise the full authority of his office, and would give confidence by his presence to the action of those who served in their several stations under him. He would have remained there, because there information could best be had of all that was occurring from time to time; there the course of action to be adopted could be most clearly seen, and there the orders he might resolve to issue could best be executed, with the promptitude which gives half their value to vigorous resolutions. In one word, if formidable mutiny had been in the plains of the Punjab, the Commander-in-Chief would have remained where he most readily could learn all that was doing, where he could best resolve what ought to be done, and where he could most speedily execute whatever he might resolve.

This is the course of action consonant with reason and common sense, which the Commander-in-Chief would have followed, if 40,000 men had been in mutiny in the plains. The course pursued by Sir Charles Napier was directly the reverse; and I repeat the conclusion, that it was irreconcilable with the existence of such a mutiny as he asserts.

Sir Charles Napier's reply, that Peshawur was the proper point for the Commander-in-Chief, will hardly be accepted as correct. If, as asserted, 40,000 sepoys, more or less, were in mutiny, and 100,000 armed Sikhs* were ready to take advantage of their misconduct; if the Civil authorities had no police, and if cannon were being cast in the jungles, and 100,000 Affghans were ready to emerge through the Khybur, and Golab Singh with as many more and four hundred guns

* Sixty thousand in the Manjha—one hundred thousand in the Punjab, are his words.

were at hand to enter the plain; all of which were fancies of Sir Charles Napier, *not of mine;* I ask any sane man whether the proper place for the Commander-in-Chief, whose *immediate* command extended far below Calcutta, would have been at Peshawur, the extreme frontier, with four unfordable rivers between him and Lahore, or at the capital of the newly conquered principality, in communication with the Civil authorities?

Nowhere more than in the East, is the holder of the capital the master of the country, and nowhere is moral support more dependent on the possession of a fortress. Moreover, had the conspiracy been general, the bridge over the Attock would have been destroyed, the boats removed, the carriage cattle carried off, and the Commander-in-Chief left with the Peshawur Brigade (if under such circumstances it remained faithful, which is questionable,) to cross as he best could, and "gathering the Europeans, as I swept along, engaged with 'the enemy during the whole march." Under the most favourable circumstance, two months would hardly have sufficed to bring him, thus "engaged during the whole march" of nearly 300 miles, to the capital, when, in all probability, he would have found the mutineers, with *some of the "sixty thousand Sikhs"* from the Manjha, in possession of the citadel, its magazines, siege train, and half million or more of money. The rebels would not then have been driven to dig holes in the jungles to cast guns in. They would have found plenty of our own to their hand; and then, indeed, must Golab Sing, for his own existence sake, have joined them.

Sir Charles Napier would also then have had an opportunity of judging, whether Delhi is the proper point of support for the Punjab, and whether his own wall, that cost "about ten thou-'sand rupees, had put the city of Lahore into a good state of 'defence against any attack short of a regular siege." No reasonable man can doubt that all the dangers I have suggested were on the cards, *if the sepoys had united in mutiny;* and all acquainted with parties and localities will agree that Sir Charles Napier's scheme of meeting them, would have ensured his own destruction; and his only chance of safety would have been in the much despised politicals, who might have anticipated the one hundred thousand Affghans, and the sixty thousand Sikhs; and, dangerous as would have been the remedy, employed a portion of the latter to fight for instead of against us, as Avitabile did in a like contingency, twelve years ago, at Peshawur.

Sir Charles Napier thinks that the moral strength would

have been with us :— " The mutineers would have been ruled ' by Punchayats, that is to say, a sort of native politicals, such ' as governed the old Khalsa army : they did their work well, ' they destroyed both army and government in a very short ' space of time. These advantages would quadruple the powers ' of the twelve thousand Europeans, and reduce the chance ' to about two to one against us." This sneering comparison is as little borne out by facts, as is the assertion that Alexander lost an army by entrusting it to " Pharnaces, a Lycian poli- ' tical, who had probably passed a splendid examination in Per- ' sian." Pharnaces was a Lycian Noble acquainted with the Greek language ; Arrian therefore calls him " the interpreter." He did not need to pass a splendid examination in Persian, because he had probably talked it all his life. He was not a political.* Alexander no more selected politicals from his barbarian allies and subjects than do the English from theirs. The Punchayats were not politicals ; they were able, though turbulent and discontented, soldiers. Politicals, in India at least, have, with scarcely an exception, been good and contented soldiers. But politicals or not, the Punchayats managed to fight the battles of Moodkee, Ferozshuhr, Aliwal, and Sobraon.

Sir Charles enunciates a sentiment, that contains more truth than novelty, viz., that " fore-warned is fore-armed." Like others of his own dicta, he attended very little to it himself, or he would not have advocated massing the native army at a few points throughout India. Nor would he have acted as he did regarding the Forts in the Punjab, suggesting *neither* their being dismantled nor repaired. In regard to the Govindgurh garrison, he was equally short-sighted. A native infantry regiment, with a small detail of native artillery-men, all recently subjected to a reduced scale of pay, was no suitable garrison for the most important fortress in the Punjab. When arrangements were being made in March, 1849, for Govindgurh I wrote, suggesting a wing of a regiment, *under a selected Officer*, a company of European artillery, and a troop of horse, so as to have a mixed garrison. A month earlier I expressed myself in the following words regarding the sepoys at Lahore, where the bad example of the Sikh army was before them, and where they could hear that private soldiers had become Rajahs, Sirdars, and Generals, often by treason and treachery :—" They are literally our stand ' by, and if any thing went wrong with their fidelity, our hold ' on the country would be shaken to its foundation. It is there-

* Pharnaces seems to have been a better soldier than the Macedonian Officers with him, to whom he offered to make over the command.

'fore that I advocated tempting them as little as possible, 'mixing them well with Europeans, artillery-men, and Irregu-'lars. This is no new fancy; I urged it on Lord Hardinge, 'when all was tranquil, &c."

But while I thus *interfered* to warn against *possible* danger, the Commander-in-Chief was satisfied with the old routine. *After the event*, he grew cautious. "The mutiny of the 66th of course rendered a new arrangement necessary. It would not do to trust the sepoys at this moment with the entire charge of so important a fortress, which has a large treasury, commands Umritser, and is in the Manjha. So I have placed a company of Europeans there, two companies of sepoys, and one of artillery"—(*Page* 149.)

But to return to the 66th regiment; I thought at the time, from what I saw and heard at Govindgurh, that the misconduct of the men, though great, had been exaggerated, and that the regiment had as much intention of seizing the fortress as I had. If I am wrong, what prevented them? Surely it was not the squadron of dismounted cavalry, composed, be it observed, of identically the same class of men as themselves. No; one thousand determined mutineers, in possession of a strong fortress, containing treasure, guns, and military stores, were not likely to have been dispossessed by one-eighth of their numbers. Nor would the men have piled arms and marched out at their Commanding Officer's order to certain punishment, if at the time they were concocting treason. The fact is, that such dissatisfaction as was expressed by the 66th Native Infantry is a common occurrence in native armies, and is thought nothing of. I do not palliate the misconduct, as far as it did *really* occur: I simply mention a fact. I may add, that not many years ago, as if to unsettle all Sir Charles Napier's conclusions, an incident, the very converse of the 66th mutiny, occurred at Govindgurh, when Runjeet Singh took refuge in that very fortress from a mutiny outside, not of a "Brahmin," but a Goorkha regiment.* Colonel Bradford acted, as might have been expected, promptly and nobly, and Captain McDonald did his duty; but the slap of the latter's sword, which caused the hesitating sepoy to open the gate, would have been very differently received by a soldier engaged in a deep treasonable design. His bayonet would have been through his Officer, and no opportunity would have been allowed Bradford of bringing in his squadron.

* The regiment that deserted Agnew and Anderson at Mooltan was a Goorkha, commanded by a Goorkha; I doubt if there were a Sikh among them.

As the right understanding of this question appears to me very important, I insert in the Appendix (No. I) an abstract made at the time by Ensign William Arnold, of a paper sent to me two or three days after the Govindgurh affair by an Officer of the 66th, and which, believing its substantial accuracy, I then published with a view of calming the public mind. I recently sent it, written out on half margin, to Colonel Bradford, with a request that he would correct any inaccuracies. He returned the paper with three observations on the margin, which I have had inserted in their proper places, and marked in italics with his initials on the side. They in no way alter the purport of the statement, which shows that the regiment, though in an excited condition, obeyed orders; which is just what mutineers do not. He also, though not asked on that point, corroborates Major Mayne's assertions, that the correspondence was all seized. This document, moreover, states, that the sepoy on sentry over the arms, and who allowed one company to take theirs, was a Mahomedan; yet this is called a Brahmin conspiracy.*

Whatever were the crimes of the 66th, the Commander-in-Chief had no authority for discharging them in a body without trial. I myself proposed a Drum-head Court Martial to General Gilbert, but he was told, that twenty-four hours having elapsed, such a Court would be illegal. Still less grounds were there for summary and unauthorized punishment, weeks after the event. No sort of violence had been used, hardly even disrespect to their Officers. Indeed, Sir Charles implies at page 42, that the dis-

* At page 29, Sir Charles says, there were 430 Brahmins in the 13th Native Infantry; but in a return I have obtained from the Punjab, I find, that on the 1st January, 1849, the number was 302, or one-third, instead of nearly one-half, as Sir Charles supposes. In like manner, while the Brahmins of the *regular* army amount to 28,517, (there were less than three thousand in the Bengal Irregulars, of *all* branches,) or about one third their number, their proportion in the 66th at Govindgurh was 268, or a trifle above one-fourth. The corps was, therefore, less than usually a Brahmin one. It had in its ranks, 166 Mahomedans, 463 Rajpoots, and 152 Hindoos of inferior castes.

The constitution of the six corps, that evinced bad feeling in going to the Punjab, was as follows, in the year 1849-50.—

Christians	112
Mahomedans	1,128
Brahmins	1,955
Rajpoots	2,011
Inferior Castes	1,168
Total	6,374

Including the irregulars of all arms in the Punjab, which had but few Brahmins in their ranks, the proportion of that *dreaded* race in the armed force of the Province hardly exceeded one-fifth.

contented regiments had evinced only "passive resistance," and were respectful in demeanour.

He scouted the idea of dismissing two of the regiments that had first misbehaved, and partly on the plea that we could not dismiss the whole army;* yet within a few months he takes the very step he has before deprecated, and attributes to it the squashing of "the mutiny." In Scinde, when, by the statement put forward by his brother in "*the Administration of Scinde*," there *was* real danger, and when the offenders had twice before committed themselves, he acted with as much leniency, as now with severity. At pages 160 and 161 we are told "a mutiny of the Bengal troops, in which the men had 'called aloud for their Officers' blood, had just been quelled 'by General Hunter. * * * * The —— regiment had 'twice seized their colours." * * * * Yet with full authority to disband the offenders, seventy-three men only were struck off the roll. I may add, that in the year 1842, I prevented the guns being drawn up to coerce the corps here referred to. The Brigadier Commanding had given the order, but being after dark, I persuaded him to wait till morning, and thus gave the men time for repentance. These antecedents show, that the regiment Sir Charles Napier treated leniently, deserved little consideration, and by no train of argument can it be proved, that in both cases, in Scinde and at Govindgurh, impartial justice was dispensed. The one punishment was too light, or the other too heavy. Supposing, however, the 66th to have been as guilty as is asserted, and that it was necessary to make an example, and strike the regiment from the Army List, it by no means follows, that there was equal necessity to anticipate the order of Government, and put the Nusseree Battalion in its stead. This was clearly a prerogative of Government, and there was no sort of apology for its assumption by the Commander-in-Chief: it had not even the excuse of urgency, for had there been real necessity for the services of the Goorkhas, they were available on their old footing. The Governor-General had told him so on the 11th of the previous November.† Indeed, they had twice before been employed in the Punjab as irregulars, and the question of their increase of pay was at this time under favourable consideration.

The supposition then, that they wished to be transferred to the line, and from the congenial climate of Simla to the hot plain of Peshawur, at the very time they were about to obtain

* Page 23, "Indian Mis-government." † Page 177.

all the advantages of regulars, at their old station and with their families, is one of many instances of Sir Charles Napier's entire ignorance of native character. I believe if the regiment were canvassed to-morrow, they would ask to return to their old footing, even on their former pay.* The full effects of the transfer must be explained to be fully appreciated. The corps was originally formed of Goorkha prisoners of war, who fearing sanguinary punishment if they returned to Nepal, took service with us. Few of these men survive, but it may be conceived how distasteful to such old warriors, or even to any high-spirited soldiers, who had for years, as Subadars and Jemadars, enjoyed authority as *bonâ fide* Captains and Subalterns, must be their supersession by young Ensigns, which was the inevitable result of converting a quasi-irregular corps into one of the line. Such was the special penalty to the native officers. It was by a stroke of the pen, degrading and making them worse than useless. Far better for the public service would it have been to pension the whole, and leave them with their families at Jutog; and if it be supposed that men fight better under the designation of regulars, a new corps of Goorkhas might have been raised, of volunteers from the three old ones. By such process there would have been no cause for discontent, and the new 66th would have been formed of comparatively young men in all ranks.

Nearly all that is said of the Goorkhas is incorrect:—that they were starving, that they "would not mind eating a beef-'steak, &c." They were not starving, and they are as strict Hindoos as any in India. In Nepal it would be death to kill a cow. Their drinking propensities, their messing together, and their good feeling towards Europeans, prove nothing against their Hindooism. Almost all classes of Hindoos drink more or less, even Brahmins, though it be prohibited to them. As to good fellowship, it is that of good soldiers for each other. Native infantry regiments have, on occasion, evinced equally good fellowship. Sir Charles proposes that thirty or forty thousand Goorkhas be enlisted in the line, and says that their hearts are to be won "by money and the red uniform," so that in a war with Nepal, "the enemy's army will likely come over to us," and "with thirty to forty thousand Goorkhas, 'added to thirty thousand Europeans, the possession of 'India will not depend on opinion, but on an army able 'with ease to overthrow any combination among Hindoos or

* The battalion raised in their stead, and the other two old Goorkha corps, were all placed on the footing of the line, simultaneously with the Nusserees being converted into the 66th.

'Mahomedans, or both together" (*page* 30.) Again, at page 134, he says, "Let it be noticed that when the 66th was disbanded, the mutiny ceased entirely. Why? The Brahmins saw that the Goorkhas, another race, could be brought into the ranks of the Company's army—a race dreaded as more warlike than their own. *Their religious combination was by that one stroke rendered abortive.*" (The italics are Sir Charles Napier's). A volume might be written on the above extraordinary passages. Every school-boy knows, that Orientals are proverbially true to their salt, *as long as it is provided;* and all Indian history shows, that in no single campaign have even foreigners, fighting for native states, much less their own people, come over to us. There were thousands of British subjects in the Punjab and Gwalior armies, but not a dozen deserted their colours. Our sepoys, and even the Sikhs in our service, were equally faithful, though their religions were invoked. Yet here is a Commander-in-Chief arguing on the army of the most national native state in India deserting to us, and reckoning on a nation of Hindoos coming in to check Brahminism. Surely even the name of Napier will not prop up such rubbish. The argument is, that our position would be strengthened by having half our Bengal regular army enlisted from the *only* formidable rival left to us in India, a bigotted *Hindoo* power, proud of past prowess, jealous in the extreme, and panting for an opportunity of avenging the loss of half its territory. A novel mode, indeed, of rendering at one stroke a religious combination abortive! There is, moreover, one objection to Sir Charles's scheme that he quite overlooked. The whole *Goorkha* valley could hardly furnish the stated number of thirty or forty thousand men, even if the Durbar should permit us to recruit. We have at present four Goorkha regiments, and they are half filled with men who never saw Nepal. From personal acquaintance with Jung Bahadoor, the present Nepal minister, I was able, in a week, to obtain a thousand volunteers at Khatmandoo, three years ago, for the Guide Corps; but when my act was disapproved of, and recruiting restricted to the border, six months were required to raise one hundred men, though the Recruiting Officer was a refugee soobadar, long in attendance on the late minister, Mahbur Singh. The Goorkha company thus raised went through the hospital three times within a twelve-month, and eight or ten of the men died. At the recommendation of their surgeon, they were then removed to a hill station from *Peshawur, the very place* to which Sir Charles Napier sent the newly formed 66th Regiment, and where I have no doubt they have had their share of sickness, as more than half the

native force there, is, while I write, in hospital.* The fact is that the army of Nepal, raised on the Prussian system, in number about seventeen thousand men, and having a reserve of equal strength, gives nearly full employment to the military population of the Goorkha valley at their own homes; and they are, therefore, superior to the temptations even of "a red coat and a rupee."

But supposing that, instead of being the most contented and thriving, they were the most dissatisfied and indigent of the Indian nations, and wished for foreign service, yet few men like expatriation, and no Goorkha can enter, or at least remain, in our service, without such penalty. It would be almost at the risk of his life, for any Nepal subject in our employ to return to his home.

Sir Charles Napier wishes to get out of the *imaginary* toils of the Brahmins, and would do so by entangling himself, by the Goorkha scheme, in real ones both political and religious. Much that he has recorded of the Brahmin sepoy is as incorrect, as are his opinions of the Goorkhas. Brahmins make excellent soldiers. There are many in the Goorkha army—many were also in that of the Sikh Durbar. In Bengal, at least, they are less *exigeant* than low-caste men. They know what they can, and may do, and what is really prohibited. Sir Charles Napier was mistaken in supposing that a Hindoo loses caste by perjury,† (there are occasions when he is encouraged to bear false evidence,) or that bits of paper thrown about, imprecating curses on him, if he do not mutiny, would affect his mind—such documents were freely distributed among our soldiers during both the Punjab campaigns, but without the slightest effect. They have not even the importance of an ordinary "Dhurna" (importunate demand.) Were a Brahmin to endeavour to enforce his wishes, by killing or wounding either himself, his child, or his mother, the blood so spilt might trouble the mind of a low-caste Hindoo, at whose door he laid it, but would be lightly regarded by another Brahmin. Thus the religious class, if secular Brahmins can be so called, have undue influence only with the lower castes; and therefore it would

* Since writing the above, I have ascertained that 111 of the 958 Goorkhas that went to Peshawur, or 11½ per cent. have died in four years; that five of the eighteen native officers, and thirteen of the fifty four havildars are among the deaths, being exactly 25 per cent. Of 391 recruits, received since the arrival of the regiment at Peshawur, forty-seven have died, being 12 per cent. The casualties above noted are independent of deaths in action, and make the annual mortality about 3 per cent., or at least double that of the native army in India, and of the Goorkha regiments stationed in the hills.

† Page 62, "Indian Mis-Government."

be better not to mix the two together, but rather to have high and low-caste corps, each mixed with Mahomedans and Sikhs. There is no caste, or division of caste, that has not its rights, ceremonies and restrictions, which are as keenly adhered to, as is Brahminism. I once for more than an hour watched the proceedings of a Punchayat of sweepers (almost the lowest caste in India.) There were forty or fifty assembled, with a President and Usher to keep the peace; all was conducted with extraordinary regularity. The offender, who had denied a theft, confessed, and actually produced the property.

To such an extent are caste and fashion and habit adhered to, that a leather-dresser, nearly the lowest of the low, who makes horse-buckets or bridles, will not make heel-ropes. A carpenter will not cut down a tree, though he will show how it should be done; on the other hand the most menial and degrading offices have been, and are daily performed by the highest caste, for those they love and respect. I know of an instance of Brahmin Officers attending their Christian chief when extremely ill, and doing the work his personal servants had refused to do. I have myself seen Brahmins, Rajpoots, and respectable Mahomedan soldiers, crowding round the grave of an European, striving who should express most sympathy.* No, it is a mistake to suppose that low-caste Hindoos are better soldiers than Brahmins and Rajpoots. The fact being, that the conduct of both depends upon their European Officers. Good Officers make good soldiers. *There is more fear of Brahminism among the former than the latter.*

I am no advocate for one class more than another. I know good soldiers of all castes and tribes, Sikhs, Mahomedans, Rajpoots, and Khutrees.† I should like to see Runjeet Singh's system followed, and stout fellows taken, without reference to their caste or country, but employed as a general rule *out* of their own districts.‡ Runjeet Singh had 14 or 1500 Sikhs of the sweeper tribe; big fellows, and many as bold as lions.

* It may be as well to mention, that contact with a dead body is considered more defiling than any other act.

† Some of the best soldiers of the Sikh army were converted Khutrees, such as old Goormukh Singh, Lumbah, leader of forlorn hopes, who used to show twelve wounds on his body got in hand to hand encounters with the meat-eating Mahommedans.

‡ Major Jacob, as also the "Bombay Officer," does not appear sufficiently to consider the fact, that the majority of the Bombay army, and the whole of the Scinde horse, are employed at a distance from their homes, and are therefore less liable to evil influences, than large bodies of men, all of whom, Mahommedan and Hindoo, coming from the same tract of country, are half their service near their families, and all their lives in more or less communication with them.

But exceptional classes, whether very high or very low, should be put into separate corps, or be mixed with Mahomedans; for very low castes will be cowed and influenced by the higher. I have known a Jemadar of the Sikh sweeper caste (Muzbee) made to carry the burden of his own men. On the other hand Runjeet Singh had a Muzbee Sirdar, whom he held up as an example to his whole army; indeed, it was one of this class, who, at the risk of his life, brought off from Delhi the bones of the Gooroo Teg Bahadoor to his son Govind, and thereby earned for his brethren the title of "Sons of the Gooroo."

One of the best behaved regiments in the Bengal army is the 9th Infantry, containing nearly five hundred Brahmins. When they were about to march from Lahore to the frontier, in the autumn of 1842, I expected and hoped that the extra batta in the Peshawur valley would be stopped, before they reached the Indus. I accordingly asked if they were likely to express any discontent. The answer was a decided negative. Colonel Smith and Lieut. and Adjutant Campbell are good Officers, and there was a good spirit throughout the regiment, Officers and men. In like manner, I asked Crawford Chamberlain if his old warriors, the 1st Irregulars (originally Skinner's) were likely to show their teeth, as they too were bound for the frontier. His answer was prompt, that they "will be glad to get the batta, but do not expect it." The one is a high-caste Hindoo corps, the men of the other are mostly low-caste Mahomedans, if caste can rightly be applied to the faithful. They have however caste, much as Christians have, and Chamberlain's rough and ready boys are chiefly descendants of Hindoo converts from the borders of the desert, with the blood of their Rajpoot ancestors, and the bone of a more generously fed race. I repeat that good Officers make good soldiers, and I agree most cordially with Major Jacob, that one Officer can infuse a right spirit into thousands of natives. They want an example before them, the example of a chivalrous soldier, not of an idle grumbler, or listless supercilious gentleman—better be without such examples.

But to return. It appears to me that Sir Charles Napier's order, directing the 66th Regiment to march to Umballa, was a nearer approach to mutiny than any act of the sepoys in the Punjab. I quote from the General Order, page 131 of his book, where it figures in italics, as something to be proud of—

"The Native Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and private
'sepoys of the 66th Regiment are to be marched to Umballa,
'and there struck off from the service of the Honorable East

'India Company, and His Excellency directs that the colors 'of the 66th Regiment are to be delivered over to the loyal 'and brave men of the Nusseeree Goorkha battalion, and that 'the 66th Regiment shall in future be denominated, the 66th 'or Goorkha Regiment. The 66th have brought down ruin and 'disgrace upon the regiment! When a mutinous corps has 'endeavoured to seize a fortress, which a confiding Govern-'ment believed it had entrusted to faithful soldiers, it is time 'that vengeance should fall upon the whole."

Marius excused himself for breaking the laws of Rome with the bold remark, "In the din of arms, I could not hear the voice of the laws." Sir Charles had no such excuse. Profound peace reigned throughout the Punjab, and through India generally, when he thus usurped the authority, which belonged to Government alone. This act of insubordination was, however, generously overlooked. The Governor-General would not bring the Commander-in-Chief's authority into contempt by cancelling his order, though his opinion was decided, that the 66th Regiment had not, strictly speaking, mutinied; but that "they were taken by surprise, that they had looked to 'getting higher pay, and suddenly hearing it was not to be so, 'in a moment of disappointment lost their discipline for an 'instant." The thanks Sir Charles Napier gives to Lord Dalhousie for his consideration is, to twit him with not having restored the regiment "to their colors and honors." "He dared not." As usual, however, the angry autobiographer answers for his Lordship:—"When the 66th was disbanded, the mutiny 'ceased entirely. Why? The Brahmins saw that the Goorkhas, 'another race, could be brought into the ranks of the Compa-'ny's army." If this be true, was not the remedy equally in the Governor-General's hands? He had the power to eject Brahmins from the ranks of the army; the Commander-in-Chief *had not;* there was therefore by Sir Charles Napier's own showing nothing to be afraid of. Lord Dalhousie could have re-enlisted the old 66th, and after punishing and dismissing the worst offenders, have ordered the regiment in disgrace to Bengal, and have placed the Goorkha battalion, as to pay and allowances, on the footing of a corps of the line. I have been diffuse in this digression, but the importance of the subject must be my apology. An Ex-Commander-in-Chief's lightest words have weight; and it is most important, where, and whom, we recruit, neither running a muck at particular classes, nor evincing undue confidence in others. Almost every tribe in India has had its day: circumstances, prestige, or one bold leader, have turned a cowed and dependent tribe into a conquering

people. Alompra, Sevajee, Hyder Ali, or Runjeet Singh pass away, and the race whom they led to victory sink into their former insignificance, and were opportunity given, others would doubtless take their place. None are to be despised—none need be feared.

The Commander-in-Chief had greatly erred in this first instance of contempt of superior authority, but, perhaps rightly, his authority had been supported. He forthwith tried his hand in another, and quite as serious a question. He had unauthorizedly disbanded a regiment, and illegally raised the position of another. He now accused the Governor-General in Council of tampering with the pay of the army, at a critical period, while he himself was actually doing so; for improperly to increase, is as much to tamper, as improperly to decrease. The smallness of the sum has little to do with the question, and that little is against Sir Charles Napier's argument. The fact however is, that an order had been issued two years previously, giving compensation for rations when above a certain price. Sir Charles Napier chose to disapprove of this and to order compensation at a different rate. He may call the order temporary, and say that he was supported in his opinion by high military authority. It does not alter the question. He is ready enough at other times to neglect and scout advice, by whomsoever given. He has also recorded the impropriety of giving in to soldiers, when murmuring about their pay; yet here he breaks the rule, and doubly embarrasses Government, by leading the troops to think their pay was being really tampered with, by giving them one day that which might be revoked the next; surely it would have been simpler and safer at once to give the trifling lower compensation in the first instance, and, if he thought right, make a reference. But no, he not only acted on his own responsibility, but treated with disrespect the courteous remonstrance of his superior, the President in Council, pointing out his error. It was time for the Governor-General to step in with an unmistakeable expression of opinion.*

* To show that my opinions on the subject are not new, I annex an extract from a letter to a private friend, written in July, 1850:—

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN ENGLAND.

Cashmere, 6th July, 1850.

"There is something to be said on both sides, but in favor of the Government
' view it may be urged, that he was not suspending, but altering, the law, for the delay
' rendered it impossible or at least doubly difficult, to carry out the order afterwards.

"I dislike all alterations or meddlings with pay questions. They have always been
' at the bottom of all our sepoys' discontents, and I therefore regret that the altera-
' tion was ever attempted. I believe it was in this wise, and ordered in Lord Har-

In Chapter XI. an injudicious friend of Sir Charles Napier's compares the above case with Major Edwardes's guarantee of service to certain regiments belonging to the Lahore Durbar. The parallel is however very badly made out, even with the help of two statements in direct contradiction to Edwardes's report of the occasion, published in a different part of the book.

The friend, at page 179, says "they were suspected of having 'an inclination to join Moolraj at Moultan To fix their 'wavering fidelity, Edwardes promised them service in the East 'India Company's regular army." Now Edwardes's letter, given in page 431, says, "I beg to assure you that I have not 'been induced to take this step from observing the smallest 'sign of disaffection." Moreover, his promise was, that the "soldier should enjoy the same privileges he now possesses," not that "he should be taken into the regular army." In this case fairly told, there was no inconsistency in the Governor-General's sanction having been given to Major Edwardes's act. In his case there was real emergency His regiments had behaved both faithfully and gallantly, even amidst great temptation, and while their fellows had joined the enemy, they were still tempted, and told that the Raj (Sikh Government) would be swept away, and they with it. The responsibility therefore taken by Edwardes was both honest and politic. If the Durbar stood, then faithful troops would be rewarded If the Durbar were extinguished, the British Government, to whom they had been equally faithful, would still require their services It was therefore almost a work of supererogation, making the promise, as far as Government were concerned, for assuredly the men would have been em-

dinge's time, but had not before come into play Sepoys have for years got compensation when Atta is under fifteen seers the Rupee, but Colonel Goldie, the Auditor General, proved to Lord Hardinge that the original order did not simply run as above, but extended to ghee, salt and wood, which were to be also at certain rates, and shewed that in the Punjab, while grain was dear, ghee, &c. was cheap The difference it seems was only one anna and a half to each sepoy, which certainly I would not have cut, at such a time, but if the Commander-in-Chief had chosen to act *with* the Government, instead of against it, he could have referred to Calcutta, even though the Governor-General was absent (at sea), and if he had done so in a proper spirit I doubt not they would have agreed with him But the fact is his natural arrogance has been so increased by the circumstances under which he came out, that there is no holding him. *I doubt* not that he has taken occasion of the affair I have mentioned as a *good* one to resign, and when he tells his story at home.—"How the army was in mutiny, how he saved the imbecile Government, and how he was opposed and thwarted." These are my words, but are the purport of what he says and writes every day. We shall be well rid of him."

ployed on annexation, whether their service had been guaranteed or not. The timely notice may have been everything to the men. It is as unfair, as unwise, to tax human nature too far.

The discretion, enjoined by the Duke of Wellington, and recognized by all sensible men, *was used* by Major Edwardes, but *abused* by Sir Charles Napier. At pages 173 and 174, however, we are told "Here was a camel glibly swallowed by 'Lord Dalhousie" * * * who had, "indecently, petu-'lantly, and unwarrantably reprimanded the Commander-in-'Chief, yet he had only exercised a discretion enjoined by the 'Duke of Wellington's written order."

My desire is to restrict my remarks to Sir Charles Napier's doings in the Punjab, but so constantly does he intrude Scinde matters into his official reports, and into the text of his book, that I am obliged, however unwillingly, to offer brief notices thereon. I am anxious to avoid all personality, but it is important to show, that the man who challenged all other men's acts, himself lacked the tact, the information, or the temper, befitting the position he arrogated. He talked much of the necessity of calm thought; but in the Punjab, at least, he evinced but little calmness when much was required. Indeed his acts and opinions in that quarter appear generally to have been influenced by his temper, probably by his health, which was very bad. I preface thus the following remarks, as they may appear beyond my province.

At page 371 we are told that "Mussoorie, Landour, Bareilly 'and Almorah, should be made strong," as "important points," whence, should a Nepalese army move out "from their capital 'against Dinapore, to penetrate in their rear, and oblige them 'to retrace their steps." A glance at the map will shew that no force collected at Landour or Mussoorie could, in the slightest degree, influence a war with Nepal. That it would be acting on a mountainous base of 500 miles, when we might have one of only fifty. Dinapore and Patna are indeed in danger, if their safety depend on operations from Almorah and Mussoorie.

Sir Charles calls the hill people north of Jullunder "war-'like dissatisfied *Sikh* soldiers; food and money are very 'scarce, but swords are plentiful, and they are ready for any outbreak. War is their vocation; many reports received agree 'in this, and these turbulent tribes are close on Golab Singh's 'frontier." The "many reports" contained much fiction with the smallest posible quantity of fact. There are perhaps not ten *Sikh* families in the hills here referred to. The people are *warlike*, but are as little turbulent as any in India. They are near

Golab Singh's territory, not *close*; for a principality intervenes. Food is not scarce, in the sense intended, though money may be. As a whole, these hill-men here described as "ready for any outbreak," are as loyal as any people in India, and actually came forward in large numbers as militia on the occasion of an outbreak in 1849, headed by the minister of a petty Raja in the neighborhood, who was only able to make a short stand by the help of a detachment from the Sikh army—*none* of our subjects joined him. His grievance was that we would not put him in possession of territory wrested from his family thirty years before. We *had* helped to clear off his debts, and nearly doubled his income.

While the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal army thus wrote of the people of the Jullunder hills, the only available corps in those very hills was one raised on the spot, and having two-thirds of its numbers Rajputs, (not Sikhs,) of the villages around. The only other regiment in the neighbourhood, is one of N. I., divided between the forts of Noorpoor and Kangra, and thus not available for field service. As a matter of caution, "the *Politicals*" recommended that the fort of Kangra should not be entrusted to the hill men, not that we distrusted them, but that we did not desire to place temptation in their way.

At page 374 Jullunder is declared, as compared with Peshawur, "by far the most important of the two, for the loss 'of Peshawur would be trifling, it is a mere out-post; guard-'ing the Khybur Pass." I hope that the Indian Government will never be deluded into the opinion that "the loss of 'Peshawur would be trifling." The Cabul catastrophe was an accident, caused as much by the elements, as by our own misconduct. There would be no such excuse to cover our shame at Peshawur. Its loss would be a most serious blow, the more so as its possession would give the western tribes what they most want, a base whence to act. Any enemy, now emerging from the Khybur, could be smashed in an hour, but unopposed at the outset, with a rich plain on which to bide his time, and collect his resources, the case would be very different. The defence of the Punjab would then require, not only the fifteen thousand men Sir Charles records as enough for the purpose, but perhaps something more than the 54,700 now in the province.

The following are other reasons assigned for the importance of "the tract between the Upper Indus and Upper Ganges." I beg they may be considered with a map before the reader. "Should a war arise with him, (Golab Singh) the troops in this

'district would form the right flank of an army marching 'against Jummoo, and in a war with Nepal, would reinforce 'the left flank of a force marching *from Delhi* upon the Upper 'Gogra river." The Italics are mine. It is fanciful enough to propose to march on Jummoo, from a base that would add at least a hundred miles to our line of operations, as well as a second or even a third large river to our difficulties: but I question if any other soldier of name in India, or in England, will propose to operate on Nepal, "*by marching from Delhi upon the Upper Gogra river.*"

Again, "Simla is the proper head quarters and centre, (of 'the Upper Indus and Ganges tract) and a strong body 'of troops ensconced there would, amongst mountains, effec- 'tually cut off the communication between Nepal and the 'territories of Golab Singh." Be it remarked that Sir Charles has already stated, that the *one* regiment at Jutog, near Scinde, were starving, that is, that provisions were very dear, which was true, for almost all grain comes from the plains, forty miles off. Yet here we have a proposal for the head quarters of a large division, in the very quarter which can with difficulty feed one Corps of Irregulars, and they hill-men. The object being to prevent a junction which is physically impossible, and which, were it not so, could be ten times more easily prevented by operations in the plains.

Adverting to the "healthy air" and good military position of the hills, Sir Charles Napier says, at page 375 "my intent is to gather the greatest portion of the European troops between the Jumna and the Beas." Considering then, that there are eight regiments of Europeans west of the Beas, and only twenty in the Bengal Presidency, and that the European force at the hill stations was thus to be so largely encreased, where were the Corps to come from, to associate with the 14,000 men at Dinapore, the 12,000 at Delhi, and 10,000 at Meerut and Umbala? Here, indeed, was the Commander-in-Chief creating a real danger, while he was beating about the bush for imaginary ones. If these masses of men, necessarily left for many months of each year in comparative idleness, and never having full occupation, were all Englishmen, they would be dangerous. Assuredly, we have no right to expect that mercenaries would not sooner or later act as the legionaries and the janissaries did, and indeed, as all unemployed soldiers, collected in masses, have at all times and in all countries done. The sepoys are, and have been as faithful as any troops in the world, but it is wrong to place temptation in their way. Lord Hardinge was of this opinion, and, indeed, few soldiers who consider the sub-

ject, think otherwise.* It was reserved for the Commander-in-Chief, who stamped 40,000 Bengal sepoys as mutineers, and a large portion of the Bengal officers as disreputable,† to propose an arrangement that could only end in a convulsion.

Every advantage to be gained by Sir Charles Napier's scheme, would be equally obtainable by assembling armies of exercise for three months of every year, alternately at the several large stations For many years the Indian artillery has thus annually assembled for practice. It is not requisite to their efficiency, that the whole artillery of a Presidency should be permanently collected at a single station

The next essay is on barracks From page 199, down to 211, the subject had been coarsely and bitterly discussed. Here, at pages 375 and 376, and again at 396 and 397, the author returns to the question in a like spirit. He was now submitting an official document to his official superior, and yet observe his style "We do want barracks, good 'barracks, not the vile murderous places into which sol-'diers are thrust, and there daily perish —*Page* 396 * * ' * * Those of Kussowlee are slaughter houses"—*Page* 397.

His general allegations are, "that the barrack system 'sacrifices soldiers' lives and happiness to a fallacious dishon-'est economy."—*Page* 200. "Soldiers are still immolated in 'these pestilential barracks"—*Page* 202 "Troops were, 'until forbade by me—thus made to occupy barrack rooms 'of twelve, ten, or even eight feet high—upon this diabolical 'calculation, soldiers were swept off by *thousands*. The 'black hole at Calcutta seems to have been the Board's mo-'del!"—*Page* 204. "Murdering Board should be its (Military Board's) name." * * * * * 'It kills more Soldiers than the climate, more than hard 'drinking, and one half of the last springs from the discomfort, 'the despair, caused by its bad barracks"—*Page* 205. * *

There is a great deal more about Suraj-ud-Dowla and the Calcutta Black Hole, and what Lord Ellenborough allowed, and Lord Dalhousie arrested At Soobathoo the barracks are "infamous," (*Pages* 375-6) at Kussowlee "a slaughter house." At the former the second Europeans, and at the latter

* At page 392 "it is said Lord Hardinge objected to assembling the Indian troops for fear they should conspire This reason I cannot accede to, and have never met an Indian officer who did accede to it" I have never met an officer who did not.

† In his Farewell order If such a statement had been made on his arrival, it might have been supposed to have a good object, published at his departure, it could only do harm.

H. M's. 29th, were nearly destroyed in 1846-7, by these bad barracks, though enjoying the pure air of the Hills. "Their number, their colour, their uniform remained," crowding "did the mischief; behold the proof!"—*Page* 205.

I confess myself blind enough not to see it. But worse still, if possible, is the assertion regarding the gallant fiftieth. It is said "three hundred men, women and children, were crush-'ed, such dreadful events do not admit of exactness; but 'the Military Board and Court of Directors are responsible 'to God and man."—*Page* 209.

Why "not admit of exactness?" *There must have been a report* of the calamity detailing the exact number. My belief is, it was fifty or sixty. Frightful enough, without multiplying the number by five or six.*

Somebody was probably to blame in the above matter, and punishment ought to have been inflicted; but the Military Board has sins enough to answer for, without making them responsible for every building that is blown down in an extraordinary and almost unprecedented storm. Correct or incorrect, however, the numbers, I contend that the publishing of such statements, in the style above quoted, for perusal by soldiers in, and going to, India, must be most injurious to discipline, and tend to engender hatred to Government. What can be worse for a soldier to read in the newspapers, than such words as the following, given as they are, on the authority of an Ex-Commander-in-Chief. "Never do they 'flinch from any trial called for by honor, but the Military 'Board, the Court of Directors, the East India Company of 'merchants, with vile parsimony, selfish idleness and ingrati-'tude, consign them to destruction."—*Page* 209. In a like spirit Sir Charles Napier often spoke in the presence of soldiers.

At pages 375 to 376—the subject is resumed. And again, referring to the great mortality in H. M's 29th regiment, he says, "there is scarcely any illness which assails the troops, 'that may not be traced to want of room in barracks." He asserted nearly as positively that "liquor" was the cause of the mortality in H. M's. 78th, in Scinde; but let that pass. The fact is, that H. M's 29th went to Kussowlee in bad condition, and never recovered, but there is no question, that

* Since writing the above, I have ascertained that the number was not 300, but killed fifty-seven men, (four natives included) fifteen women, twenty children. Wounded 127 men, (one native included) four women, five children. Vide papers published by the Court of Directors regarding Sir Charles Napier's resignation.

at the healthiest station, and in the best barracks, in the plains, they would have suffered at least as much as they did on that mountain—their Barracks *were* bad, and the men were crowded, but still, instead of being "slaughter houses," there are few officers in the army who would not gladly accept a corner of one of them, for the hot weather, in preference to a palace in the plains. I was for weeks or months, during three several years, at Kussoulee and Soobathoo, and know the barracks well. Their roofs were as high as my own cottage. I attribute the comparative unhealthiness at those stations, as elsewhere, less to the low roofs and defective ventilation, than to bad sanatory arrangements. Around European barracks at most cantonments, are usually such odours, and such filth as would make any barrack, however capacious, unhealthy.

It is difficult to know what Sir Charles Napier would have wished in regard to barracks. He built very fine ones at Hyderabad, with the intention of making the soldier comfortable; they are, I believe, thirty feet high, but they are very badly placed, and though Sir Charles thinks they were more healthy than Kurrachee during the year 1850, I have not a doubt that, one year with another, they will be found more insalubrious than twenty feet buildings at that station; yet at Hyderabad he considered there should be "a depot for regiments coming from England." He was not singular in advocating the Indus being used instead of the Ganges; but a little reflection would have led him to prefer what he justly calls the "more salubrious station of Kurrachee" for his depot.

I suspect, moreover, that the anecdote quoted at page 212, to the effect that, in 1850, a wing at Hyderabad was more healthy than one at Kurrachee, was erroneously reported to him. The regiment appears to have been H. M.'s 8th, which I have recently seen a great deal of. From them I have repeatedly heard, that to this day they can at once recognize, from his unhealthy appearance, a man of the wing that was stationed at Hyderabad, in the good lofty baracks there, from one belonging to the wing that remained at Kurrachee.† This is one of many proofs that might be given, that bad barracks are not the worst mischiefs to be avoided. There has been much writing of late years on the subject of the health and comfort of European soldiers in India, and the general opinion is that sobriety, moderate exercise, comfort, recreation, cleanliness of person, of quarters and of cantonments, are at least as much required as good barracks. Having served for between six and seven years as a Regimental

officer with Europeans in India, and having for many years attended to the question, I am of opinion that all the other points above mentioned are even more important than barracks. Not that I would deny the men good quarters, but that I would not put them in palaces, and at the same time inflict on them tight stocks, Albert caps, cloth clothes, and extra drills in the hot weather; and at the same time deny them gardens, gymnastics, baths and reading rooms: I would, in short, treat them as reasonable beings, not as caged lions. The mind tells on the body of a private soldier, as much as on that of an officer. Many a man, I doubt not, has died from the sheer inanition of barrack life.

I know one regiment, where the cots were turned up in the morning, and it was a misdemeanour to lie down during the long summer day. In most other regiments, the men doze or loiter on their cots the greater part of the day, many of them more or less under the influence of liquor. Of course, they cannot sleep at night, rise in the morning little fit for parade, perhaps are out for a couple of hours on damp ground, return feverish, go to hospital and die. In such a case, one of every day, the very utmost that can be said is, that a low roof over his head may have aided predisposing causes. The chances are that the man lay all night *outside*, and that if the Barrack roof was a hundred feet high, he would, *if permitted*, do so. Even in the new barracks at Lahore, a large proportion of the men sleep in the verandahs, and would, if they could, as most young officers do, sleep in the open air.

I repeat, that I am at a loss to understand what Sir Charles Napier desired in the matter of barracks. He gives three several heights, as proper, or what he would have wished, viz., thirty, thirty-five, and even forty feet. Now, it will hardly be conceded, that a private soldier requires a roof even thirty-five feet high, when his officers, with their families, seldom enjoy a twenty feet roof. Further,

Sir Charles says at page 202, that every barrack-room should, in hot climates, allow at least one thousand cubic feet of atmospheric air for "each person sleeping in a room; that is the minimum." He was quite right, and I am not aware of that opinion having ever been opposed. The new barracks, however, that he ordered at Lahore, gave *more than double that space, independent of* both an outer and an inner verandah. I quote extract of a letter I wrote on the subject to the Governor-General, dated 30th May, 1850. It was, I believe, on the information given in my letter, that fifty thousand Rupees were spent on improving the old barracks. Lord Dalhousie at any

rate took my letter in good part and acted on it. I beg attention to the fact that the Military buildings in the Punjab were in no way under me, and that it was an interference on my part, trying to have effected in *May*, what one word from Sir Charles Napier, during his visit to Lahore of the previous *December*, could have *then* secured. I also request attention to the mention of the old and new areas.*

Lahore, May 30, 1850.

The heat is tremendous now. Last night at 8 oclock the thermometer was 100° outside my house, and it is now at day light 90°. I fear that the Europeans will suffer much, for, with all the expense that has been incurred at Mean Meer for next year, little has been done to improve the barracks for the present. Indeed, as I pointed out to the Brigadier and Colonel ———, a week ago, fifty Rupees a barrack would obtain ventilation, which the barracks in the fort have not to this day. I have gone out of my way to preach on this subject, ever since I came to Lahore; but it is wonderful how we literally throw away lakhs, while hundreds are grudged, when they might save valuable lives. I am aware that this is not strictly my business, but I feel that your Lordship will be glad to know the truth —barracks are now being built, thirty feet high, for men who in this weather are living in rooms ten feet high, without any opening, except the door, to let out foul air;—the common native mode of ventilation by holes covered with earthen pots, would effect much. Last night for the second time I spoke to Colonel ——, who quite agreed with me, but added that the Brigadier will incur no expense that exceeds twenty-five Rupees. I recollect three years ago hammering at ———, for a month before he would do any thing of the kind for the Artillery barracks at Anarkully, as Colonel George Campbell (now I believe at Simla) can tell your Lordship. It may be as well, while on the subject, to observe that, while the Commander-in-Chief is remarking in general orders on the necessity of 1,000 cubic feet of air for each soldier, that the old order did allow 1,050 feet, and that his Excellency's present measurements will give more than double the required quantity. Old dimensions 250 × 14 × 24 for eighty men, gives 1050 cubic feet. New 250 × 30 × 30=2250 for each man. If one-tenth of the money now being spent at Mean Meer had been expended on inproving the Anarkully cantonment, and clearing and draining it, we should have had as healthy, and a much more military position."

It requires no wizard to shew that double, nay treble, the time required to give *wholesome* accomodation, with 1,000 cubic feet area per man, would be wanted for 2,250 area. I say treble—I might say quadruple, in as much as materials and workmen were not to be had. The country is rich in neither; wood was altogether wanting; and although a civil officer was specially appointed to procure wood from the hills, and a second was afterwards deputed in a different direction; all our

* Five months ealier, accompanied by Major MacGregor and the Civil Surgeon, I took the Superintending Surgeon through the barracks in the fort, and, in forcible terms, pointed out to him the entire want of ventilation. He denied what was before his eyes. The fact is, that theories, more than barracks, hold soldiers.

exertions did not suffice to supply the wants of the barrack department. We even gave *improper* aid to a trader, with a view of quickly bringing all procurable wood into the market; yet, as Rome was not built in a day, neither were the Punjab cantonments, each equal to a large town, to be run up in a few months, as Sir Charles believed might be the case. Short of giving orders (perwanahs) to sepoys to go about the country collecting materials, we gave every possible assistance. The Brigadier at Lahore wished to give such orders, but we resisted. With my consent he sent my demi-official correspondence on the subject to the Commander in-Chief. One passage, dated 31st May 1850, ran thus: "as I informed you yesterday, the 'practice proposed in your note has never been allowed during 'the ten years I have been on the frontier. In reference to 'your remarks on our assistance to the Executive Engineer, to 'the injury of private individuals,* I have only to say that what 'has been done, has been with any thing but my good will. All 'along I felt that we were interfering with free trade; but the 'pressure on us was not to be resisted, and has been entirely 'caused, by what I humbly conceive to be an attempt at an im-'possibility, viz, to canton Europeans at Mean Meer this year. 'We will be glad to give any assistance in our power, &c."

Thus much for Lahore; and in regard to Sealkote, I annex extract of a letter dated 7th June, from which my readers may judge whether there was any luke-warmness on the part of the civil authorities, in helping the erection of barracks for the soldiers in the Punjab.

To the Governor-General.

Jummoo, 7th June, 1850

Sealkote will be a splendid cantonment when finished, but when that will be is difficult to say, as the Ex Engineers allow that the resources of the country are already devoured All the straw and stubble in the country having been taken last year for the Wuzeerabad temporary roofs, many of the cattle of the district died from want of food Now the water of the new cantonments is nearly expended, and the Engineers talk of being obliged to purchase water from the villages in the neighbourhood. If they do, all will run short. Lieutenant Maxwell allowed to me that Maharajah Golab Sing had behaved well as to his resources, but from what he said they must fail to carry on the cantonment at its present rate Fire-wood to burn bricks, *all* comes from the Jummoo territory, and by cost of transport, it of course costs double what ordinary fuel for such purposes should do. The manure of the district is expended, from having been so largely used in the kilns. Lieutenant Maxwell talks of his rates being double† what they ought to be, while Mr Pringle fears for a

* Sir Charles Napier's friend, Mr. Aratoon.

† This is one of many proofs that, *at last*, market rates were allowed by the Military Boards.

famine from loss of cattle, manure, &c. At present, the troop of horse artillery are living in their outer verandah, which alone is finished. Being sixteen feet high, and there being shade on one side or other within the hollow, all day, they are pretty well off, but the two companies of H. M.'s 24th, just arrived, will not be comfortable in their grass covered tents. The cantonment, however, bids fair to be a healthy one. Most of the hackries which came up with regiments, have been seized, and are detained on the public works, to the great injury of the owners, who run a risk of losing their crops at home, from being absent at the sowing season. Indeed, I cannot perceive any party that has gained by the hurry-skurry in which the several cantonments are being raised up! and assuredly Government will have to pay much more than what would have been the case, had things been more leisurely conducted.

(Signed) H. M. LAWRENCE.

With his usual recklessness, Sir Charles specially accuses the Military Board of retarding the barracks by refusing to authorize the market rates of labor. At page 209 is published in Italics, "The labour market at Peshawar was free, and the 'officers gave the wages labour could command in the market, 'while the Executive Engineer was limited by the Military 'Board to fixed rates, below what the working people could 'command, not only from British officers, but from the natives 'of the country." Among other points on which I sought for information, after I had read the book on Indian mismanagement, was this. I quote the words of my correspondent, an Engineer Officer who has been employed on the public buildings in the Punjab since 1846, and was justly praised by Sir Charles. My friend wrote me two long letters full of details in reply to my queries. He thinks that great progress *has* been made. He asks, "If the rates of pay fixed by the Mili-'tary Board are lower than the work people could command 'in the market, how could all the large barracks in the 'Punjab have been constructed in so short a time? and how 'could the number of work people have *increased* to meet 'the large demand which has so suddenly arisen." * * * * He gives me one instance wherein he had *largely* exceeded the market rates. He had been called on for explanation, furnishing which, his bills were promptly passed. He concludes thus. "I will merely reiterate *that I have never found the 'works under my charge at Lahore or Rawul Pindee, re-'tarded by the pay of the work people being fixed by the Military 'Board at a lower rate than the market price.*" He was employed *only* at Lahore and Rawul Pindee, and therefore disposes of this charge against the Military Board *

* Individuals, not Government, are to blame for responsibility not being taken on emergencies. I am aware of cases of great hardship, and by no means exonerate the Audit Office, the Military Board or the Commissariat. There was

If any one was to blame for the delay, it was the Commander-in-Chief himself. For a while the European troops were unavoidably living in *wretched* temporary buildings; the Commander-in-Chief not only remained at Simla, but having General Gilbert, and Brigadiers Sir Colin Campbell, Sir H. Wheeler, Penny, Hearsey, and Colonel Huish, all of whom he justly praises, and professes to have relied on, in the Punjab, he would not even allow the sites of cantonments to be fixed, until he could see the several places himself. On the 15th August I wrote as follows to the Military Secretary:—

Lahore, 15th August, 1846.

Can you tell me whether the present cantonment near Wuzeerabad is to be kept up, also whether the present site at Rawul Pindee; and whether Jeylum is to be a cantonment.

My motive for repeating the question is, that we wish to commence at once on our great trunk road to Peshawur, the line of which will depend on the position of these large cantonments. Any information you can give me in confidence will be kept as private as you like.

Report speaks very ill of Wuzeerabad, or rather of the cantonment, six miles from it; it is under water, and also much hotter than Wuzeerabad.

I have however no predilections for places, and all I wish to know is, within two or three miles or so, where the cantonments are to be. Those on the Peshawur line especially, but I shall be glad to hear as to any others also.

(Signed) H. M. Lawrence.

There was good sense in one portion of what I believe was the reply, viz., that it was necessary to see where the waters lay. But after August all the rivers fall, and after October miasma is little to be dreaded. At Peshawur, moreover, where the Commander-in-Chief did not arrive till February, there was no river to watch, and it was most important to come to an early decision. Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Henry Dundas, Colonels Bradshaw, Lawrence, Tremenhere, Fordyce and others, with ample time before them, might have been able to come to as good a conclusion as Sir Charles Napier, in a few hurried days. Judging by the result, the site that was chosen could not have

much that was defective in the system of all The knife will, I trust, be quickly applied to the two first, as it has already to the last, responsible accountants should be attached to Engineers and Commissaries. I do however maintain that many Officers paid for responsibility, strain at gnats while they swallow camels, and that prompt explanation will at once insure sanction to any reasonable expenditure. I could adduce scores of instances, where the bugbear responsibility has cost valuable lives One may suffice. Within the last few years, a sickly European regiment was moved into camp for change of air. The ground the men were placed on, was damp, but no straw was supplied for bedding, *because they were not marching* Every body considered they ought to have had straw, but no one would take the responsibility of ordering what in *money*, was not worth the twentieth of one man's life.

been more unsuccessful. A fort is now being built to protect it, after two years of nightly insult, and after almost unprecedented sickness among the troops. My opinion of His Excellency's share in the delay is not formed to-day. On the 7th November 1849, I wrote from Peshawur to the Governor-General. "I have been over all the European barracks here. 'H. M's. 60th are badly off. Indeed, I have never seen 'Europeans so badly housed in India. The quarters of 'H. M's. 61st are better, and the Bombay Fusileers and 'Bengal artillery are comparatively well off. Every thing is at 'a stand still, for the Commander-in-Chief's arrival, and, if His 'Excellency does not come till February, as is now stated, the 'Europeans and their families will have a good chance of being 'exposed all next hot weather."

Sir Charles thinks that he provided suitable barracks for Govindgurh in 1850, but, two years later, I pointed out to the Officers on the spot, that the European hospital, a building hardly twenty feet high, was crowded with double its proper numbers, while the barrack was comparatively empty. Is government responsible for such cases? Six months earlier I found the European artillery men at Mooltan living in bomb-proofs ten or twelve feet high, wretchedly, if at all, ventilated. I might adduce scores of cases to shew that while Government does a great deal that is required, and is generally willing to do all, individuals, who ought to do much, do very little, and that much of the misery, illness, and mortality of the European soldiers lies at the door of commanding and staff officers, who, frightened at responsibility, or careless of the welfare of their men, often treat them more as machines than as human beings.

Sir Charles says that "troops were—until forbad by me—thus made to occupy barrack rooms of twelve, ten,or even eight 'feet high" *page* 204. This is very vague, Government certainly intended no such thing, except on emergencies; and had a right to expect that officers on the spot would see to ventilation, &c. A small house may be better ventilated than a large one. The Military Board moreover have not, within the last half century, ordered barracks, eight, ten, or twelve feet high, except as temporary shelter. Even the Syrian roofed barracks at Kurnal, built thirty or more years ago, must be at least fourteen feet high. They have also double roofs. The Umbala barracks, completed before Sir Charles was Commander-in-Chief, as also those at Dugshaie, which were in progress, are proofs that his presence was not required to promote improved barrack buildings. The fact of the low roofs at Subathoo and Kussowlie, I have always heard attributed to the barracks having been run

up hastily, under Lord Ellenborough's administration, as he was uncertain of his order, placing Europeans at those stations, being approved of in England, and therefore hurried the measure. If such be the case, His Lordship was perfectly right, and whatever may be said to the contrary, I believe, that those barracks, bad as they are, instead of having "murdered men," have saved many lives.

There is therefore, with some truth, immense clap-trap in the angry invectives that have been poured out on the subject. Good will result, but I trust that reform will not stop at the barrack, but will follow the soldier to his camp,* his parade, his dinner, and his idle hours. That he will have shady walks and play grounds, and be encouraged to be *outside* of his barracks during the day, instead of, as at present, being forcibly kept within it, and that during the hot months he will have thermantidotes, with *efficient establishments to work them*, during the night, so as to enable him to sleep inside, which, under present arrangements, it is almost impossible he can do.

While on this subject, I must add that to this day a soldier's garden has not been marked out at the new cantonment of Mean Meer near Lahore, though there was the example of the beautiful garden at the old station of Anarkullie, given over to the soldiers in 1846-7. I fear that *it* rather hindered than helped a new one. The Governor-General was much pleased with it, and wrote to me privately for details as to expense, &c. The Board of Administration also twice officially recommended the formation of gardens at every station where European soldiers are located, and received a reply that Government fully acknowledges the principle. The Governor-General, was therefore, fully prepared to carry out any reasonable scheme recommended by the Commander-in-chief, but whether his excellency ever proposed one, I know not. I do however know that he wanted to get an officer up from Scinde (a Major) to make gardens! The gentleman I believe declined; at any rate he did not come up; and to this day no gardens have been marked out at Lahore; while at Sealkote, Ferozepore, and Umbala, individuals have done what should have been ordered from army head quarters. To me it always appeared a case like that of Lieut. Wood and the Pontoon Train: Sir Charles must have his own

* While I am altogether oppposed to the notion that Europeans, *on emergencies*, cannot march at any period of the year, I consider that arrangements should be made to prevent troops, especially recruits and invalids, being moved about the country, in April, May and October, as is often the case. October is the month in which I believe, Invalids for Europe usually march. It is at *least* a month too early, and must be most injurious to health.

man, even to make gardens, or he would have nothing to say to them.

To prevent misconception, I may add to this essay on barracks, that I am not only not opposed to locating Europeans in the Hills, but that I have always earnestly advocated the measure. The necessities of the service, however, requiring that a large portion of the British regiments should be in the plains, I am of opinion that Europeans should be sent by detachments, not by Regiments, to the Hills. That every corps, horse as well as foot, should have 20 or 30 per cent. at the nearest Sanatarium, so as to give every man who wishes to go, a chance once in five years.* With *selected* Commanding Officers and Adjutants, and every detachment headed by its own officers, discipline ought in no way to suffer by such a system. Under bad officers, the reverse will be the case, and the blame be wrongly laid on the principle, instead of on the individual. Commanding Officers often object to such measures, in desiring to have, what are erroneously called strong regiments; but whether is it better to have men enjoying themselves in the cool hills, hearty and ready to come down on occasion, or puny and pining in hospital? Many men don't like the hills; for others they are not good; but for selected cases and volunteers they would be a great boon, and would save many lives.

I have dilated on this double question of hills and barracks, because, though not my peculiar business, it is one that every man ought to be interested in, both as a question of economy and of humanity. Lord Dalhousie has sanctioned the establishment of a second sanatarium in the Punjab, which I long and earnestly advocated, and I hope and believe that the Bombay Government will continue to keep a strong detachment from Deesa, throughout the season, at Mount Aboo, as they did at my suggestion last year.

I now proceed to notice the more direct charges made by Sir Charles Napier against the Board of Administration for the Punjab.

That of having desired to accumulate troops at the unhealthy station of Battala, and then at Deenanuggur,† where the inhabitants cannot remain during several months of the year, is easily answered.

* To drag a sick man five hundred miles on an elephant, or even in a dooly, in the cold weather, is often worse than to let him stay with his regiment; but to bring detachments of sick men down from the hills in July and August, seems to be simply playing with their lives.

† Pages 43 and 406.

Battala was the abode of Maha Rajah Sher Sing, during Runjeet Sing's life, and, indeed, until he came to the throne. It is a large and populous town.

Deenanuggur is even larger and more populous, and, whether healthy or unhealthy, its inhabitants *must* reside in it throughout the year. Fever prevails at both places during the autumn, as it does at Lahore, and at almost every town in the Punjab, especially along rivers.

Neither Battala nor Deenanuggur is on a river: the latter was probably injuriously affected by the old ill-regulated canal, whose waters were permitted to flood the country. This has been prevented. What we asked for, was a detachment of two companies (200 men) of native infantry, as a *temporary arrangement*, at Battala, the *temporary* head quarters for the district. Eventually, when we made a definite proposal, it was for a post of about 2000 men *at any one* of six places, in the Upper Manjha, some of them being forty miles or more from either Deenanuggur or Battala.* On this small foundation, and the fact of the officer commanding the companies, while comfortably residing with the Civil Officer, writing, without informing the latter, to his military superior, that his men had no quarters, the Commander-in-Chief raised his cry of the military inefficiency of the Board, and their desire to *accumulate troops*, where to have them at all would be murder. Our reply at the time was, that the arrangement for Battala was but *temporary*, and that had we been called on, we could have housed the sepoys in a few days.

* Extract of Official Letter, No 1,265, December 20, 1849.—"That the most probable scene of disturbance or breach of the peace in the Barce Doab, or country between the Ravee and Byas, is the tract called the Manjha, that is from Kussoor East, and N. E. to near Deenanuggur, and therefore that the Board of Administration suggest the location of a force of not less than 2,000 men, somewhere in that neighbourhood. Any of the undermentioned places would answer, but the Board would prefer the vicinity of Deera Baba Naunk, and next to that the vicinity of Battala.

1st. Umritsir vicinity
2nd. Deera Baba Nanuk vicinity on the Ravee.
3rd Battala vicinity
4th. Midway between Battala and Deenanuggur.
5th. Deenanuggur vicinity
6th Midway between Deenanuggur and Patankote.

[Nos. 4 and 6 have since been established under authorized Committees. It was only needful for Sir Charles Napier to make over the command to Sir W. Gomm, for us to obtain cordial support.]

"Immediately around Lahore, the mass of the people are Mahommedans, quiet and well-disposed cultivators. Should disturbance arise near the city, it would most probably be caused by the influx of the Umritsur, Deenanuggur, Turun Tarun, Deera Baba Nanuk, and Puttee, rural population, who could best be curbed by the proximity of a small compact field force."—

While the Commander-in-Chief was thus making out a case against the Board in regard *to* 200 *men*, his own arrangements were involving the exposure, in more unhealthy positions, of thousands of native troops, and as I have already noticed, unnecessarily detaining in bad barracks several regiments of Europeans.

The Lahore defence question is as easily disposed of. Sir Charles says he built a *wall*, which placed the city of Lahore in a perfect state of defence; "that General Gilbert, Brigadier 'Penny and Colonel Tremenhere, all concurred in thinking 'the wall sufficient to ensure the defence of Lahore! * * * 'Lahore, with my wall, was capable of resisting Affghanistan 'and all the Sikh powers banded together."—*Page* 48-9. The arrangement is also asserted to have "saved several hundred thousand pounds"* which the Board of Administration wished to spend uselessly on the fortifications. I annex a sketch of the Lahore citadel, a glance at which will shew that *the* wall has *nothing whatever to do with the defence of the city. That it was a dead wall, unflanked, inside the city it was supposed to defend, was without a ditch, and within fifty feet of the town houses.*

Sir Walter Gilbert, unhappily, is dead, but to ascertain what share in this matter Brigadier Penny and Colonel Tremenhere really did take, I wrote to both. There can be no impropriety in giving their replies. The Brigadier's was, "I have perused pages 47,48,49, of Sir Charles Napier's book. My recollection is, that we all concurred in the advisability of building the wall—with the view of securing the submission of the city of Lahore."—Colonel Tremenhere writes, "The object of the wall was to contract the limits of the military, and to hold the town in check." And yet these are the officers quoted by Sir Charles Napier as agreeing with him, that the wall *gave full defence to the city outside it.* A fence to keep European soldiers *out* of a city, and a barricade against sudden onslaught *from* the city itself, was one thing; a rampart against Central Asia another.

Colonel Tremenhere's subordinate, the Executive Engineer, built the wall, and the officer holding the same office (possibly the same individual) pulled it down; this was a novel sort of economy. It was simply ten thousand Rupees thrown away, on an immature plan, that neither Brigadier Penny nor Colonel Tremenhere, nor any other officer, but Sir Charles Napier, responsible for the work, would have dreamt of.

On the other hand, the Board of Administration did NOT re-

* See page 47, Indian Mis-Government.

commend the expenditure of several hundred thousand pounds, and so Sir Charles Napier could not have saved that sum. They *did* recommend at utmost, that Rs. 8,56,129, equal to £85,600,* should be spent in cutting the citadel off from the town, improving the flanking defences, and giving it a moderate glacis. The alternative we offered, was to abandon it altogether, and build a small mud fort, at much the same expense, at Mean Meer, to cover the treasury, magazines, &c. If there were anything very ignorant or unsoldier-like, or extravagant in this matter, we are willing to bear the burthen with our adviser, Colonel Robert Napier of the Bengal Engineers.

The charge that we had no "police," because we declined, at a time of peculiar peril, with one weak newly raised regiment of police, to take "charge of the town," a duty hitherto performed by five regiments of the line, is extravagant. His words are: "I consider that a powerful police ought long since to have been formed; none has yet been formed. The Civil Government at the capital could not even relieve the gate guards of the town! They had no arms! Were not formed. There is no head of police to form them. A strong and vigorous Government in the Punjab would, long since, have had a powerful police all over the country, controlling troubled spirits, protecting the well-disposed, and collecting information as to the state of the people in each district; also collecting information relative to the unquiet spirits, and thus doing all that foresight can do to prevent insurrection.†" The subject is also referred to in a like spirit, at page 49.

Sir Charles so confuses and mixes up different questions, that it is difficult to answer him with brevity. At the time he asserted that we had no police, we had a *most efficient one*, numbering 14,567 men, of whom 7,867 were detectives. We had, indeed, thus early almost extinguished dacoity and gang robbery.

The question of the gates, was not, as implied by Sir Charles, one of merely holding the twelve gates of Lahore; although we had no less authority than Lord Hardinge's, for considering, that at such a period, 150 men for each gate,‡ or 1,800 in all, were required for that duty alone, while the police regiment at Lahore *numbered only* 650.

* We, or rather Colonel Napier, prepared two schemes for the citadel, one at an expense of Rs. 8,56,129; another, including clearance of glacis, &c., involving only Rs. 3,20,836. The second was much what had been proposed a year earlier by another able Engineer, Colonel Goodwyn.

† Page 399 Mis Government of India.

‡ Lord Hardinge's Minute of 1846, on the occupation of Lahore.

Sir Charles was at Lahore, and desired to withdraw the five regiments of native infantry from the town, which they had held for nearly three years. Without a word to any Member of the Board, he directed Sir Walter Gilbert to make over the town to me. I told the General that I was not prepared to accept the charge. As fully explaining all the circumstances, I give the following extract from the Official Report of the Board of Administration, submitted to Government at the time *:—

"As regards the specific allegation, that the Board could not relieve the guards at the gates of Lahore, and that the troops it was raising had no arms, the simple facts are these: The Punjab was annexed on the 29th of March. On the 17th of May the Board were allowed to raise five corps of infantry, and as many of cavalry, in the country, and were informed that it depended on the Commander-in-Chief, whether these corps were eventually to be allowed for police purposes, or were to be made over to the Military Department. This uncertainty hampered all their arrangements. It would have been vain for them to do what, if the corps were transferred, might be considered worse than useless. The Board repeatedly referred to Government on points connected with the organization of these corps, and were told in reply, that no answer could be given till the question of the military occupation of the Punjab had been decided. When arms were sanctioned, no time was lost in indenting for them. The subsequent delay in obtaining arms arose from the authorities in charge of the magazines, over whom the Board had no control. The corps at Lahore, which was to take the gate duties, *was* armed. It had arms similar to those with which the Sikhs fought, in the last campaign and in the Sutlej war. But it was not on account of the arms alone, that the Board asked for delay in assuming charge of the gates of Lahore with *one* regiment only. The corps was a young one, of six months' standing, and not then fully recruited. No one knows better than His Excellency, that a newly raised corps requires time to perfect its drill and discipline, and that therefore it is an object not to employ it on any critical service, until fully disciplined.

"The duty required was not simply to relieve the gate guards. It was to hold, coerce, and protect a city, containing nearly 90,000 inhabitants, and but recently reported, on

* I hope our replies in full to Sir Charles Napier's two Minutes on Punjab Affairs, will be published. They will shew how much of our time, that might have been better employed, was occupied in defending ourselves.

military authority, to include 30,000 swordsmen. Not many months previously, military men had pronounced the town, owing to the spirit of its inhabitants, untenable against attack, though garrisoned by five regiments. The civil authorities believed neither statement. But they did and do believe that a turbulent city, long the focus of sedition, required something more than such gate guards as a new, half disciplined regiment could furnish. Moreover, the time at which we were asked to take charge of the gates, was a critical one in the Punjab; the minds of men were much excited, the Maha Raja was about to leave Lahore an exile; the leaders in the late war, who had just been arrested, were about to follow. Bhae Maharaj Sing,* a Sikh priest of reputed sanctity and of great influence, the first man who raised the standard of rebellion beyond the confines of Mooltan, in 1848, and the only leader of note who did not lay down his arms to Sir Walter Gilbert, at Rawul Pindee, was tampering with the Sikhs of the Punjab cavalry corps at Lahore. Six of his emissaries, watched by the police, had been for weeks, and were at that very time, residing close under the palace walls, with a view of abducting the young Maha Raja. Would it have been politic, nay, would it not have been criminal, had the Board, with a single corps, taken charge at such a crisis, of those gates, for which hitherto five regiments had been deemed necessary? When the board expressed their views on the subject to Sir W. Gilbert, that officer instantly acquiesced in their soundness; and, as soon as the emergency had passed by, the regular Troops were relieved of their charge."

Utterly groundless is all that is said about the Punjab regiments and Kohat. In half a dozen places it is asserted that these corps are dangerous, that they do nothing, &c., and all because they are under the Board, and were not under Sir Charles. Yet, what were collectively dangerous, were acknowledged by him to be separately, very fine regiments. He saw seven, and had no fault to find with any one, and he highly applauded Daly's cavalry and Coke's infantry, and held up the latter to the admiration of the Bengal army; yet he never withdrew his charges of the danger and uselessness of the whole ten, on their then footing. Such was the inconsistency of his generalizations. The regiments separately were good, and the officers excellent. The total ten were bad, and the men who had selected those officers, and under whose orders

* Mr Henry Vansittart, of the Civil Service, shortly afterwards, by a gallant coup-de-main, captured this person in the midst of his band.

they had acted, were undeserving of "confidence," and in "military matters only worthy of censure."—*Page* 43.

His Excellency treated the regular army conversely. His famous Lahore, or "chip in porridge," order, as also some others, made out numerous regiments of the Bengal army to be rabble, and yet the Generals and Brigadiers were called excellent officers. *They were not politicals.*

The special charge is that the Board ordered Captain Coke to take his own and Daly's regiment to Kohat, when the pass was closed, risking thereby the destruction of the regiments. It was paying Captain Coke, whom he justly calls a very good officer, a bad compliment, to suppose, that had he got so absurd an order, as to jeopardize his regiments, he would have obeyed it, without remonstrance. Moreover, it is stated that "one 'soldier had a musket without a lock; another a lock with-'out a musket, &c.," (page 85) and that the percussion muskets served out by His Excellency, with His Excellency's presence, saved these two irregular regiments "from the destruction 'prepared for them by Governmental negligence."—*Page* 87.

I am sorry to say that from first to last, the account of the Kohat affair is a fable, I have seen many letters, and talked to dozens of officers who were present during the escapade, but I never heard any other opinion, whether from friend or foe of Sir Charles Napier, than that the affair was unnecessary, impolitic and wretchedly managed. That the Commander-in-Chief rushed wildly about, interfering with every body, trying to do every one's work, and that the result was anything but creditable to our arms. The Punjab Administration have ever since found the affair one of the greatest obstacles to the settlement of the frontier. I have now before me two letters from officers of standing, both of whom were lauded for their conduct on the occasion. They admire Sir Charles Napier generally, yet both ridicule the account in the book. One says, "from our entrance to our exit, there was 'not an iota of opposition to us, by an enemy, who, from 'first to last, had not, as far as I could judge, more than 500* 'men on foot, and certainly not more than one-fourth of that 'number on any one point at the same time." The other letter is much to the same effect, and adds, "if we are to judge 'by the published account of the Kohat affair, Meanee may 'have been a defeat, and the Peninsular war a fable."

* Sir Charles says at page 86: "good information gave them forty or fifty thousand men. But they could not at once assemble all." In *that* pass, they could not, even to meet a Commander-in-Chief, collect four thousand. The tribes *never have* united, and are most unlikely ever to do so.

Sir Charles's *two chief reasons for going* were, "*to see* the plain and town of Kohat, and in obedience to the Governor-General's orders, give an opinion on that frontier, and the new fort proposed. Also by escorting, to *save* the irregular regiments ordered by the Punjab Goverment to reinforce the garrison of Kohat."

I may leave the *implicit* obedience question to be answered by His Excellency's whole career, remarking by the way, that if he wished simply to go to Kohat, he did not require an army of 3,000 men for an escort, and that if he desired to give an opinion worth having on the plain, town, fort and frontier, he required to have stayed longer than twenty hours. He also wished to improve acquaintance with Bengal troops under fire, and to shew that a miserable "mountain tribe" (of 40,000 men!) was not to arrest a Commander-in-Chief's progress. Strange and contradictory motives. In affected obedience to recent orders, or rather in mockery of them, if not in entire ignorance of the tribes, whom he says he knows so intimately, he ordered our troops not to fire until fired upon. He might have known that he and his force invited attack. That the larger the force, *the more certainty of opposition.* That it is not in the nature of the tribes to let an army pass their defiles. Even the *double* wages, *paid in advance*, which Sir Charles naively proposes, *since* his campaign,* would only make them more keen to plunder their gentle pay-masters. There is, in short, always a fighting, and a talking party, each playing into the other's hands.

The annexed extract from Colonel G. Lawrence's Official Report, dated 16th October, 1850, shows that if the Commander-in-Chief escorted Captain Coke to Kohat, the *latter escorted His Excellency back*, which was rather a more difficult operation. Lieut. Pollock, moreover, with his irregulars, *covered the retreat.* "The first Punjab cavalry marched in at once to Kohat, and the infanry followed on the morning of the 13th, *after protecting towards Muttunee* (the Peshawur entrance of the pass) the *march of the rear guard of the force.*"† The italics and parenthesis are mine. The fact of Coke's having returned from the Kohat side of the pass, *towards* the Peshawur en-

* At Lahore, on his way up, he and his personal staff breathed only of war—of going to Cabool, &c. On their return their tone was changed.

† Colonel G. Lawrence's letter also says "Lieutenant Pollock's *force was directed* by His Excellency to make a demonstration towards the Benouta Hills, *so as to draw off the enemy from our returning column*, which was done apparently with good effect." Col. G. Lawrence has many pleasant recollections of Sir Charles Napier, who treated him with much kindness, yet he fully coroborates the statements of the two notes I have quoted.

trance, with the rear guard of the Peshawur Force, I have seen confirmed under his own hand, though in modest terms. Assuredly he was the hero of the affair, and though I will not say he *saved* the Commander-in-Chief, I am entitled to insist on it, that as he "sustained the brunt of the skirmishing,"* then saw the rear-guard nearly out of the Pass towards Peshawur, and then *returned* with his tired men to make their own way, *unaided* by the regulars, to Kohat, that the Commander-in-Chief not only *did not save him*, but that His Excellency *did exactly what he accused the Board of having done.*

So much for Sir Charles's having "*saved*" the regiments which the Board had blindly devoted to destruction. I may add that there was no necessity for those regiments to have gone *at all* by the Kohat pass, much less at that particular time. There are two other passes into Kohat from the Peshawar and Indus side, both well known to Captain Coke. One is always open, and is wholly unconnected with the Afreedees; the people of the other are usually in opposition to those of the main pass. There was also no urgency. Kohat was in no danger. Colonel G. Lawrence wrote on the 3rd February, "I am not of opinion 'that the safety of Kohat *is in any way* affected by this affray." In the same letter he also stated that he had postponed the march of the two regiments to Kohat. He sent us a copy of his despatch to Brigadier Sir C. Campbell, wherein is stated, "I have considered it advisable to postpone the march of the 'two regiments under orders for Kohat." He adds that he told the Commander-in-Chief so. He was at His Excellency's elbow.

Sir Charles Napier tacks on two extra charges to this Kohat affair.

He says, that we *caused* the war by beginning a road "in '*their* territory," (page 119,) and by putting a "tax on salt at 'the mines, amounting to more than seventeen times what 'was ever before paid."—*Page* 69. "It should not be called a '*tax*. Government, having a monopoly, raised the *price* from 'one to twelve and eighteeen Rupees—that is, forbade the 'Affreedees to live."—*Page* 75. Secondly, that we carried on the war, in a barbarous manner. That "Colonel Lawrence 'told me the Board of Administration had directed him to 'burn the villages. This was as impolitic as dishonorable to 'the character of British soldiers. * * * * I 'was compelled to witness, and in some degree aid, their 'abominable proceedings; for without the protection of my

* The words of the Commander-in-Chief's order of 16th February, 1850.

'soldiers, those of the Board could not have executed their 'scandalous orders." His Excellency might have observed that the concluding sentence exonerates the order. "The 'villages had been, however, entirely abandoned, save by fighting men, and the inhabitants had also carried away the contents of their dwellings." Again, noticing the "dishonorable," "abominable," "scandalous" conduct that had disgraced British troops in regard to these empty houses, unoccupied, save by "fighting men," he adds at page 114, that the "iniquity emanated entirely from the Punjab Administration." The subject is renewed in reference to Colonel Bradshaw, at pages 114 and 115, with, "What! British troops destroying 'villages, and leaving poor women and children to perish in 'the depth of winter," and so on in the next page, almost in the same words. Here again the antidote is given, "With 'regard to the second paragraph of the Adjutant General's 'letter, I beg to state that, as far as I can be aware of the Deputy Commissioner's intentions, the villages in question were 'destroyed in consequence of their belonging to a race of people who entertained a considerable band of mounted robbers, 'to the terror of the peaceable villages in the Eusofzye district, 'and that their vicinity to the hills, affording as it did, an 'easy retreat to the inhabitants, rendered their destruction 'necessary, as the only marked punishment that could be 'inflicted on the occupants. It was ascertained that all the 'women and children, and all property, had been carefully 'removed, some weeks previous, to other villages in the Swat 'and Bujair country; and these tribes, with very consi'derable aid, were thus enabled to defend their position to 'the last, with slight risk of loss."—*Page* 117. I accept the above explanation, given by the late lamented Colonel Bradshaw. Neither he nor any soldier of his force perceived the atrocity of burning the empty houses of robbers, against whom, his was the third expedition within four years.*

At page 91 Sir Charles says, "Colonel Lawrence told me, 'the Board of Administration had directed him to burn the 'villages." Colonel Lawrence could not, and did not, say any thing of the kind. On no single occasion did we give any order, bordering on what Sir Charles asserts. In this instance the *Board did not even know of the expedition.* It was undertaken, on the spur of the moment, at Colonel Lawrence's suggestion, to avenge the murder of our work-people. I however

* Colonel George Lawrence, during the years '46—'47 twice led Sikh detachments against these same robbers, and defeated them,

forego such defence. I rather declare, that the Government policy was, to be-friend to the utmost the well-disposed, whether inside or outside our bounds, but to hit hard the robbers and cut-throats.

In this spirit we directed, on the Yuzuffzye border, that our robber subjects, living under the Swat Hills, and thence, while they paid no revenue themselves, emerging to plunder and slay those who did pay, should be forced to *remove* their villages from their sheltering ground, out into the plain. There was not one word as to destroying anything. We did not care for revenue from them, we asked only for submission, and for the only guarantee worth having for future good conduct. Thus much for our official orders. The question, however, of punishing the tribes, was often privately discussed, with Sir Colin Campbell, Colonel Bradshaw, and other officers, and we always gave our opinions, that the enemy's crops should be cut, and their towers and houses destroyed. This was only meant for cases where repeated warnings had been given, where forbearance would have been a premium on murder, and where the robbers and murderers had nothing but their cattle, grain, and houses to lose; the latter, moreover, being often their castles and breast-works.

In this case, as in many others, the Napiers' own former writings sufficiently refute their present vituperations. At page 108 of the *Administration of Scinde*, Sir Charles is quoted as having thus written: "For the robbers, if they will not be 'quiet and give hostages for their good behaviour, I will with 'an army, lay their country waste: they come with fire and 'sword into our territory, they shall be visited *with fire and 'sword in return.*" The Italics are mine. And in volume six, of the *Peninsular War*, Sir William has recorded at page 421, "They (the Basques of Biddarray) commenced a partizan war, 'until Lord Wellington, incensed by their activity, issued a pro-'clamation, calling upon them to take arms openly, and join 'Soult, or stay peaceably at home, declaring that he would '*otherwise burn their villages and hang all the inhabitants.* Thus 'it appeared that notwithstanding all the *outcries* made against the 'French, for resorting to this system of repressing the warfare 'of peasants in Spain, it was *considered by the English General 'justifiable and necessary.*" The above was against poor people, who, Wellington allowed, had been roused by the atrocities of Murello, Nina and their bands. Wellington was *angry*, justly so, at the crimes committed around him, first by the Spaniards, next by the Basques—*We* were *cool and three hundred miles off.* Again I quote the historian of the Peninsular war.

Near Orthes, a French partizan made a dash, and surprised a party. Wellington thinking they were peasants, and anxious to check such acts, "seized the civil authorities at Hagetnan, 'and declared *that he would hang all the peasants caught in arms, 'and burn their villages.*" The Italics are mine.

The great Duke carried on war as humanely as ever did commander, and yet he thus threatened, not only to *burn* villages, but to *hang villagers*, who fought in defence of their *own hearths*, against the Spanish banditti, whose conduct he had just before indignantly reprobated. The historian and approver of the Duke's acts, nevertheless, edits the accusations of cruelty against the Punjab Administration, which never, even in the most troubled times, *touched or threatened to touch the hair of an untried man's head, however guilty.* †

But to explain the origin of the Kohat Pass affair. The Affreedees treacherously murdered our workmen repairing the the high road from the Kohat Pass to the valley of the same name.

† In further proof of the discrepancies between Sir C Napier's theory and practice, I annex extract of a letter from him to Major Jacob, proposing to give the territory of one tribe to another, a measure that could only have been carried out by great bloodshed, if not by extermination Failing in his scheme, he declared the offenders outlaws and authorized their being captured *or killed.* Men, women and children were thus driven to starvation, I annex also a letter, and an extract in proof of these points —

Letter from General C. J Napier to Captain Jacob, 27th December, 1844.

If I were to offer the Boogtee territory to the Murrees, would they help us by refusing any passage through their lands to Beejahs people ?"

* * * * * * * * * * *

No. 30, 1846.

To MAJOR GENERAL HUNTER, C. B.

Commanding in U. S.

Assistant Adjutant General's Office, Kurrachee, 8th January, 1846.

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency, Major General Sir C. Napier, G. C B, to request you will give instructions to officers commanding outposts in Upper Scinde, that the Boogtees are outlaws, and cattle belonging to them and *themselves* are to be captured *or killed* when they come near the frontier.

I have, &c, &c,

(Signed) D GREEN, *Major*,
Assistant Adjutant General.

No. 154 of 1847

Khangurh, 8th September, 1847.

SIR,—I have the honor to report that, on the morning of the 5th instant, as already reported to you demi-officially, a party of Boogtees, consisting of six men, seven women and ten children, came to Khanghur, and threw themselves before me, to beg for food; they had come from Punian during the night before, a distance of thirty-two miles, and appeared to be in extreme want, one of the women is extremely old and feeble, and the children are of ages varying from three months to seven years. *Famine and misery were strongly marked* over every face, and I have seldom seen a more pitiable sight. *When food was given them, they could not wait to cook it, but devoured the flour raw by hand-fuls.*

(Signed) JOHN JACOB, *Major*,
Commanding S. I. Horse.

Sir Charles's G. O. of 16th February, telling the detachment employed under his orders, in the Kohat Pass, what heroism they had displayed, properly enough blames the assassins, but in his book he changes his ground, and in a manner exonerates them at the expense of the politicals. "As far as I am able to 'learn from minute enquiry, and from all parties, the case stands 'thus; an enormous increase of price was put upon salt, by 'shutting the mines."

* * * * * * *

Secondly.—"They who live by black mail, do not like roads being made easy, whose difficulty is the robbers' means of life and revenue; we not only tried to make this road in our own territory, but we began it in their territory. This was not altogether consistent with justice; but still not very outrageously unjust; because we paid these people 6,000 Rupees a year for a safe passage through their defiles; and a passage is not altogether safe where one runs the risk of breaking one's neck over precipices. Still it was not just, even if we paid the black mail of 6,000 Rupees. But, say the Afreedees, you did not! This brings me to the third cause of this attack. They say that —— did not pay them; he paid a prince of the Sooja-ool Moolk family, who lives at Kohat, and is a favorite of ——. That the Lieutenant gives this 'Shah-i-zadah,' or prince, the money (6,000 Rupees) that he pockets most of it, and distributes the remainder among a few villages situated on the road through the mountains, but the powerful Affreedee tribe gets none of the money."—*Page* 119: Again in a letter to the Governor-General, quoted at page 126: "The acts of the Affreedees prove they believe what they say, whether true or not, viz., that —— is deceived by the Shah-i-zadah. I tell you these things, that you may form your own opinion more readily." He adds, "These suggestions passed as the idle wind. Lord Dalhousie preferred the opinions of young men of slight ability, and little or no experience, to mine, and that of the war-bred Sir Colin; the result has been suitable to the wisdom." Sir Charles had no doubt as to the salt, &c. He was told by an *Affreedee* chief, who corroborated general opinion. Sir Charles's general opinion was his mounshee. I happen to know the Affreedee chief, who is not an Affreedee at all, but one Rhumut Khan, a half crazed Aurukzye, whose influence, such as it is, over the tribes, is that of a brave madman. He rushes in among the wild cut-throats, where a sane person would be cautious. He is a deadly enemy of Shah-zadah Zumboor, the prince referred to by Sir Charles, and one of the very best specimens of fallen royalty in the East. Of course

Rhumut abused him, because he was his enemy, and wished to have his place, as assistant to the officer in charge of Kohat. He did succeed partly, though indirectly, through Sir Charles's influence, in obtaining the superintendence of the pass, and certainly has not been more popular in it than was the Shah-zadah. Sir Charles did Lieut Pollock* great injustice in placarding Rhumut Khan's crazy stories. That excellent young officer used to see the *tribute money* paid into the hands of the heads of the tribes, and therefore Shah-zadah Zumboor could not have interfered with their rights.

The salt question is a simple one. We released the Punjab of all transit and town duties, and as a small equivalent, raised the duty on salt about a shilling on eighty pounds weight, making it in all one shilling on twenty pounds. Our arrangements, however, were obstructed by an influx of Trans-Indus salt, from mines within our own border, which paid only a nominal tax. Those who benefited were almost all either our enemies in Affghanistan and the passes, or smugglers. We saw no reason for favoring either party, but we did not, as asserted, raise prices. We only *temporarily* closed *two* mines, leaving several others open, pending enquiry. *After* the affray we did raise the tax to *two and four* annas, the latter, and higher rate, being still *only one-eighth* of the tax on the Cis-Indus salt. Far from perceiving cruelty in the arrangement, I hope soon to hear that rates have been equalized, and one or one and a half Rupee fixed for both sides the Indus. The Vuzerees, Afreedees and Affghans do not respect us the more for treating them better than our own loyal subjects. The Sikhs were not influenced by benevolence, but by weakness in their salt arrangements. We have a fort and a regiment at the great mine. If need be, the force may be doubled. Either Kohat should be abandoned, or we should be masters in all points *within our boundary*. I wish not to step an inch beyond it. Kohat is an expensive incumbrance. It will become more so if the tribes find us yielding to them. Kohat is the most vulnerable point of our whole frontier. The entrance from Affghanistan is nearly as practicable as the Khybur and Bolund, and though we have *five* passes from our own territories into it, there will always be officers in our own ranks, who will echo Sir Charles Napier's opinions, that a reinforcement of two regiments cannot pass through without risking destruction. Many of our authorities oscillate between teme-

* It being perfectly well known that Lieut. Pollock was in charge of Kohat at that time, the leaving his name blank was a very flimsy veil.

rity and panic. Our treasuries and magazines, even at exposed points, are left almost defenceless, often literally tempting attack, and then when it does come, and a few robbers show themselves, all India and England are frightened with accounts of invasion, insurrection, &c. It is to prevent alarms and unseemly occurrences that I have always advocated making such places as Kohat strong. A good fort, a compact field force of 2,000 men, under a good officer at Kohat, with a *very light assessment*, and kind conciliatory conduct towards the tribes, as long as they behave themselves, will leave us safe enough at Kohat in ordinary times. Common sense, energy, and activity in short, not charlatanry and impulse, are required there as elsewhere.

Salt being one grievance, our making a road was another. Truly there is something strange that the enacter of the Scinde policy—and the man who, to the last, did just what he liked in his neighbour of Kelat's territory, fought with his subjects, and, contrary to expressed declarations, left a force within his border,* should question our right to make a road through a pass connecting our valleys of Peshawur and Kohat. The notion is preposterous.

One great mistake *was* made; not in making the road, but in trusting our poor fellows to the cut-throats of the pass. Either a contract should have been entered into with the men of the pass to make the road themselves, or the workmen should have been withdrawn every evening. It is quite unnecessary to look for reasons for the murder of our people. The salt, or the road, one or both, may have been the *excuse*, just at that time, but assuredly no men could for a continuance work safely in or near any of the western passes, without a strong escort, and without cover for the night. The men of the passes do not fight, they murder. They will way-lay, shoot from behind a breast-work, or the top of a hill, and individually they are plucky enough; but they do not fight in bodies, and do not like getting killed. Our authorities too often forget that the tribes are robbers, not soldiers; that they are easily guarded against; but that they will lose no opportunity of murdering and robbing.†

One point of the Kohat question remains. Sir Charles thinks he saved money at Kohat, as he had done at Lahore;

* At Shahpoor.

† A story is told of the Vuzeree neighbours of those poor innocent people. They were about to rob a traveller. He begged for mercy on the plea of being a Syud. "Just the thing we want, a Ziarut, (place of pilgrimage)" and forthwith slew the descendant of their Prophet.

and in his Official Report, designates the Board's proposal for a new fort in that valley as "too puerile to need remark." The facts are these: A young, but able Engineer Officer, was sent to Kohat. He most correctly reported the fort to be a mass of rubbish, and proposed to build a small new one. His scheme was backed by Colonel Robert Napier, and I presume was officially recommended to Government, though I do not recollect what steps were taken by the collective Board. Individually I wrote on the 20th September, 1849, to the Governor-General, with whom I was in constant correspondence, as follows, "An Engineer Officer, sent by General Dundas, at my brother George's request, has prepared a plan, &c., of a fort for Kohat, which I trust will be sanctioned. His estimate is under Rs. 20,000, but I should be glad to see twice that sum expended at Kohat; as an Affghan army might at present come that way and turn the Peshawur position. I hope to see Kohat before I return to Lahore."

I did visit Kohat within two months, accompanied by an Engineer Officer, Lieutenant John Becher, and aided by him, examined localities. Although as a purely military and engineering question, I still considered the proposal for a new fort to be the correct one, I came to the opinion that, on the whole, the old *site cleared and improved*, would answer; accordingly I wrote from the spot, on the 9th November, to Lord Dalhousie: "I think that the fort proposed by —— and ——, would neither protect the villages nor the town, and that it would be better to pull down the old one, and on its *site* to construct a better—putting a tower or redoubt on the hill that overlooks it. The two would completely command and protect the town, which once in possession of the enemy, the valley would be lost. The new site proposed could be turned.—I have told Lieut. Garnet to survey the town with reference to my notion, and have a plan ready for the Commander-in Chief."

His Excellency followed my steps three months afterwards, and had therefore the same means of ascertaining my matured as my original opinion. After a cursory glance, he proposed *much* the plan I had just done, except that he would have left the old, weak, tumbling down, enfiladed, and commanded works, whereas I would have rectified their defects. On the 11th March, 1850, he writes to the Governor-General: "It is fortu-'nate you did not begin to build the fort which the Board 'wanted, in the plains of Kohat: * * * * Its 'own old fort is exactly where it ought to be, and *needs very 'little to make it a perfect* protection *to the town*." Also in his report inserted at page 427, he says, "a few guns should be

'mounted, the fort *well cleaned out*, and a small magazine built. 'The *idea of building a work further advanced in the plains is too* "*puerile to need remark.*" The italics are mine. His Excellency thus in reality had to make his giant as well as kill him. But I entirely deny the puerility of the original scheme. There is nearly as much to be said in its favor as in that which has been determined on by Government. Lieut. Colonel Robert Napier, though satisfied with the present arrangement, *preferred* the other, as would any good Engineer. No Affghan *army* would pass a fort placed as was intended, and against robbers, the town wall was fair protection. I again visited Kohat in company with Colonel Napier; when, with the advantage of plans and maps, intermediately made, we again went over the ground, and reconsidered the whole question.

We then agreed that the only means of making the old fort, or rather the *old site*, defensible, was to nearly pull down the fort and rebuild it with masonry, revetments, escarpes, a ditch and flanking defences. And, above all, that it was necessary to lower and occupy the hill that commanded it within three hundred yards, and also to clear away the houses and gardens that choked the old works. The expense involved was 81,639 Rupees, which Government at once sanctioned. I leave it to the reader to decide whether either of these schemes were "foolish," as the Commander-in-Chief calls the first, and implies the other to be. His own, be it observed, left a hill commanding the fort and town within three hundred yards; *with part of the town lying between the two*—with houses more or less all round, and close up to the walls, with a rampart so ricketty, that a gun could not have been fired from any point without a risk of bringing down the rampart.* His Excellency's remedy was peculiar, *guns should be mounted*, "*the fort well cleaned out.*" Further, "it *needs very little* to make

* I annex a portion of one of Colonel Robert Napier's Memos on Kohat. "Admitting the present site of the fort to have been fixed by superior authority, and unalterable, I recommend that it be surrounded by a ditch and glacis, on all sides, that the revetment of the ditch be of pucca masonry, for the escarpe; the counterscarpe may be of rubble, or cutcha brick.

"The present bastions and curtains stand on the old mud rubble masonry, or on the artificial soil of the mound, and are insecure. * * * *

"The Hindoo town now on the glacis and at its foot, should be removed, and the domineering mound running parallel to the fort, should be reduced under its command.

"On the north side of the fort, and about three hundred yards distant, a long ridge runs parallel to it, and is of about the same height; between this ridge and the fort lies the principal bazar, extending from the base of the former to the ditch of the latter. A clear spring issues from the bottom of the bazar, and flows off in a plentiful stream. Lieut Garnett proposes to construct an out-work on one extremity of this ridge and to lower the remainder of it, until it is brought under the command of the fort. These arrangements will be very good."

'it a perfect protection to the town." Considering that His Excellency allowed only 10,000 Rupees for the Lahore defences, the "very little" here recommended ought not to have been half that sum. But though 10,000 Rupees might have *cleaned out* the place, and patched up breaches, even that amount, could in no way have rendered the fort defensible. As seeing is believing, I annex a sketch map, which I beg may be examined.

On Sir Charles's return in April, from Peshawur, and, while still denying us the smallest aid for the three hundred miles of Derajat frontier, he desired his military secretary to write to me officially, to send four twelve-pounders to put on the above noted rotten works. The Commander-in-Chief might have known that I had no authority over the guns at Lahore. I replied that the only guns under our orders were at Kohat and in the Derajat, and that we would desire Lieutenant Taylor (from Bunnoo) to send what he could, *if His Excellency* thought they could be spared. I wrote demi-officially to the Adjutant General: "I decidedly 'think they cannot be (spared); moreover, they are ill-supplied 'with stores and ammunition. I wrote that two or three of 'our own regular guns could be sent up on elephants at once, 'and then we could place the Sikh guns at Kohat in the fort." The Adjutant General was well disposed, but the chief use the Commander-in-Chief appears to have made of my letter, was to found an accusation of his having heard from me, that we had no ammunition, &c., in the Derajat.

Much discussion has arisen on the anomaly of Sir Charles Napier having had no part in the arrangements for the Derajat. I need only add to what is already before the public, that the Board never asked for the military charge, nor expected it. That when the Commander-in-Chief refused it on a question of patronage, the Board accepted the duty simply as a duty.*

With reference to the arrangements for the Derajat, I annex copies of two letters written by me to the Military Secretary, during Sir Charles's stay at Lahore, in December, 1849, urging for a decision *one way or other;* begging for the services of regular artillery, or of four artillery officers, or even of *one* officer, and placing on record my views of the requirements of the Punjab, and specially of the frontier, and the urgent necessity of an *immediate* arrangement:—

Lahore, 14th December, 1849.

If the Commander-in-Chief has made up his mind as to the work that is to devolve on the Board, I will be much obliged by his Excellency allowing

* On the original formation of the corps, Lord Dalhousie gave me, unsolicited, the nomination *of all the* officers. He only rejected one man.

you to inform me, as it is very important we should receive our orders before the Governor General leaves Kurrachee.

On the 12th I told the Commander-in-Chief that although we were not ambitious of the charge of the frontier, we are ready to take on ourselves the responsibility, as well as to be answerable for the peace of the country, if we have 22,200 men of all descriptions, with eighteen field guns, at our disposal, and be permitted, in communication with the Major General or other officers commanding, to call on the regulars in the event *of invasion*, or of such internal outbreak as might be too much for the Irregular force. Such authority being altogether *defensive*, not *offensive*. Of the 22,200 men, above noted, 3,700 are proposed to be stationed in the Peshawur valley; 2,800 in Huzara, 1,200 in Kohat, and 6,900 in the Derajat, very little less than these numbers will be required for some years for the internal defence of those quarters; though, if closely supported from Noushera or Pubbie for Peshawur, at Attock for Hazara, and Leiah or Munkera for the Dejarat, they will suffice to defend the frontier also. The moral effect of guns among barbarous tribes is however so great, that we could not do without artillery; as otherwise we might be overwhelmed, especially in the Derajat, before succour could arrive.

I will therefore be obliged by the information whether the Commander-in-Chief will consent to our having eighteen guns, and if so, whether they are to be regular or irregular. We have good artillery men, few of whom are Sikhs, perhaps not one-sixth, but in either case we should require new equipment, as the guns and carriages now in use are very bad. If we have irregular guns, I should like to have one officer for each of the three batteries, and one inspecting officer for the whole. We might however jog on with the latter only.

I will wait on his Excellency again, whenever he has time to see me, if he desires any more information, but I earnestly hope a decisive arrangement, one way or other, may be made, before head-quarters leave Lahore, as numberless arrangements have to be made, and as our five regiments of irregulars have not yet received their arms.

(Signed) H. M. LAWRENCE.

I appear to have received no answer, for within a week I thus repeated my requests regarding artillery.

Lahore, 20th December, 1849.

With reference to what I said in my letter of the 14th instant, about guns on the frontier, I will be obliged by your informing me, if the Commander-in-Chief will allow ONE officer to be employed as inspector, until such time as His Excellency and the Governor-General may finally determine the Trans Indus and Huzara artillery questions.

I will also be glad to hear whether the Commander-in-Chief will consent that the artillery men now employed, in number between 300 and 400, shall be retained on their present footing. My reason for pressing the question is, that the men are guaranteed service or pension, in reward of their good conduct during the war, and that if there is objection to their being employed as gunners, we have at present, while vacancies exist, the opportunity of enlisting such as will take infantry service, in the irregular Battalions. But the present opportunity lost, there will be difficulty in providing for them.

We have now twenty-four guns in Hazara, Kohat, and the Derajat, and consider that those points will be unsafe with less than eighteen regular or irregular.

(Signed) H. M. LAWRENCE.

I was put off with being shown a copy of a letter to the Governor-General, full of fallacies, and the Commander-in-Chief not only left Lahore but India, without making a shadow of an arrangement for even the support of the irregulars in the Derajat. Unless, indeed, it be conceded, as he asserted, contrary to common sense and all military rules, that Peshawur, Rawul Pindee and Lahore, with vast rivers and bad passes intervening, requiring, in *quiet time*, days and weeks to traverse, were supports to posts that might be overwhelmed in twenty-four hours.

Such is a brief abstract of the frontier question, as it lies between the late Commander-in-Chief and the late Board of Administration. Sir Charles would neither take the charge himself nor help us in doing so.

To complete this explanation, I annex extracts from two letters, written by me at this time, to the Governor-General, one of the 15th December, influenced by my having received no reply from the Military Secretary to my letter of the previous day—also one of 20th December, enclosing copy of my letter of that date, as given above. These several letters show that though we did not shirk an important duty, we did not court the charge of the frontier. Situated as was the Board, there was little credit and great responsibility to be obtained by a charge that largely increased our labors.

To excuse the last paragraph of my letter of the 20th December to the Governor-General, I may say that we had the example of Buttala, &c., before our eyes. The Commander-in-Chief moreover accused us, in one breath, of desiring to accumulate, and to scatter troops. Where we wanted them, even in small numbers, we were told there were no barracks. When we expressed fears of insurrection, we were told that His Excellency would put it down. Such was not the support that would have preserved the peace of the frontier. As regards gang robbers, the Derajat was more ticklish ground than the Manjha—we should not have been safe for a day, had we, on each occasion, been obliged to enter into detailed explanations with subordinate officers, jealous of our controul, and not acting under our orders—the country would have been spoiled, while the civil and military local officers, acting under different heads, were discussing their respective responsibilities :—

Lahore, 15th December, 1847.

The Commander-in-Chief *not* having sent for me, I called on him on the 12th instant, and was well received. His Excellency said that he had made up his mind about the frontier, and that we were to have the ten regiments, and that he did not object to our having ten guns. He talked of having a force, including the Camel Corps, at Munkera, to which I

replied that if it could be fed, and watered, the frontier was a good one, and that I did not care for the site, so that a force was placed so as to support the Derajat. In regard to Peshawur, he said that he thought of placing 6000 on the bridge on the right bank of the Attock. I pointed out there would not be room at that point for more than a post, but that the plain about Noreshere or Puthee would command the whole valley. He seemed to assent, and promised that in two days he would have his arrangements ready. Yesterday, however, not having heard more, I wrote to Major Kennedy, requesting to be informed of His Excellency's views, especially as to the eighteen guns, so as to enable us to get orders from your Lordship before you leave Mooltan. I have as yet received no answer. I concluded by saying, "I will wait on His Excellency again whenever he has time to see me, if he desires any more information, but I earnestly hope that a decisive arrangement, one way or other, may be made before head-quarters leave Lahore, as numberless arrangements have yet to be made, and as our five new regiments of irregulars have not yet received their arms.

20th December, 1849.

The Commander-in-Chief says he will leave Lahore on the 22nd, but as Major Kennedy has not answered my letter of the 14th, and I have not yet, up to 3 P. M., had a reply to a note of this morning, I beg to enclose copies of both, and with reference to His Excellency's letter of yesterday to your Lordship, which he shewed me last evening, I beg that you will sanction a force, including seven Police Battalions, in excess of the five regiments of irregular infantry, not exceeding 22,200, as detailed in my distribution statement of the 7th instant. I have on three several occasions gone to the Commander-in-Chief, and twice addressed Major Kennedy, as herewith enclosed, but have received no written answer, and have verbally obtained no more decisive reply than that contained in His Excellency's letter to your Lordship of yesterday.

In it the Commander-in-Chief more than hints that with one-fourth of the force suggested by me, he could keep the peace of the country. While reading the letter in Major Kennedy's presence, I offered to discuss the question, and referred to Hazara, Kohat, &c., but Major Kennedy cut me short by correctly remarking that the Commander-in-Chief argued from his Scinde data. To this there was no reply without offence, in as much as His Excellency, in all his comparisons, counts all our people—horse, foot, police, irregulars, garrison, but omits his Beloch Corps, Jacob's Horse—Camel Corps—though employed on identically the same duties as are a portion of our force. Writing for your Lordship alone, I do not hesitate to say, from all I have seen and heard of late, that I shall not consider the country safe from disturbances, if the regiments are in the Commander-in-Chief's hands, as I do not believe that in such case we should get the *prompt*, and cordial aid on emergency that would alone quell the germ of insurrection. I am quite aware that I am inviting extra responsibility, but I do so because I thus arm myself with the means of meeting it. If disturbance arise, it will not be the Commander-in-Chief, but the Board that will be responsible.

Some of my remarks on Sir Charles Napier's military arrangements, may possibly appear presumptuous. I have desired to avoid such offence. I fully acknowledge the many military merits of the deceased General, but disfigured as they were by extravagance, it is difficult, at all times to discuss them with both seriousness and moderation. Had some of his pro-

posals come from an ordinary man, they would simply have raised a passing smile. It is his name alone that necessitates an answer. A man who prophesies danger from all sides, from the far North West, down to the South East, must somewhere, at some time, prove correct. But what do such croakings, coming from the highest military authority, avail? They weaken rather than strengthen the Government. If 50,000 troops be placed at Dacca, as unnecessarily recommended by Sir Charles, that number of extra troops must be raised, or a really dangerous quarter must be denuded on its account. It is also safe, *in a general way*, to say that there is danger at Hyderabad. A turbulent city, containing many thousand lawless armed men, must always contain the germ of danger. Such places are dangerous or otherwise, according to the manner in which they are dealt with. What is safe in one man's hands is dangerous in another. Add to His Excellency's list of possibly dangerous quarters, Agra, Delhi, Allahabad, Bhurtpoor, and indeed every locality where there is a tolerably substantial fort, and an armed, unemployed military population. Let an accident put any fortress with treasure, guns, and magazine, into the hands of a bold rebel, and let our game be played as at Mooltan. We may then have Mooltan over again, with disagreeable additions.

I must add one to my military quotations, in proof of the difficulty of dealing with Sir Charles Napier's military operations:—"The danger of warring in the Eusofzye country, was 'impressed upon my mind by history and by experience. 'Alexander the Great lost an army more to the westward, 'the great Akbar lost two armies in the Eusofzye Mountains, 'and we lost one at Cabul, not very far from the same place. 'In the Bhooghtee Hill campaign, I had myself, though 'successful, experienced the greatest difficulties, and the tribes 'bordering the Punjaub are said, probably with truth, never 'to have been conquered. They did not acknowledge fealty 'to the Sikhs, and the Eusofzyes and Affreedees denied our 'claim to sovereignty,—ready to accept our friendship, they 'rejected our rule. A fort has since been built in the Eusofzye's 'country, but to what purpose? The garrison has been frequently beleaguered, and a force which marched against 'them only last year, under a Brigadier, had this result: people were killed and wounded, and the force marched back.

"With a less able man than Sir Colonel Campbell, there 'would probably have been the name of a fifth unhappy commander added to those of Pharnuches, Zein Khan, Bir Bal, 'and McNaghten!"

There are nearly as many fallacies as lines in this passage. The Eusofzye country is an open plain, as easy to war in as any part of India. The guide corps, unaided, has not only held it since annexation, but has ordinarily kept in order the rough mountain border, not less than fifty miles in extent. *No* fort has been built, and therefore none can have been beleaguered. But if the small field work in the next valley (Doab) be referred to, I deny that it has ever been beleaguered, though had the Affghans one-tenth the manhood they are supposed by some to have, it would not only have been beleaguered, but carried, within a week of its erection. No fort has been beleaguered, unless it be called beleaguering, for robbers to burn a few thatches in the village near Shubkuder, and to make officers, unaccustomed to responsibility, write unwise letters. If any one of the three small forts in the Peshawur Province have been beleaguered, then has Peshawur itself, for it assuredly has had *more* than its share of burnings, robberies and murders. The Emperor Akbar having lost two Armies in the Euzufzye mountains, (I never heard of more than one) is a singular reason for the British Government not "warring in the Eusofzye country." Unhappily, we have no remedy. Whether we war with the robbers or not, they will war with us—we cannot help ourselves. As to their being willing to be our friends, but not our subjects; the assertion is not only contrary to experience, but to the statements in Sir Charles Napier's own book. Asiatics must be master or servant—pay, or be paid. They know no medium; no amiable friendships. If we are unable to *oblige* these within our bounds to pay a *light* assessment, they will soon require black mail. I advocate light assessments every where, but especially light ones on frontiers, and where defaulters can escape to mountains and deserts. Time after time our subordinates were instructed, that the revenue which has to be fought for, is not worth having; but that something, however small, should be taken as acknowledgment of fealty.

Alexander's loss of a small detachment on the Oxus, and our own disasters at Cabul, are further funny reasons for not protecting our subjects in Eusofzye. I might, however, travel not only through the book under notice, but through that on the Administration of Scinde, and thus point out fallacy after fallacy; but I must draw my notes to a close.

The chapters on the wants of the Indian army must have disappointed Sir Sharles Napier's best friends. Many officers, of half his ability and experience, could supply better hints for reform, than are contained in this book. The notice of the

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them, it was the Commander-in-Chief.

His remarks on the subject are somewhat in the spirit of his final order of 3rd December, 1850, which, however meant by him, led to the impression in Europe, that the Subalterns of the Bengal Army are pretty generally cheats and swindlers. Like Sir Charles himself, I lived on my pay as an Ensign (2nd Lieutenant.) I therefore know it can be done, and *for their own sake*, I should be sorry to see the pay of young Subalterns increased; but a graduated allowance, as in H. M.'s service, for seniors is much required Let increase of pay be given to Subalterns and Captains after terms of seven years in each grade. Let command allowance of Regiments be encreased, so as to make the charge of a Regiment equal in emolument to any but first class military positions. The pay of Jemadars (Native Lieutenants) should also be increased, by at least half. Twenty-four Rupees a month is wretched pay for a Commissioned officer. It would be worth while to make some of the increases above recommended, even at the expense of staff officers.

While on the subject of pay, I may say that of all the wants of the Indian Army, perhaps the greatest want is a simple pay code, unmistakeably shewing the pay of every rank in each branch, under all circumstances. At present there are not three officers in the Bengal army who could, with certainty, tell what they and the people under them, are entitled to in every position in which they are liable to be placed. The audit office seldom affords help. It is considered an enemy ready to take advantage of difficulties, not an umpire between man and man. During the last thirty years, I have seen much hardship on officers in matters of accounts, and of the several instances of discontent that I have witnessed in the Native army, all were more or less connected with pay, and, in almost every instance, the men only asked for what they were, by existing rules, entitled to. Half a sheet of paper ought to shew every soldier his rate of pay by sea, by land, on leave, on the staff, in hospital, on duty, &c. There ought to be no doubt on the matter. At present there is great doubt, though there *are volumes* of pay and audit regulations.

Sir Charles Napier's notions, on rifles, the minie rifle, &c.

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Commissariat is limited to some obvious truths, and to an attack on the honesty of its officers. The fact, however, is, that working under a most vicious system, nine-tenths of the officers were and are, as upright men as are to be found in any service. The one or two suspicious characters were more or less within his own grasp. If any one could have touched them, it was the Commander-in-Chief.

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but a fort, and that a very poor one, beguiled Moolraj? Scores of other adventurers have, at different times, been in like manner befooled to their own ruin. So much for leaving forts to occupation. Then, as to not occupying any ourselves, I need only point to the practice of all Europe; to every frontier bristling with cannon, almost every capital awed and protected by a fortress. I am decidedly of opinion that in all our provinces, we should have at least one, capable of holding a Regiment, and that at every station, there should be a breast-work to protect stores, treasure, amunition, &c., so as to enable the troops at any time to take the field, leaving, at utmost, a tenth of their numbers behind. Burgos, Badajoz, St. Sebastian and the other fortresses in Spain, that cost the British army so dear, tell their own tale. The French only maintained their ground so long in the Peninsula, from the hold they had on those strong-holds. The Duke undertook or maintained ten sieges.

On an exposed frontier, especially such as that which, for six hundred miles, extends from Hazara to the Scinde border, whose wild and lawless tribes are close to our open villages, it is necessary either to let the people make their own arrangements, or protect them by a chain of posts. Such posts are never safe in the open plain. An officer like Major Jacob will doubtless command comparative safety. His name is a tower of strength, but for ordinary men, even in ordinary times, with an active enemy within twenty miles (they are often within five) on the Punjab frontier, I see no safety but in a breast-work. Twenty men, with ordinary precautions, behind even a slight barricade, are safer than a hundred in the open plain, especially at night. Supposing that even a third of each post are on the alert, they may be overwhelmed by hundreds, at any minute during a dark night. Even if liable to constant alarms at night, they are not likely to patrole very energetically during the day, much less, when occasion requires during the night; we have no right to expect it. Two detachments were surprised in the Derajat before the posts were built, none since. I went down the line of posts, and carefully examined the whole frontier, visiting several of the parties at uncertain hours of the night, and am convinced that without these little entrenchments, there would be continual alarms, if not frequent disaster. The Punjab Irregulars have behaved right well, and their duty has been severe, but we have no right to expect a continuance of the hard work and exposure they have undergone during the last three years. I speak confidently of the Punjab frontier, where behind the lower range, marauders may muster and choose any, of scores of passes whence to emerge and dart upon

their prey. No vigilance will continuously protect exposed parties of thirty or forty men from the attacks of such catarans, many of whom are mounted. A system is required that can be worked by ordinary men, not one that requires a Jacob, an Edwardes, a Nicolson, or a Taylor, a Coke, or an Abbott. I allow all that can be done by conciliation, moderation, energy, and good sense, but until we are secure at home, we are not in a position even to be civil to barbarians. Every soldier of ours they kill, wound, or even plunder, is a little victory, and emboldens further attack. Times may change, I hope they will, but it will at least take many years before the border will be safe from predatory parties, even from tribes with whose head we are on amicable terms. The leaders keep back, but loose characters must have their foray, as, a few centuries back, was the fashion in Europe.

Sir Charles Napier does not help the Government in the greatest of their difficulties, the double question of European Native Officers. My opinion having been published in the *Calcutta Review* ten years ago,* I may express my entire concurrence with Major Jacob, and those who think with him, that it is quality, not quantity, we want in officers, whether European or Native. As I then said, if there be no other way of honorably disposing of old Native Officers, let them go home, and enjoy themselves. The opinion that prevails that promotion by seniority is promised to the sepoys is a mistake. I at least have never heard of such promise, though I have enquired from old Adjutants, who must have known had there been such an order. Indeed I always understood, that when increased pay was sanctioned for length of service, it was to compensate them for a change in what had been the *practice*, though not the law of the land. Some great authorities consider, that young Native Officers would be dangerous. Surely the sentiment is a reflection on ourselves. If we cannot hold our own by power of intellect and honesty, we are unlikely to do so by acting contrary to nature, and putting the bold, the energetic and able, under the nervous, the apathetic and the stupid. Not by such means have permanent conquests been made either in ancient or modern times. Rome became mistress of the world, because she recruited her armies in their highest ranks from the best blood of the conquered provinces. Carthage fell, because there was but one Hannibal; because their soldiers were mere mercenaries, with no stake in the empire. In the Punjab, we have recently before our eyes, an instance of an army endeavouring to make its

* Article on the Military defence of India.

own terms with its Government, and there the soldiers have a comparatively open field; but still the higher ranks and offices, were less open to men of mark than men of family. The former summarily righted themselves for the time, but ruined all in the convulsion that ensued.

Our service is an excellent one for ninety-nine out of a hundred of the lower order, but we have no outlet for the hundredth, for the one bold spirit, that under a Native rule would rise to power, perhaps to fame. Such a man in Bengal must wear out his weary thirty or forty years, before he can even become Jemadar, on twenty-four Rupees a month. By the time he becomes a Subadar, if he have the use of his limbs, he certainly will not have that of his intellects. He is simply an old fellow, at best rather in the way, employed in doing small duties, that, if done by the Subaltern of the company, would give the latter opportunity of becoming acquainted with the men. To a man with any spirit, the office must be most annoying. To be called an officer, and to be under the Serjeant Major!

The remedy Sir Charles Napier proposes is, as is usual with him, an extreme one, and has the further objection of not meeting the difficulty. "Although the sepoy has not many evils 'to complain of, he has that great one already noticed—his 'Officers do not take rank with ours. Those who would abolish 'the Native Officers, should consider that it will blast the hopes 'of 200,000 armed men; for every soldier in the Indian army 'looks forward to be an Officer. The abolition of the Native 'Officers would go through the whole like an electric shock; 'every man in it would think he had lost the pension of a 'Subadar; hope would fly, and mutiny take its place. Equality between Native and European gentlemen is being ceded 'in the Civil Service; so it must be for the military. There is 'danger, but it is better to encounter that with justice than 'with a coward conscience. It is true, that with the Indian 'gentlemen as Officers ranking with Europeans, the seniors 'among the Havildars and the sepoys could not easily get 'commissions; but danger menaces every way. It may, however, be met by three important measures.

"Enlist 30,000 Goorkas, that will give force.

"Proclaim that no man enlisted after a given period, shall be 'promoted for seniority, but may be for merit—that will be 'justice.

"Let every Havildar, after a certain age and service, have 'a liberal pension, higher than that now given, that also will 'be just.

"With these precautionary measures, Native gentlemen may

'be employed, taking rank with Europeans. There would 'still be danger, but nothing to what there will be if Indian 'Officers demand equality of rank, which is by no means im- 'possible with the active young Non-commissioned Officers so 'greatly vaunted in the Bombay army.

"There are people to say "this should not be put into 'their heads. It is in their heads already! It is talked over 'in every guard room and bazar in India, and has been 'for years!" The mode of disposing of old Havildars is good, but instead of the above scheme helping the private soldier to take rank as an Officer "with ours," it cuts him out from the rank he *can* now attain. Once admit Native gentlemen generally to commissions, and the private solder will have no chance.

Aspiring individuals of course growl at the present system, and have ever done so, but generally it is not "talked over," as supposed by Sir Charles. There is a wide step between a Subadar Bahadoorship, on less than a hundred Rupees a month, as the end of a long career, and an Ensigncy on double that sum as the beginning. There are many intermediate steps. In the Punjab two of them are to be witnessed. There Natives command police regiments, and have natives as Adjutants. The Subadars and Jemadars are also, as in irregular corps, bona-fide Captains and Lieutenants. The commissions and rates of pay, however, of all these ranks, are far different from those of European Officers. They *are*, however, posts of trust and honour, in comparison of any in the line. They should be better paid, and pensions should be attached to them. Many, nay most, of the men so employed in the Punjab, are excellent and most trust-worthy soldiers. I need only mention Soobhan Khan and Jewun Singh of the police, Futteh Khan, late of the guides, Meer Jaffer of Colie's corps. There are many posts, such as Killedarships of hill forts, &c., that used to be in the hands of our veterans, but of which they are now deprived. They should be rewarded with honors and small emoluments. A veteran unfit for the wars, might make a most faithful and alert warden of a fortress.

The great desideratum is to fix the rule for promotion in such a manner, that efficiency should be best promoted, with the least injury, and to the least discontent of individuals. A purely merit-fostering system requires a very discerning and discriminating, as well as honest man, to work it. The system also requires a permanency of command in the same hands, that is not to be expected in India. Major Jacob has continuously commanded the Scinde Horse for thirteen years, whereas, nine of the ten Punjab regiments, as also the guide corps, have

all changed Commanders within five years. The six Sikh regiments raised in 1846, were scarcely more fortunate in retaining their original leaders. They were all selected men, and owed their positions to their supposed qualifications, and yet there are, and were very great differences of opinion among them on the merits, not only of individuals, but of classes. One man was for Sikhs, another for Patans, a third for Hindustanis, a fourth for Goorkhas. One is for men who can write, another, more reasonably, for the boldest in the fight. One man honestly believes his predecessor's best men to be objectionable characters; nay I remember one instance, where an Officer of reputation desired to dismiss, without trial, three Native Officers whom he had himself, not long before, promoted. In one regiment punishment, as in the Scinde Horse, was almost unknown; in another, formed of a class generally considered better behaved, punishment was the order of the day. In all the cases before me, the Commanders were decidedly men above the common mark, and each was actuated by a most hearty desire to make his corps efficient. All were not right, and if not, surely it is not well to leave the fate of soldiers, especially of horsemen, each of whom embarks a little fortune in his horse and accoutrements, to the caprice of one man, however good he be. Thus much I differ on this important question from Major Jacob. Commanding Officers should have extensive powers; but there should always be an appeal; all men are the better for having some one to look after them.

The remedy for present defects must be radical, and begin at the top. Until we have good regimental Commanding Officers, little reform can be expected. Some men were never intended to command, and it is a cruelty and a folly entrusting them with authority. Let all officers in the line, as in the artillery, rise in one list, and be taken for Battalions as required. Declare that no Officer can claim command of a corps. That the appointment, as a staff one, is to be made by selection, subject to the control of the Governor-General. Better, far better, to have a score or two of Field Officers altogether unemployed, than ruin the discipline of regiments. There would occasionally be hardship, perhaps injustice, in the arrangement. Field Officers, however, have better means of protecting their own interest than Native soldiers have. Better, too, that occasional injustice should be done, than that incompetents should have a right to command. It is indeed wonderful to think that an intelligent Government should have so long put up with so obviously absurd a practice;—that a man who *never* was worth any thing, should by virtue of being old, perhaps decrepid,

step into the command of a thousand men, for years clog their efficiency, and have the opportunity of bringing them to disgrace. How much better would it be to give that man double pay to stay away. No one will deny the obvious truth, yet every man can point out Commanding Officers, who are the laughing stocks of their corps, and yet the old answer is given —they must be employod.

My next remedy would be to divide the army into four classes, regular, irregular, garrison corps, and military police—Lord Ellenborough's scheme failed chiefly from the selection to commands not having been good. The command of police corps might be given to Natives, with European Inspectors. If Natives are to be trusted in the Punjab, why not in Bengal? Two or three regiments of good Police, *entirely under the civil power*, might take the place of as many regulars, and remove the disgrace of the Bengal police system. Some lakhs of Rupees might thereby be annually saved to the state, and the same security to property established, as has been in the Punjab and North Western Provinces.

Let a certain number, say forty or fifty, of the seventy three Bengal regiments, be kept fully officered, with a Captain and three Subalterns to each company. Let all others, not police, be classed as irregulars, and officered as such with three or at utmost, with four European Officers.

Let seniority always give a claim, though not a *right*, to promotion, from the ranks. Let meritorious Native soldiers have the option of enrolling their sons as boys, as in the Madras army. Even give them on occasion, a certain standing, say of three or five years up the roll, in consideration of their fathers' services. If hereditary merit is too much considered at Native Courts, it is undoubtedly too little accounted in the British service. It is hard for the man who has won his way from the ranks, to put his son in at the bottom of a roll of a hundred. It is done in the Scinde Horse, but rarely so in the Bengal army, owing, doubtless, to the different system of promotion.

My scheme involves there being *no* Native Officers in the line. Give the present Subadars and Jemadars, above the age of sixty, the option of retiring to their homes, on improved rates of pension, or of doing garrison duty; place all between fifty and sixty in garrison corps. Transfer younger and smarter men to irregular and police corps, but keep all on the rolls of their old corps, as staff officers are now kept on those of their respective regiments.

As casualties occur among Subadars and Jemadars, let a man be promoted alternately in a regular and an irregular

corps, giving the new promotion the option, or obliging him, according to his age, health, and qualifications, to go to the invalids, to a garrison, an irregular, or a police corps. There would be difficulties in working this part of the scheme; the greatest being the objections made by European Officers to Natives Officers, not of their own selection. The objections however do not seem to me insurmountable. Give the superseded old Havildar the liberal pension suggested by Sir Charles Napier, but extend it to the naick and sepoy, or better still, let garrison corps be filled with veterans at slightly higher rates of pay. Old men, especially old Asiatics, prefer ease and quiet, and it is the greatest mistake to suppose, that collectively, they like fighting or exertion, or consider it a reward for good conduct during one campaign, to be sent on another.

The principle, in short, that I advocate is, to give a *motive* of action to all men, European, and Native. To remove *notorious* incapables; old men, weak men, incapable men—by giving the faithful Native soldier what he most pines for, at a green old age—rest and honor at his home, or at least in quarters. By giving the more ambitious among them a *legitimate* outlet for their energies in commands of police, garrison, and even irregular corps. Nearly a century ago, old Mahommed Yusuf did such service as commandant of a corps under my namesake, as European Officers of ability could not have done, and old Soobhan Khan, a Hindoostani of Allahabad, has, on several recent trying occasions, led his police corps, and acted, on independent command, at Kohat and elsewhere, in a manner to gain the applause of Government. Few soldiers in any army excel Futteh Khan Kuttuck,* of the guides.

* This man's romantic adventures, as Chief Russuldar of the guides, would fill a volume. In 1846, when Colonel G. Lawrence at the head of 1,200 Sikhs, defeated several thousand mountaineers in the Swat border, Futteh Khan led two companies of the guides, by a night march, round the enemy's position, crowned the hill over their villages, some 1,500 feet above the plain, and while they were engaged with Colonel Lawrence in front, came down on their heads. At Mooltan, with his single troop, he charged through Sheir Sing's whole cavalry. At Lahore, a few months before, he gave information of, and watched the Sikh traitors, and finally with his own hands captured their leader, General Khan Sing. As Futteh Khan and his followers are specimens of what a Native Officer may be, even under our deadening influences, so is the guide corps, and so indeed are many irregular regiments in different parts of India, of what Native troops, with a few good Officers, may be. Colonel Mackeson's, and Major Abbott's, and Lieutenant Pearse's campaign of 1852, in the almost inaccessible valley of Khagan, the same officers, with Colonel Napier, and Lieutenant Hodson, Captain Davidson, and Lieutenant Cookson, against the black mountain, 10,000 feet high, in the month of December, and Major Nicholson's feat against the Vuzerees, are specimens. Nicholson combined three separate columns, coming from points eight and ten miles apart, one of which a new police regiment, under Younghusband, had in the two previous days marched sixty miles for the occasion, and completely surprised the Vuzerees fifteen or twenty miles within their hills. The Sikh border only wants its historian.

These and a score of others I could mention, are fit for almost any post, and it is only good policy to keep them in our ranks by titles, pensions, estates, and moderate commands. The reforms I suggest need not involve an extra rupee.

What are called Politicals in India, are Officers civil and military, often having no diplomatic powers. They are rather men of all work, who are ready to put their hand to any thing, to help the helpless, to smooth down difficulties in all departments, to be cavalry, artillery, engineers, or infantry soldiers, Quarter Master Generals, or Commissaries to-day, Post-masters, Judges, Magistrates and Collectors to-morrow. No men are harder worked. No men's blood has been more freely shed. In all but the highest grades, they are badly paid; their temptations are immense, and no service in the world is purer. Charles Metcalfe and William Frazer accompanied the storm at Bhurtpur. Richard Jenkins set a noble example at Setabuldi. Arthur Cocks killed his man at Guzerat, after he himself had been cut down. All these were Civilians, and good Administrative Officers. At Ferozshuhur alone, Broadfoot and Peter Nicolson were killed, Lake and Abbott wounded, being indeed, the only Political Officers present. In Affghanistan, several fell, and all at all times, displayed the spirit of good soldiers. It is on record, that Macnaghten was always for action, that Pottinger protested against retreat, and those who have read the Jellalabad correspondence, know, that George MacGregor got little of the praise that was fairly his due for the noble example he there set. Outram lived for years among savage beasts and more savage men, and by sympathy and chivalrous courage, won their affections and reclaimed them to civilization. Mackeson, one of the very best soldiers of his time, has just fallen by the assassin's knife, after a most useful and honorable career. The list is too long for me to mention one half the names of the men who are treading honorably in the footsteps of Munro, Malcolm, Ochterlony, Elphinstone, Clerk, Frazer, Cubben, Cullen, Sutherland, Low, Dixon and Sleeman. Yet it is on this class, that Sir Charles Napier and his fellows heap scorn. In India, their defence is unnecessary. Those who most abuse Politicals, desire to join their ranks. All men know, that the Indian Government, were it so disposed, cannot afford to be dishonest in the distribution of their extra-regulation patronage, and that a fool, a rogue, or a coward, would quickly bring dishonor on his employers.

Sir Charles Napier mixes up two sets of men, and two sets of duties. With him, every Civil Administrator, be he soldier or Civilian, is a Political, and, therefore, a man ignorant of

the people, and cognizant only of the Persian language. On the other hand, a General Officer administering a province in all departments, is not a Political. I confess to being blind enough not to perceive the difference. In brief, then, let me say, that one set of Officers are Civil Administrators, while another are staff officers, employed chiefly with armies, in consequence of their acquaintance with people and localities.

If the Quarter Master General's department of the Indian army were on the footing that it ought to be; if it performed any higher duties than those of castramentation, and forming annual reliefs, much of the local knowledge required from Politicals would be amongst its records, and available to its staff. But any one who has made an Indian campaign, knows that the intelligence department depends upon the Political Officers, and not on Quarter Master Generals.

Again, the Commissariat Department is almost entirely dependent on the Political Officer. An immense establishment is maintained by Government during peace, which is quite powerless in war. The great Jotee Pershâds, who suffice for quiet times, will not feed armies when they cross the frontier. No, they run to the Civilian and Political. And when these have thrown in the required supplies, the Commissariat Department only issues them, and raises the price.

The Commissariat Department told Lord Hardinge, that supplies could not be gathered under six weeks for the army of the Sutlej, to advance and repel the Sikh incursion; but Major Broadfoot, Saunders, Abbott, and Mills, enabled the army to march in as many days. The supplies were not abundant to be sure, the troops were still hungry; but they had enough to live and fight on, and they were fed in an enemy's country, by the Political Officers, and *not* by the Commissariat.

But important as these services may be, there are still higher ones for which the state can look to them alone. Of all the army, the Political Officer is perhaps the only man who knows truly what all the fighting is about, what ends are to be secured by victory, and what treaties ought to be made with the vanquished. His hardest work begins when that of the army is at an end. And if English trained diplomatists are accused of too often flinging away by a treaty, advantages which had been won by the sword; what kind of treaty might we expect to have drawn up, between astute vakeels of native states, and ordinary Generals of division.!*

* I know a case in which a besieging General (of the Company's Service, too, who had lived all his life in India), addressed his enemy in the fortress, as "my kind friend, the vouchsafer of all the courtesies of polite society, long life to you!"

Political Officers are frequently reproached with offering their Advice to old Generals on purely military matters. They only do so as other Staff Officers do. Most Generals in India, whether Queen's or Company's, feel their want of advice: generally they are ready enough to seek it, and to profit by it, and if success results, the General gets all the credit, as indeed he has a right. But if any accident occur, the blame is not unfrequently thrown on the Political for having advised badly.

Look at the age of most of our Generals. They are, to say the least of it, long past their prime; and is war such an easy thing, that it can be waged with the fag end of life? The great warriors of the world have all been young, not old. The Duke of Wellington was, I believe, forty-one at Waterloo. To be sure, Sir Charles Napier was between sixty and seventy in Scinde, but his strong will and intellect survived the wreck of his constitution.

But what was the result of his putting no confidence in Outram? He put his confidence in Ali Moorad instead; and that man of iron will, that man of subtile policy, that indomitable leader, was taken in like a child of three years old. Old men must lean on something. The only choice is between a staff made for the purpose, and a reed picked up by the way.

If a general be not led by the Political Officer, he is led by one of his staff, the Assistant Adjutant General, or the Assistant Quarter Master General, or a favorite A. D. C., or a moonshee who talks English, or the bearer who puts on his clothes.

It is the old choice of responsible or irresponsible advisers.

Do away with the system of entrusting fine armies to decrepid Generals; and you may keep "Politicals" within very narrow limits.

A Wellesley, a Lake, or an Ochterlony, wanted no advice; and had none thrust upon them. The Governor-Generals of their day knew it; and let them alone. They were their own Politicals, as were Nott and Pollock at a later date; and there cannot be a doubt that where the right man is to be had, it is the right system.

But whether the General be the Political or not, he is the responsible man for *military* operations, when once the sword is drawn; and if he allows the Political Officer to usurp

The General had a Political Officer attached to his camp, but he thought he could do without him in a small matter like that of treating with the enemy, so to show his independence he called in the bazar moonshee.

his place, this must be attributed to his own incapacity. The Political is as the Magistrate in England; he informs, perhaps advises. The General hears what he has to say as to facts, stops short his advice if he chooses; follows his own opinion or the Political's, but in either case, he gets the credit, and should equally bear the discredit. The political is simply his Staff Officer. But of all the functions of the Political, that which gets him most odium, is his protection of the Natives. He knows the people, and they know him. His duties have removed him out of the narrow regimental circle, and enlarged his knowledge of the agricultural and peaceful classes, and his sympathy with their interests. He has been long exercising judicial powers, and has come to regard it as a sacred duty, to see justice done between man and man, between the strong and the weak. To him, therefore, military license is revolting. He does not see the right that the sepoy has, to tear the door posts from a cottage, to cook a *chapattee* with. He knows the cost of a well, and how the poor Zemindar sweated for years, to make up the sum required to sink it, and bring it into work; and how the coming crops depend on those two bullocks not being stopped in their dreary revolutions round that Persian wheel, and so his blood boils when he sees a dozen well fed sepoys, (sons of the soil themselves), break up that well, and carry off the wood work, to make a fire for the company, on a cold morning.

So with every thing around the camp, the trees, the crops; he thinks these belong to their owners, to those who sowed, and planted, and watered them, and he cannot see what right the camel and elephant drivers have to cut down noble trees, and private gardens; or grass-cutters to level a young crop of wheat. He feels, and justly, that these crimes are the disgrace of war, and a reproach to the military arrangements. He believes that he has only to bring these things to notice, and they will be stopped. But he is too often mistaken. The General consents, indeed, to prohibit plundering in orders, but he goes no further, he does not see that his orders are carried out. The plundering goes on, and this embroils the political with his military brethren. But the odium, so gained, is an honor to the Political Service, and if I saw a "Political" very popular in a camp, I should have a shrewd suspicion, that he had not done his duty. A popular "Political must be either an angel, or a *nimmuk-haram*."

I should have had little difficulty in turning the tables, and retorting on the Governor of Scinde, the charges of mis-govern-

ment. It would be easy to prove from the pages of the *Administration of Scinde*, that Sir Charles Napier knew but little of the principles of good government, and was therefore ill-qualified to sit in judgment on others; but I wish not to open a further, and very wide field of discussion.

"At page 421 Sir Charles Napier says, "I do not know one 'man among the military employed in political situations under 'Government, who has an idea of conducting military opera-'tions. There are many clever men, and I believe they are 'all brave soldiers, but they are not, in my opinion, either 'Generals or Statesmen."

The General's memory was short. He himself employed John Jacob, who has been eight years a "Political" in Scinde, "in conducting military operations," and went out of his way to laud his ability. They had not then quarrelled.

As already shown, Outram redeemed the errors of a General and Brigadiers, and brought the Southern Mahratta war to a successful conclusion. Twenty years earlier, as a mere boy, he had, with two companies, captured a fort, put down an insurrection, and done the work of a Brigade.

In 1848, Herbert Edwardes raised an army, and, almost within the month, won two decisive battles. He then fed and paid his troops from the enemy's resources for nearly a year. That enemy being the man in fear of whom Sir Charles Napier kept up some ten or fifteen thousand extra troops in Scinde. Since the days of Clive, no man has done as Edwardes; nor do I know many who could and would have acted as he did, on the Mooltan out-break. Few indeed, with his means, would have taken the same decided step, and fewer could have carried it out.

Col. Bradshaw is justly praised by Sir Charles Napier, for the manner in which he conducted his little campaign on the Yusufzye border. Bradshaw was an excellent soldier, though, until the siege of Mooltan, he had not seen a shot fired. As, however, he obtained credit for beating the borderers; surely the man who, with half his numbers, and they half disciplined Sikhs, on two occasions, beat the same enemy in fully equal strength, cannot be said to be without merit as a Commander. Lieut.-Colonel George Lawrence was the man. Sir Charles Napier calls him an excellent soldier, but as a "Political," he must be included among those who have not "an idea of conducting military operations."

During the siege of Mooltan, Lieut. Young of the Engineers, a young Political, conducted operations against, and cap-

tured the fort of Hermund, in the Derajat. During the same period Lieut (Major) Taylor besieged and took the fort of Lubbee, ejected a son of Dost Mahommed from the fort and district of Bunnoo, and, at the head of seven thousand irregulars, cleared the Upper Derajat, and was prepared to cross into Kohat, and, by a flank move, co-operate against Peshawur, in case the Affghans had defended that valley against Sir Walter Gilbert.

Sir Charles Napier has recorded that Major Abbott held Hazara in perfect subjection "during the war, and without any troops" This is like most of Sir Charles' assertions, wholly incorrect, the fact being, that almost the whole of Hazara was in the enemy's hands Abbott is, however, a most gallant and scientific soldier Had he not been a good man, and had he not won the affections of the people, he could not have stood his ground at all His credit is *not* in having performed impossibilities, but, in having, as an isolated European, without guns, powder or money, maintained his position throughout the war, in the midst of a race of fanatical Mahommedans, against Dost Mahommed, as well as the Sikhs.

Major John Nicolson, at the head of loose bands of militia, was the terror of the Sikhs in the Scinde-Sagur and Rechnab Doabs His hundreds were good against Chutter-Singh's thousands At Ghuznee, and during both the Sikh campaigns, as more recently in the hills above Bunnoo, he has shown himself to be of the stuff that, not only soldiers, but great Generals are made of If Nicolson live, and prove not one of the very best commanders of his day, I am greatly mistaken.

During the last war, Henry Lumsden, as Commander of the guides, kept the Manjha With his two companies and one troop he won two battles against five times his numbers, and indisputably did the work of a thousand men In Affghanistan, during the two Sikh wars, and at Mooltan, he proved himself as good a subordinate as he has since shown himself a Commander

Lieut W. Hodson, who has succeeded to the command of the guides, is an accomplished soldier, cool in council, daring in action, with great natural ability improved by education, there are few abler men in any service.

Were I to extend my list to Burmah, I might there find in Phayre, Fychte, Latter, &c., equally good soldiers One name I must mention as equally distinguished in the cause of humanity as in war and diplomacy, than Sir Richmond

Skakespear, the liberator of the Russian slaves from Khiva, and the securer of the liberty of the British captives in Affghanistan, what better soldier, and where better promise of an able General?

Lake and Pollock, Pears and Henry Coxe, have shown themselves very much more than mere brave solders. Each has proved that, under difficulties, he can organize and lead large bands of men.

All the men I have mentioned have, more or less, done the work of General Officers, or at least of Brigadiers. But they commanded irregulars or militia. It is, however, too often forgotten that the worse the material, the more is required in the Commander. It is easy enough to win battles with good troops; credit is most due to those who do so with bad.

Capt. Coke is but half a political, and was not one at all when Sir Charles praised him. But whatever were our military demerits, we were at least successful in our selections. As already remarked, Lord Dalhousie gave me all the original appointments, and while I remained in the Punjab, permitted me, in most cases, to recommend. No one can show a bad man that I have recommended to his Lordship; nay, most of the Punjab Officers would do credit to any service.

For myself, I served during the first Burmah war. In 1838 I offered to raise and command a corps of guides for the Affghan expedition. In 1846 Lord Hardinge let me carry out my original scheme. In 1849 Lord Dalhousie trebled the corps. In 1845, while in Nepal, Sir Harry Smith largely consulted me regarding the impending war with the Sikhs, and asked my opinion as to numbers, routes, &c., &c. During that war Lord Hardinge employed me on many military duties, as did Lord Gough in some during both campaigns. At the sieges of Khangra and Mooltan I was employed as a soldier; at the latter entirely so. Three successive Quarter Master Generals have expressed their obligations for information furnished by me. In 1842 I volunteered to proceed to Peshawur with Brig. Wilde's Brigade, because he had not a *single Staff Officer*. I was permitted, and for a year was employed more on military than political duties, in the passes, at Peshawur and at Cabul. I commanded 5,000 Sikh troops at Jullalabad, and took 500 of them to Cabul. During the year 1847 I virtually commanded the whole Sikh army, and the previous year took ten thousand of them to Cashmere. On all these

occasions the men behaved well, and were as obedient as any troops could have been.

This is egotistical, but it is forced on me. I pretend not to the ability of many of my younger coadjutors; but it would be absurd for me to pretend to submit to the opinion that, because I have left my regiment, and have therefore obtained *better* opportunities, both in quarters and in the field, of studying my profession in all its branches, that I am therefore less fitted for command than if I had continued in the routine of regimental duty. Malcolm, Munro and Ochterlony, as Politicals, are instances to the contrary, as are Gilbert, Nott, Littler, Cheape, Huish, and hosts of others, employed even on sedentary staff situations. The fact is however potent to all who will learn by experience, that a man may be a wondrous martinet and a very bad soldier; an indifferent drill and a very successful Commander. *General Whitelock* would have thought very little of *Mr. Washington*.

My task is done:—to me, especially at this time, an onerous and painful one. I have endeavoured for thirty years, to live peaceably with all men. Sir Charles would not let me do so. While at a critical period employed in important duties, and entitled to fair consideration, nay, to cordial aid, he thwarted and misrepresented me. My pen, however, should never have been raised against him, had he not himself thrown down the gauntlet, and published to the world his marvellously one-sided volume. Still, as I have again and again turned over his pages, to quote his own words, and perceived how ardent was his animus, how prejudiced were all his acts, assertions, and opinions, I have been disposed to lay down my pen, and to let his work in Scinde and the Punjab speak for itself; mine and that of my colleagues tells its own tale. Were I alone concerned, I might have done so, but I have a duty to perform to those who acted with and under me, and indeed to the service to which I belong. At some pains I have performed it. I have, however, endeavoured to write of Sir Charles Napier dead, as if he still lived. Rather to understate my case, than to cast undeserved odium on him who is gone.

Above all, I have striven to believe, however wrong, fanciful, and violent he may have been, that he was honest and sincere. This can only be, at the expense of his judgment, almost of his sanity, certainly of his consistency and magnanimity. To-day Outram is the Bayard of the army, to-morrow he is a "fatuitous Political." Now, Major John Jacob is one of the very best

and bravest officers he has ever met, his corps is a glorious one, and is his "old advanced guard." Again, though new laurels had been won by Commander and regiment, their very names are left unmentioned, amid the lavish panegyrics on all, even the least deserving, of the victors of Meanee.

The friends and distant admirers of Outram, who, having no personal knowledge of him, but who, apart from Scinde politics, honor his chivalrous and disinterested character, are stamped as enemies.

All who are not with him are against him. He would have no neutrality. In this manner, as the protector of the Ex-ameer Sher Mahommed, as the friend of Outram, as the non-admirer of the Scinde policy, I, who honored him as a soldier, was set down as an enemy. Personally, Sir Charles had no fair cause of offence, and in his book he denies all desire to depreciate the labors of the Punjab officials, and even expresses respect for the members of the Board personally. He took an extraordinary mode of shewing it. Much such as that of Sir William Napier towards Lord Beresford, when, in reply to the latter's explanations, after the full out-pouring of his contemptuous wrath, he closes with expressions of respect.* I confess myself unable to follow such example. I have avoided, and still would avoid, extremes.

The whole subject is a melancholy one. Perverted genius, misapplied energy, talents of a very high order, all losing their value, nay, producing evil, from want of moderation, temper, tact, and consistency.

Comments on portions of Sir Charles's recent career, are needless, and I feel no desire to make them. The subject, I repeat, is a painful one. Painful to me, a comparative stranger, it will be painful to his friends, and painful to all right-minded Englishmen. I have striven to separate the man from the General, to comment on his acts, as Commander-in-Chief, not as Charles Napier. It has been difficult to do so, and I may have failed; but I would gladly expunge every word or line of personal bitterness, or any bearing the aspect of personal hostility. Hostility I have none, and I should therefore be doing myself injustice, were my notes to bear such appearance.

Amidst a crowd, in a hot tent, with private and official distractions, I send off these sheets as they are written, without opportunity of revising them, or seeing the proofs.

Sir Charles appeals to history, and by history he must be

* Page 53, vol. 6, Peninsular War

judged. He has given his testimony, I have submitted mine. The grave bids those who knew him, deal lightly with him now, and except where truth requires it, I would do so; but it is a spurious charity to shield the dead, at the expense of the best interests of the living. So many hard things have been said, against both individuals and bodies of men, by Sir Charles Napier and his brother, during the last ten years, that before they be adopted by the future historian, it behoves us to know of what stuff they are made.

H. M. LAWRENCE.

Bhurtpoor, March, 1854.

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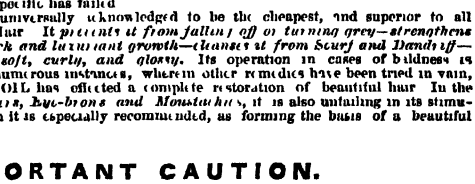

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The Directors solicit attention to the subjoined abstract of the Society's Indian Prospectus, and especially to the accompanying Table of Rates for Assurance of all the Indian Life

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☞ *Receipts for Premiums payable to this Branch are not considered binding on the Company, unless issued from the Office in Calcutta, and signed by two Directors and the Secretary.*

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North West Provinces. By R. Thornton, Secy. to Government.* 1850.

2. *Notes on Indian Education. By H. C. Tucker.* 1839.

3. *Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular Schools in Agra, Mathura, &c., for* 1850-51. *By H. S Reed, B. C. S.*

4. *Ditto,* 1851-52.

5. *Hon. F. J. Shore's Notes on Indian Affairs,* 2 *vols.*

6. *Public Education. By Sir J. K. Shuttleworth.* 1853.

7. *Adams' Reports on Indigenous Education in Bengal and Behar.* 1835, 1836, 1838.

WE cannot better introduce the subject that is now to occupy our attention, than by quoting at length, the following

Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated the 25th October, 1853, *concurred in by the Members of Council.*

Vernacular Education in India

1. FIVE years ago I had the honor of recommending to the Honorable Court of Directors a scheme prepared by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, for the promotion of Vernacular Education, by the institution of schools in each tehseel on the part of the Government. The scheme, which was designed ultimately for the whole of the thirty-one districts within the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor, was limited by His Honor for the time to eight of these districts.

The Honorable Court was pleased to accede to the recommendation of the Government, in the despatch, No. 14, 3rd October, 1849, and the scheme was thereafter carried into effect.

2. Three years have since elapsed; and I now submit to my Honorable Colleagues, with feelings of genuine satisfaction, a despatch, in which the late Lieutenant-Governor announced to the Supreme Government the eminent success of this experiment, and asked that the scheme of Vernacular Education should now be extended in its full integrity, to all the districts within the Jurisdiction of the Government of the North Western Provinces.

3. I forbear from repeating the statements recorded in this despatch, or reiterating the reasons which the Lieutenant-Governor has adduced in favor of the proposal which he has made.—These are so clearly stated and so forcibly urged, that I would avoid the risk of weakening their effect by repetition. The conclusion, however, of His Honor's representations, I desire to quote at large. Alluding to the districts in which the Government schools have not yet been established, Mr. Thomason has said :—

"In all these parts there is a population no less teeming, and a people

as capable of learning. The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government, to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance.—The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced, the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated, the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the same spirit of enquiry, and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterize the inhabitants of the few districts in which a commencement has been made."

Para. 12.

4. The sanction which the Lieutenant-Governor, in these words, solicited for an increase of the means which experience has shewn to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit, I now most gladly and gratefully propose—And while I cannot refrain from recording anew in this place, my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given, with so much joy, is now dull in death.—I desire at the same time to add the expression of my feeling, that even though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general Vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career.

5. I beg leave to recommend, in the strongest terms, to the Honorable Court of Directors, that full sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of Vernacular Education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North Western Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency.

6. I feel that I should very imperfectly discharge the obligations that rest upon me as the head of the Government of India, if with such a record before me as that which has been this day submitted to the Council, I were to stop short at the recommendations already proposed.

These will provide for the wants of the North Western Provinces; but other vast Governments remain, with "a people as capable of learning" as those in Hindoostan, and "a population" still more "teeming." There, too, the "same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government, to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance."

Those wants ought to be provided for: those obligations ought to be met.

7. Allusion is made by the Secretary to the Council of Education, in his report on the Vernacular schools in the North Western Provinces, to "the utter failure of the scheme of Vernacular Education adopted in Bengal, among a more intelligent, docile and less prejudiced people than those of the North Western Provinces." But he adds the encouraging assurance, that he is "convinced that the scheme above referred to is not only the best adapted to leaven the ignorance of the agricultural population of the North Western Provinces, but is also the plan best suited for the mass of the people of Bengal and Behar."

Since this is so, I hold it the plain duty of the Government of India at once to place within the reach of the people of Bengal and Behar, those means of education which, notwithstanding our anxiety to do so, we have hitherto failed in presenting to them, in an acceptable form, but which, we are told upon the experienced authority of Dr. Mouat, are to be found in the successful scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor before us.

8. And not to Bengal and Behar only. If it be good for these, it is good also for our new subjects beyond the Jumna. That it will be not only good for them, but most acceptable to them, no one can doubt, who has read

the reports by Mr. Montgomery and other Commissioners upon indigenous education in the Punjaub, which shewed results that were little anticipated before they were discovered.

9. If my Honorable Colleagues concur, as I feel very confident they will, in the views expressed in this minute, a copy of it, together with copies of the Lieutenant-Governor's and its enclosures, should be sent to the Government of Bengal and to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjaub, with a request that they would, at their earliest convenience, submit their views upon this vitally important subject, after such communication with others as they may think necessary.

10. It only remains to advert to the question of expense. The cost of the entire scheme for the Provinces under the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor, is something more than two lakhs of Rupees.

It may safely be calculated that the Punjaub and Bengal together, will not cost more than double that sum.

This expenditure has been more than provided for already by the recent death of Benaik Rao, whereby a clear addition of seven lakhs of Rupees has been given to the annual revenues of the Government of India.

Were it otherwise, it would still be the undoubted duty of the Government to provide. Until lately the financial condition of India, for many years past, has required that the Government should observe a prudent caution in every advance it made, even for the best of purposes, and upon the straightest road.

Financial considerations no longer shackle the progress of the Government.

Wherefore it is, more than ever before, its duty in every such case as this, to act vigorously, cordially, and promptly.

25th October, 1853. (*Signed*) DALHOUSIE.

This is a minute worthy of an enlightened statesman, and will, we have no doubt, give a powerful impetus to the cause of popular enlightenment. As Lord Wellesley's administration was distinguished by the cultivation of the Oriental languages, and Lord W. Bentinck's by the study of English, so will, we believe, Lord Dalhousie's and the Hon. Mr. Halliday's be by the improvement and extension of Vernacular education.

So far from decrying English education, we should be heartily glad to see all those natives who have time and means, learn not only *English*, but also *German* and *French*, which are keys to much valuable information on Indian subjects—but we cannot forget, of the number who attend English schools, how many rest satisfied with merely the knowledge of English sufficient to qualify them as copyists or "quill drivers" in English offices,—how *very few* keep up the knowledge they have acquired at school; "clever boys, dull men," they in a great number of cases sink into the mass, which is not purified by any sound *vernacular* element: hence we have heard the complaint made that "native sub-assistant surgeons, who come 'out of the Medical College with great eclât and high ac-'quirements, after they have been left for a time to their

' own resources in the country, fall off," the people they mixed with were unleavened by any salutary vernacular element, consequently the foundation was bad. How few are there among the zemindars who have received an English education, who devote themselves to improving their estates, by introducing new plants, animals or machinery, or by taking any interest in agricultural improvement. Are they not, like Irish landlords, almost invariably *absentees*, more inclined to dream, in some Calcutta residence, over Shakespeare and Bacon, than to take any practical measures to improve their tenantry? It has been well remarked, in an excellent little pamphlet by Mr. Piddington, "On the Scientific Principles of Agriculture as a branch of Public Education."—"Does not our present system of education tend to give the native youth a taste for a *town*, rather than a *country* life? We want a body of educated landlords, and managers,—not landlords and managers with the knowledge of the essay-writer, the poet or the newspaper demagogue,—but landlords and managers, and ryots too, whose studies would have taught them alike to know and to feel the *dignity* of their pursuits, and the vast advantages which their rich country, with its teeming and docile population, holds out to the instructed, the humane and the persevering landlord." We would recommend the study of the following lines of Montgomery :—

"Are they not men, though knowledge never shed
"Her quickening beams on each neglected head?
"Are they not men, by sin and suffering tried?
"Are they not men for whom the Saviour died."

The gentlemen we are speaking of are fond of Shakespeare —let them remember these lines :—

"And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
"Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
"Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

We cordially allow that English is a key admitting to a vast variety of treasures—but how many admire the key and never open the door! We recommend the following sentiment of Mr. A. St. John for consideration :—

"Wherever the *people* are *ignorant*, the *nobles* are sure to be *vicious*, public opinion, virtue, religion begin with the crowd and work their way upward: to them was the Gospel first preached, and by them was the saving yoke of Christianity rested on the neck of knowledge: among them Christ here on earth walked habitually. He set the example of instructing the poor, and caring for man in the inverse ratio of the vain world's care, thus practically he wished to teach us that all are equal in the sight of God, from whom a tattered garment conceals not the beauty of the soul."

So far from thinking English and the Vernacular opposed, we regard them as closely connected "English for the select few, the Vernaculars for the masses," is our motto, as well as that of Dr Duff, Sir C Trevelyan and a host of others English the apex, the Vernacular, the base of the triangle of knowledge. But Knowledge loves expansion, and ideas pent up in a foreign medium require a free ventilation through the Vernacular The Honorable F J Halliday, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee (6th Report p 60) gives the true golden medium "I think English instruction and Vernacular instruction ought to go on they relate to *different classes* of the people, and ought to go on together, you ought to give a good Vernacular education to the *masses*, at the same time that you give opportunities to the classes who have *leisure* to do so, to acquire a knowledge of English literature and science,"—there is now an awful gulph between the lover of Shakespeare and the 37 millions in Bengal, whose geographical ideas are confined to seas of treacle and mountains of gold—we would bridge this gulph by giving to the masses European ideas through a Vernacular medium

Looking at our English schools for natives, we believe the study of Bengali to be of the greatest use even for a thorough knowledge of English. So far from regarding Vernacular and English Education as antagonistic, we view them as "mutual friends and allies"—a Bengali Education would prepare for an English—how many benefits that would otherwise result from an English Education are now lost by youths on leaving school—plunging again into the vortex of masses unenlightened by a single correct idea, and becoming enveloped by "public opinion" unreformed—the social influences are all against them Suppose you wanted a good light in a room charged with carbonic acid gas, you would not content yourself with merely putting in the light, but you would endeavour to remove some of the gas in order that the light might flame better—English Education is the superstructure, but how can that be firm when there is no good foundation laid in the Vernacular? Boys are sent to English schools, but ignorant mothers give them from the earliest years a *home* training

The old Anglicists and Vernacularists agreed on the importance of communicating to natives European *ideas* We contend that giving these through the mother tongue to the masses would, like leaven, leaven the whole lump—truth would then be wrought into the warp and woof of the popular mind In our English schools for Natives we

believe the study of Bengali is of the greatest use towards acquiring a thorough knowledge of English, and that, like the study of Gaelic in the Highlands, the Vernacular leads to a higher cultivation of English. The experience of education in the United States, has brought out the fact of "the extraordi-' nary and surprising influence which a high degree of popular ' culture exercises on the development of the higher branches ' of education." Were the faculties of the young unfolded in preparatory Vernacular schools, they would learn a *foreign* tongue *much sooner*, on the same principle as the man who receives a good general education is better qualified for a profession—it has been found a mistake in England to begin too early with the study of Latin and Greek, and the English Vernacular is in consequence *now* cultivated at Eton, Westminster, &c., with assiduity. Were youths at the age of five or six to have their powers of observation called forth in a pleasing manner, by Lessons on Objects, Natural History, Mental Arithmetic, in their own *mother* tongue—they would, subsequently, outstrip those who began English at the same period. Is not the age of eight or nine quite early enough for a native to begin English—for after all, a *perfect* pronunciation of English should not be regarded as of such consequence—but even supposing he began at eight, three years' previous training in a good Vernacular school would enable him to receive a sound knowledge of the history and geography of Bengal, of General Geography, &c. &c.—We have seen in a Vernacular school in Nuddea, and also at Santipore, little boys, five years old, quite familiar with the map of the world, and able to draw the outline of a country from memory on the black board. We trust that ere long a training in a *pátsháld*, on an improved plan, will be considered a *sine qua non*, for all candidates for English schools. No after knowledge can be very complete or extensive, which is not built on a good elementary foundation—the remark of a Welshman has much force in it as applicable to this question, "learning ' our own language first is the most expeditious way to ' come at the knowledge of another, else why are not our ' youths in England, designed for scholars, set to Latin and ' Greek before they are taught English." This has been reversed in Bengal, and hence probably much of that cram and mere memory work the Hindus are so fond of. In 1824 the Government proposed "that the head master of ' the Hindu College should have a competent knowledge ' of the *country languages*, in order to make him intelli-' gible as a classical teacher of the English." Were this

acted on, both with principals and head masters in English Schools for natives, we would have far less of the mere rote system.

It has been said, do nothing to enlighten the masses, till you give a high education to a number, and these will educate the masses—we do not object to the former, but we would not postpone the latter to an indefinite period. To enlighten only the few is, to use a Hindu proverb, to sweeten the ocean by casting a few drops of milk on it. The rush for keraniships with their deadening effects, and the want of *practical* education among Hindus, show that Vernacular Education should have been combined with English. The Government *began* in 1835 with educating the few,—is not the time now arrived, in 1854, after a lapse of twenty years, for not ending there, but extending education to the *many ?* To wait until our English students awake from the torpor of keraniship, until they renounce the selfishness of making a monopoly of knowledge, will, we fear, be like Horace's rustic—waiting to cross the river until it dries up. To carry out the principle of enlightening *only* the few at first, we ought to have colleges before schools, and even an university before a college. We see the case of France, where there was a *highly refined nobility*, that of the days of Louis le Grand, the *salons* of Paris were the resort of a brilliant class of *savans*, but the peasantry were kept in a state of awful ignorance—revolution broke out, and all this drapery of refinement was torn to shreds before the whirlwind of infuriated masses, discharging a lava of passions uncontrolled by any barriers of knowledge. The aristocracy, (the Young Bengal of that day) who kept the peasantry debarred from knowledge, were startled from their dream of fancied security by the flames of their castles and the midnight yell of "*la paix aux Chaumieres, la guerre aux Chateaux*"—a warning voice, that the mere education of the few is a vineyard clothing the volcanoe's side. In England last century, when Wesley proclaimed the high truths of eternity to the miners of Cornwall and the rustics of Yorkshire, we had a refined clergy and aristocracy, and of late years, notwithstanding the influence of our universities and classical schools, what awful disclosures have the Earl of Shaftesbury and the promoters of ragged schools made, as to the condition of the working classes, and the dense ignorance and crime which even still form the substratum of English society; an able writer in the *Agra Messenger* remarks on this subject, "when we " know how little the English universities, colleges, and ' great public schools *existing through centuries*, have done for ' the *people* of England, we cannot hope that a similar system

'in India, where the barriers of caste strengthen the wall of 'partition betwixt the *educated few* and the ignorant many, 'will produce more satisfactory results. The light of knowledge 'naturally burns upward. It was only when the *national* 'schools, *Sunday schools, mechanics' institutes,* began to spread 'their influence among the labouring body in England, that the 'people received any thing like enlightenment. But even these 'agencies left a yet lower class in darkness, to be in time illu-'minated by the heroic teachers of *ragged* schools." Knowledge made a monopoly of by a few, and invested with power, is an instrument of despotism, as the Histories of Chaldea, India, Persia, Egypt, and the Middle Ages show, and we say with Mr. Hodgson in his Letters, that "making knowledge an official monopoly, in 'the hands of a small number of people, is not identifying the 'security of our dominion with the happiness of the mass of 'the subjects." Do not the waters of knowledge, restrained in a limited space, stagnate, whereas, when diffused like the ocean, they become the purifiers of the world. In 1848 the Government of the N. W. Provinces very properly expressed their fears "that the village and district officers will be so far ahead of the mass of the people, as the more to expose the latter to injury from dishonesty and intrigues." Well has Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth said, "The sure road to socialism is by a prolongation of the contrasts between luxury and destitution; vast accumulations, and ill rewarded toil; high cultivation, and barbarism; the enjoyment of political privileges, and the exclusion from all rights by ignorance or indigence. The means of solving these great social problems, lies in the Christian civilisation of the entire people by the public school." In Ireland on the other hand, we have had for centuries intelligent but tyrannical landlords, who ruled, with a rod of iron, the tenantry they abandoned to ignorance.

Nor does the example of "Young Bengal" incline us to postpone the enlightenment of the masses. How many natives have been educated in English, who, like their predecessors in Mogul times, glory in not knowing the language of the common people—the *profanum vulgus,* and therefore give them no knowledge—respecting the ryots they can say with Horace, *odi et arceo.* Young Bengal, equally with the proud Brahman, despises "the *vulgar* tongue," reminding us of the English squires in Locke's days, who could not write correct English, —though they could "sport Latin verses." And this is justified on the plea there is so little in Bengali to read. Well, supposing it to be so—is not this, on the principle that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," a reason why the language

should be enriched by those who have got the wealth of another tongue? Did Dante and Chaucer despise their own tongues because they were poor?—no! that was just the stimulus to prompt them to raise them.

Of course, those natives who wish their sons to get employment in offices, where a knowledge of English is requisite, would wish all the Government funds for education to be given to English schools, "the high road to affluence,"—forgetting that the land revenue of Bengal amounts to three and a half millions sterling, besides five millions from salt and opium, and that the peasantry have a claim on those revenues for an education suited to their circumstances, a *quid pro quo*. Not only has he to suffer rack-renting, and money extorted by forged deeds of the zemindar, but the poor peasant, who in Menu's days was forbidden to receive advice from the Sudra, is even now by Young Bengal grudged the smallest pittance to enlighten his mind on the commonest subject; thirty-seven millions, using the Bengali language are still, in the language of Macaulay, to have "medical doctrines which would disgrace an 'English farrier, history abounding with kings thirty feet high, 'and reigns 30,000 years long, and geography made up of seas of 'treacle and seas of butter." And yet, forsooth, all knowledge is to be excluded, unless the people will sit down to an eight years' study of a foreign language, with its arbitrary pronunciation and intricacy of meaning. English Education, to affect the mass, must have a Vernacular medium—oil by itself will not mix with water.

If we are to do nothing in Vernacular Education until the upper classes are enlightened by English, then let us be consistent, let us stop our Bible Societies, Vernacular Literature Committees, Tract Societies, for they will be of very little use, if there be not a correspondent system of Vernacular Education. Can we reckon that those few will carry out the principle of "doing what they can for the benefit of their less favored neighbours?" Does not the voice of history show that there are aristocrats in knowledge, who fear lest "the peasant's toe should tread on the courtier's heel." Oh! in this country for the spirit of a Howard or a Wilberforce, which would prompt the educated babus to seek out for humanity in its *lowest depths*, in its *dens*, and diffuse among the masses the cheering rays of knowledge! The voice of history does not show that under the Moslem dynasty, the Persian-educated babus ever cared much for the masses, or that patriotism was a growth of the country,—by the interest the English-educated babus take in *Vernacular Education*, we must judge of the truth or not of Sir H.

Elliot's remark, that "the sacred spark of patriotism is an *exotic* 'in Bengal, exists but as a name, and an offscouring of college 'declamations." Let them bear in mind the memorable words of the Council of Education:—"We are fully alive to the ne- 'cessity of combining Vernacular with English Education, 'if the influence of the Government schools is to be felt beyond 'the students who are collected within their walls;" and of the late Hon'ble J. Bethune, "the students are expected to be the 'instruments of reflecting and diffusing around them the 'knowledge they have acquired."

We are thorough advocates for all natives, who have time and opportunity, studying English; let this important caution however be borne in mind, "little is done unless such a knowledge of English be imparted as shall enable natives to read a valuable author with 'ease, *for that which cannot be done with ease by a Hindu, is* 'certain of not being done to any great extent." There are some men, whose knowledge of India is limited to cities, and to a few Anglicized babus, who think the Vernacular can be extirpated from this country: we would only ask such to *weigh* the remarks made in a Serampore publication in 1816:—

For ideas to be acquired with effect in a foreign language, opportunity, leisure, inclination, and ability must combine in the case of every individual; and even then scarcely one in ten would so thoroughly acquire the English language as to derive due instruction from the mass of knowledge contained therein. These advantages, too, must be renewed to every successive generation, and the same advantages of opportunity, inclination, and sufficient ability must unite in the case of each individual. Moreover, instruction, to answer its proper design, should be such as to render the inhabitants of a country happy in their own sphere, but never to take them out of it. Those individuals, however, in whom such ability for acquiring the English language, united with due opportunity of improvement, would scarcely remain to till the ground, or to labor at any manual occupation; they would therefore, by their education, be unfitted for the ordinary callings of life. On the other hand, the successful exertions of one European, in acquiring the languages of the country, or of a native in acquiring the English language, might, through the medium of the native languages, not only diffuse light throughout a whole country, (and at one tenth of the expense,) but enlighten successive generations to the end of time: while knowledge thus imbibed by the common people would serve to expand their minds and enrich their language, and at the same time render them happy in the humble sphere wherein Providence has placed them.

The difficulties in the way of elevating in intellectual pursuits, a people so long dead to the value of knowledge, are of themselves sufficiently great, without our adding to them the amazing labor of acquiring a new and refined language.

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The labor of instructing so vast a population in a new tongue, would assuredly be greater than that of translating into all their respective dialects, whatever it may be necessary for the bulk of the people to learn.

In this respect the *material* of instruction, will, for a long time to come, be in advance of the means of imparting it; one year's diligent application to the work of translation, will furnish more than all the schools established by Europeans will be able to digest in three or four years; and long before the overflow of schools and the growing demand for books, be such as can be no longer supplied by the annual product of European translators, there is little doubt from present appearances, that Natives will be found able to assist in the work of translation, and anxious to pursue it even as a means of subsistence.

The time which the lower orders in every country can command for intellectual pursuits, is always small; and in India this should not be wasted on attempts to acquire a foreign language, which can be of no benefit to them unless they can read it with fluency, a scale of proficiency which their limited leisure renders impracticable.

The English cannot colonize in this country as they have done in America and Ireland—nor do they intermarry with the natives as former conquerors have done, and the tendency of things is to substitute *native* agency in various cases, where European is now employed—English is spreading, but is the improvement of *Vernacular* Literature keeping an *equal* pace ?

Latin, for ten centuries, was in Europe the common language of intercourse, literature, and theology; the sole language of devotion in the dominant church of Europe, supported by the powerful co-operation and patronage. of the universities: and even in Sir T. More's time, 1530, a fierce controversy was waged as to whether English or Latin were the best medium for conveying sound useful knowledge—but the English Vernacular has since taken the place of the Latin. The *Portuguese* language was for a century and a half the coast language of India —yet where is it used now?—And what has become of the *Persian*, once the *lingua franca ?*

Because many natives have a *colloquial* knowledge of English, acquired for commercial or conversational purposes, we are not to infer that they know the language. With the Bengali, English may be the language of *commerce*, but the Vernacular is the language of the *heart*, the one is used for public purposes, the other is the language of the domestic sphere. "The foreign lan-
'guage, like an official garment, is laid aside in the circle of family and friends," the language of the *mother* is that of the *children*— India has for ages been fed on the shell of knowledge—mere words—we want to give them the kernel of ideas.

Some advocate making English the language of the courts, thereby saving Europeans the *trouble* of learning the language. We would quote for such the advice given by Lord Hastings, many years ago, to a student of Fort William College:—"If,
'indeed, we wish to know a nation, it is peculiarly desirable to

'possess an independent and extensive familiarity with its lan-
'guage; it must be indispensable when we are charged with the
'execution of the most serious and solemn offices of human life,"
—the European should not be a puppet in the hands of a trans-
lator. On the question of the feasibility of making English the
language of the courts, of turning courts of justice into schools
of philology, we quote the arguments of the *Quarterly Friend
of India*, 1822:—

That the substitution of English in the transaction of public business therefore, would effect its substitution in every domestic circle through the country, is altogether a paradox. As much as the aggregate of official communications falls short of the sum total of private communications through the country, in the same proportion do the chances against the universal employment of English, out-number those which may appear in favor of the project.

On this subject experience is as rich as it is decisive. The Normans, after the conquest of England, impelled by motives of policy as well as of hatred, made a strenuous effort to substitute their own language for that of the conquered nation. "The name of Englishman was turned into reproach. None of that race for a hundred years were raised to any dignity in church or state. Their language, and the characters in which it was written, were rejected as barbarous; in all schools, children were taught French; and the laws were administered in no other tongue." Nor was this vigorous encouragement all; for within twenty years after the Norman invasion, almost the whole of the soil of England had been divided among foreigners. And even up to the period of the restoration of the English tongue, the ruling members of the state seem to have regarded French with undiminished partiality, for in the early part of the reign of Edward the Third, "gentlemen's children were taught to speak French from the time they were rocked in the cradle." Neither was this a transient experiment; for it was continued with unabated perseverance for nearly three hundred years. Here we perceive a combination of advantages from which, if in any instance, success might surely have been expected. All legal and magisterial transactions done in French,—schools opened for teaching it, the original tongue discouraged in every direction, —and, what was perhaps of equal if not greater consequence, the whole body of landed proprietors bent on employing it as the medium of communication with their tenantry.—These efforts are continued moreover for a length of time apparently sufficient to have rooted out the old and despised language even from the remotest villages. On the possession of such pre-eminent advantages, those who would patronize similar attempts in India can scarcely calculate. With all this powerful aid however, the project of making French current in England fell to the ground; and after three centuries of unavailing exertion, it was publicly renounced by the Government; and the English language restored to the public service, not only as a mark of royal favor, but for the greater facility of public business. Had the French language, during the period of its encouragement, made any impression on the mass of the population, the substitution of English by Edward the Third, would have been considered a fresh instance of tyranny, rather than a distinguished act of grace. The publication almost immediately after this event, of Wickliffe's translation of the New Testament into English that the sacred Oracles might no longer continue unintelligible to the great body of the people, confirms

the idea that French had not found its way beyond the Court and the great families of the realm.

A few hints to that class of natives in Calcutta who are right in admiring English literature, but wrong in despising all efforts to improve the literature of the common people. We admire their taste for English literature, their boldness in writing against their countrymen's defects,—but where is their patriotism or love of the masses of their countrymen, when, instead of lending a helping hand to improve the literature of their country, they stand aloof, boxing themselves up with Shakespeare,—when for the convenience of the stranger they would have English in the courts, a language entirely unknown to the peasantry,—when, like the Moslem conquerors, they would debar all useful knowledge from thirty-seven millions, unless they obtain it through the portals of a difficult foreign language, which requires an *eight* years' study, thus closing the temple of knowledge to the millions, unless approached through the long and rugged road of a foreign language. These men, in consequence of despising the Vernacular, are falling into the errors of the men of the middle ages, a proneness to dialecticism, a renunciation of useful tracks of thought —they are, in fact, becoming a sort of schoolmen, "following a 'slavish imitation of foreign models, extinguishing fertility 'of thought, and all the generous impulses bound up with the 'speech of our father-land." Let them beware lest the character which Campbell, in his *Modern India*, gives of many natives, should apply to them, "the extreme selfishness which 'only looks at a man's own case, not having any political sym-'pathy beyond his own sub-division of a class, if even so much." "Big talkers, little doers, beginning with a flash, ending in 'smoke."

Viewing the prostrate condition of the masses in Bengal, we have strong faith in the efficacy of education as a system of training.

> "'Tis education forms the common mind.
> Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined."

"But we cannot call that a complete education which limits 'itself to the cultivation of the mere intellect, to the neglect 'of the moral powers; which does not regard man as a creature 'destined for eternity, and whose training in school ought to 'bear on that aim." We fully sympathize with the view, that education embraces the cultivation of the mental, physical, and moral powers, and deprecate the education, "contracted 'by a narrow utilitarianism, which regards as of prime im-'portance the cultivation of the faculties which have a

'marketable value, and disdains to busy itself on the question: 'what reward lies beyond the grave?" But the limits assigned to our article in this review, restrict us to the first branch of it, the intellectual part.

Elementary education, or the mere power of reading and writing the vernacular, is not the education we advocate in this article: as this is already supplied more or less in 100,000 schools, in Bengal—what we wish to see is, the *standard* raised in schools generally by being *first* effected in *model* schools—boys kept a considerable time at school, by the inducement of scholarships and prospects of employment, in order to attain high proficiency. The remark of Dr. Johnson has much force; "knowledge always desires increase, it is like fire which 'must be kindled by some external agent, but which will after-'wards propagate itself." And we believe the elementary Vernacular schools of Chinsurah and Calcutta have increased the number of English schools; in fact, wherever there are now good English Schools there were before flourishing Vernacular ones. The Government of the North Western Provinces said well on this subject, in 1845, "when the mind of the whole people has been raised to a sense of the importance of knowledge, it is natural to suppose that many from the mass will advance further, and cultivate literature for the higher rewards it offers, or even for the pleasure which its acquisition offers."

While warm friends, as we before stated, to the imparting English as necessary to a classical education, we cannot apply the term *national* or *popular* education to any which is not conveyed through the language of the *people, i. e.*, of forty millions in Bengal. Now in Holland, with a language used by only about two millions and a half, Dutch is the language of the schools; and 30,445 in 1835, received education through that medium, or 72¼ per cent. of the school-going population; in Bengal, Government have about 1,400 pupils in Bengali, or one in every *seven hundred and twenty thousand* of the population! England resounds with the cry of ragged-schools and education for the masses. We trust Bengal will soon hear the same cry, and that the Government—which under Duncan, directed its sympathies to *infants*, by abolishing infanticide, and is now doing the same among the Rajputs and in the Punjab—which, under Wellesley, prohibited infants being thrown into the maw of alligators at Saugur island—which, under Lord W. Bentinck, snatched the widows from the pyre, and rescued the inoffensive traveller from the noose of the thug, will do something for the enlightenment of the masses.

In Prussia and the other States of Germany, *all* parents are compelled by law to send their children to school. And no person can be admitted to confirmation without a certificate of being educated. In Austria, ability to read and write is requisite for marriage. In Bengal, with its thirty-seven millions, the Government bestows 8,000 Rupees annually on Vernacular Education! One-third the salary of a Collector of the revenue! As much is expended on 200 prisoners in jails. How different is it in America. Siljestom in his *Educational Institutions of the United States*, remarks :—

"In America, popular education has from the beginning been based upon the idea of citizenship, not of philanthropy. There the gift of education to the people has not been considered merely as an act of charity to the poor, but as a privilege which every citizen, as such, had a right to claim, and a duty which, by virtue of the social contract, every citizen binds himself to fulfil; and for the purpose of bestowing such education, (that is to say, the minimum of knowledge which every citizen ought to possess), the State is entitled to tax the community; whereas, the higher branches of education, which only a small number of the people have the means of acquiring, have been looked upon as matters concerning only those individuals who are anxious to avail themselves thereof, and have in consequence been left to private enterprise; the general force of circumstances, and the encouragement held out by the emoluments bestowed by the State on its servants, being regarded as sufficient inducements, to those who aspire to enter the public service, to acquire the necessary knowledge. The immediate consequences hereof are, that while in America we find most excellent popular schools, maintained at the expense of the State, there are but few institutions connected with the higher branches of education which do not owe their origin and maintenance solely to the exertions of individuals or private associations."

In Germany seventy years ago the chief University lectures were delivered in Latin. Madame De Stael tells us in her *Allemagne* how utterly Frederic the Great despised his mother-tongue—the Franco-Mania being then the rule of Germany. Charles the Fifth could say, "he would speak German to his *horses*." Frederic the Great, who raised Prussia from being a Dukedom to be an Empire, wished to change the language of the people to French, but he could not conquer its language. Yet how different now! when the German Vernacular has not only gained the ascendancy over French, but is also taking the same position almost as Latin did in the middle ages in Europe, as the language of the literati.

To take an illustration from a country which now calls for the particular attention of England—Russia—the Czar, with all his arbitrary rule, has got credit from even his bitterest enemies for his exertions in the emancipation of the peasants; but the Aristocracy, "the Young Moscovy" party, has been much opposed to him in this plan. Now even in Russia one-

ninth of the school-going population receive instruction. In Russia formerly all the nobles at court spoke only French—the present Czar set himself against that system, and required Russian to be spoken—since that a remarkable change has taken place, the nobles now take more interest in the cultivation of Russian literature, and a great impulse has been given to indigenous literature. See "Introductory Review" of Russian literature in *Russian Life in the Caucasus.*

The circumstances of unhappy Ireland read us a solemn lesson. The English Government passed Acts of Parliament without number to suppress utterly the Irish language, enforced by deeds of blood that would have disgraced the Spaniards in Mexico. In Elizabeth's time even the king of Denmark was refused by the English Government, the services of an Irishman to translate Irish MSS., lest that should injure English interests! Henry the Eighth required a knowledge of English as the *sine qua non* for a Church-living in Ireland,—he got men who knew nothing of the *people.* Subsequently it was enacted, in case the minister could not read the service in English, he might read it to the *people* in *Latin,* but not in Irish—history tells the results. But Bishop Bedell took a different view, and at sixty years old sat down to the study of the Irish. James the First directed that clergymen knowing Irish, should have the preference in smaller Church-livings. This exclusive English policy, though protested against by such men as Robert Boyle, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Bedell, was applauded by a body of Irishmen, who knew nothing of their own country's language—but who advocated all judicial and religious proceedings being done through *English,* as thereby they secured a monopoly of office to *themselves.* Irish is still the language of one million, while Societies have recently been founded to educate the Irish through their own language, "the tongue which their *mother* gave them."

Close to England we have *Wales,* a country only 120 miles long, by 80 broad, which, though six centuries under English rule, yet clings with great tenacity to its own tongue, and even now demands that its bishops and clergy should be Welsh preachers.

Let us next see what was the system adopted for promoting *National* Education in England. By *National* Education we mean education of the *masses* through their mother tongue. The cardinal principle of the Government in England in education, has been GRANTS IN AID,—helping men to help themselves. Their exertions began in a humble way, in 1842. Pupil teachers were trained up in the Norwood School of Industry, and were then transferred to a practising school in Battersea, given by the

present bishop of Sodor and Man, who became the head of it. In six years fifteen training schools were established; there are now thirty-five in England and four in Scotland, established at an expense of £353,402, of which Government has given £137,623, providing accommodation for 11,179 male, and 768 female students. Apprentices are the most promising, and of these the most *elite* will be Queen's scholars. These apprentices at a school, spend one hour and a half daily in receiving separate instruction from the master, one hour and a half in preparation for his lessons, and for five hours they have charge of classes; the master receives an annual addition to his salary in proportion to the number of his pupils and apprentices; every apprentice receives from Government £10 in the first year, rising to £20 for the last; they are annually examined, and also stand for the Queen's Scholarships, "they will be able to undertake lessons in school manage-
'ment themselves by the light of their previous school experience." In 1851 there were 3,657 male and 1,950 female pupil teachers—this is the system for training up future masters. For improving the *old Master*, certificates with pecuniary advantages are given to those who pass an examination in certain subjects. In 1851 there were 845 masters and 328 mistresses certificated, Government granted £15,473 in augmentation of salaries to 948 teachers, who had charge of 104,958 scholars.

INSPECTION is another essential part of their system. There are now twenty-five inspectors and nine sub-inspectors, at an expense of £26,000; they visit schools, diffuse the result of their experience, stimulate the exertions of the teachers, raise the standard of education, spread an acquaintance with improved methods and books, "their visits have impressed the humbler
'classes with a sense of the vigilant care of the Government
'for their well being." School Books of an improved kind are granted at reduced rates, a list of the best school books in England was published, and the Government entered into an arrangement with the publishers to have them at 43 per cent. less than the publishing price, and they made a reduction, of one-third from this price for grants. Model schools were established in each district, "a single effective school held up as
'a model to a district is a realized idea, which places the entire
'problem of education before observers in a new light."

But it may be said, why should Government interfere in Bengal? leave education to the natives themselves—act on the *laissez faire* system.—We believe education to be a re-construction of society, and that all mere voluntary efforts for such a purpose would be like baling out the ocean with a bucket. The rich can take care of themselves; they have shewn they have the means

and willingness to pay for an English education; not so with the masses unequal to self-education. To protect the *weak* who cannot plead for themselves, is the duty of Government; who by the perpetual settlement gave the *ryot* into the feudal hands of the Zemindar, and thus the chance of creating a body of peasant proprietors was lost for ever. Mr. Kaye, in his "social condition and education of the people," has shewn that "where the land is cultivated by day laborers and tenants at will, the peasantry are ignorant and debased." Education therefore is the only compensation the Government can now give the peasantry for this yoke they have imposed on them The idea of elevating *the people* was unknown to the Romans, Greeks, Hindus or Musalmans. It is one of the results of the genius of Christianity, of him whom the *common people* heard gladly.

In Christian Europe the Prussian Government first recognized the duty of Governments to provide for the education of the whole body of its subjects; and in the United States of America, where there is no established Church, popular education is regarded as the duty of the Government, which fully recognizes the truth of Macaulay's axiom, "he who has the right to hang the 'people, must certainly also have the right to educate them."

Government *pays* heavily for crime in the cost of the police establishments and jails, in which 26,000 prisoners are supported. There are sixty-one jails in Bengal and Behar, and the expense of jail establishments, guards, buildings, and food, makes the cost of each prisoner to the State forty-three rupees and nine annas per annum! Now prevention is better than cure—it is cheaper and more effectual to pay the school-master than the policeman and the jailor. In New York State, it was lately calculated that out of nearly 28,000 persons convicted of crime, "but 128 had enjoyed the benefits of a good common-school education." The prisoners in Bengal do not come from the class who attend *English* schools, and therefore we require schools to act on them and save them from being the food of the jail and the gallows.

Government draws from the land in Bengal and Behar a revenue of three millions sterling annually, five-eighths of which is the produce of the land. Now, on the principle of the law of Moses, "thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn," the peasant, the industrious bee, should share in the honey, the fruit of his labor.

Government has made many good laws for the natives, but what avail these without an enlightened public opinion? Burke very justly said, "give me the making the ballads of a nation, and 'I will give you the making its laws." We have spent seventy lakhs already in compiling a code for *all* India! centralization

with a vengeance!—but as long as the masses are so sunk, evils will be remedied by excellent laws, as much as a millstone will be cut by a razor. Why do not the darogahs oppress so much in the North Western Provinces?—because they have a different class of people to deal with.

Who that has read *The Revelations of an Orderly*,—its startling disclosures of the bribery system among the police, "power turned into money by the sharks, and alligators of our legal sea," when the poor gets little redress, because the *Saheb* "looks through the spectacles, and hears through the ears of the native official," some translator it may be—a medium devised for doing justice to the people, by giving the European no inducement to judge for himself!—the system of torturing resorted to by the police to extort confessions—the forgery, and bribery of the courts, "where the long purse carries the day"—but must be convinced that some effort ought to be made "that the foul harpies, which now fill the courts, should give place to virtuous educated men." The whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint,—employ after a given period no man in a Court who has not received a certificate of having passed with credit through a Vernacular school In Austria Popular Education has "diminished the out-breakings of a rude ferocity;" in Bengal nothing has been attempted in any proper way, and hence England, which has subdued the Afghan and Sikh, has *not* subdued the *dacoit*, who "levies his black mail under the very nose of the magistrate."

Even Elementary education has its special value in this country, when we consider the gross state of ignorance in which thirty-seven millions are sunk,—the giving a superior education to a few in English, will not *necessarily* leaven the mass, who still firmly believe all the extravagant absurdities of the Hindu Shastras. Surely the introduction of simple lessons on geography and astronomy, would be a vast boon to the country in dispelling such darkness. "A loaf of bread is a small thing to a man with a full table: while to a famished prisoner it might be little less than life itself."

Knowledge is a foe not only to superstition but to caste, with all its monstrous assumptions!

How are you to meet these errors?—not so much by thrusting the blazing torch of English truth on eyes weakened by mental disease,—no, the light must be let in gradually, and through their own loved medium, as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. XXVIII, p. 208, remarks, "the vernacularism of learning pro-
'duced a greater effect (in the fifteenth century) in disabusing
'the general intellect of the prejudices of books, and of those

'existing institutions and opinions, than all the rest of the glori-
'ous events and discoveries of that age which witnessed it."

Look at the condition of the peasantry, sunk in as low a state of brutal ignorance as are the characters mentioned in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Would there were the pen of a Dickens or a Crabbe in this country, to draw a vivid picture of their state,—of the tortures inflicted by the Zemindars,—the forgery of deeds,—the evils of the *mahajan* system, keeping the unfortunate peasants sunk for life in debt. It is time for the British people, who gave twenty millions sterling for the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, to look to the condition of the unfortunate peasantry of Bengal, whose greatest oppressors are their own countrymen, who are debarred access to justice by the myrmidons of native officials, whose sole aim from time immemorial has been to turn power into money,—where so little regard to truth is entertained, that false witnesses are a regular matter of traffic, hired for four annas a day to swear white is black,—where the Zemindars rule with all the atrocities and violence of the robber chieftains of the Rhine in former days, men who, by the mistaken policy of the permanent settlement of 1793, were raised from being pauper *sans-culottes* collectors to become Lords of the soil, *divi terræ*. Against this system of oppression we must wield the weapon of knowledge. Enlighten the peasant's mind, and he will not be the mere tool of the Zemindars. "This 'state of mental degradation disqualifies them from resisting 'oppression, and prepares them to become the willing slaves of 'any who will supply them with the means of immediate gratifi-'cation, though succeeded by years of debt and bondage." And yet this people is admitted to be naturally very intelligent; they have evinced such a desire for education, as to have 100,000 Vernacular schools among them; 32 per cent. of the school-going population of Bengal attend the common schools, while in Agra only 5½ per cent. do so. Yet as far as respects an enlightened education, the peasant is left to stagnant ignorance, "except as varied by scenes of dacoity or superstition, a life of toil and a dark futurity, the ineffectual effort 'of the dark mind to open its eyes on the light of the spiri-'tual world." He vegetates rather than lives; in the days of Manu the peasant was a mere *adscriptus glebæ*, "the Brahman is not to give advice to the Sudra;" coming from the feet of Brahma he was destined to a mere servile state, while the proud Brahman despised his Vernacular language; in later days he was the object of spoliation by the Mahratta plunderer, and the Mogul feudal chief. Lord Cornwallis doomed him for ever to be the serf of the Zemindars, and the Council of Education

gives 8,000 Rupees annually for his education! while the wealthy merchants and zemindars have four lakhs spent on theirs—not that we grudge the latter, no, we would it were doubled, but why leave the peasant without the bread of elementary education, while the rich have the luxuries of Bacon and Milton? In 1818 Government reckoned there were 1,50,748 villages in Bengal and Behar. We think the remarks of Siljestrom, in his *Educational Institutions of the United States*, are fully applicable to Bengal. "We have establishments enough for *collecting* the 'revenue, why not then some for teaching the people who *create* 'it?" "The *abkari* system gives legal establishment to a 'band of apostles and priests of intemperance among a simple, 'rural sober population yielding a revenue of fifty lakhs."

The precocity of the minds of Hindu lads, their "remarkable early power of acquirement," renders them very favorable subjects for Vernacular teaching, We have seen this developed in a remarkable degree in the Central school of Calcutta, where in the Infant Department Bengali children, between the ages of three and seven, are taught through Bengali a number of interesting facts in Natural History, Lessons on Objects, Scripture History, Geography. We have seen in a Bengali school of the Church Missionary Society, in Nudea, Natural History, Geography, Writing by Dictation, Bengal History taught.

The peasantry and middle classes of the North West have lost one of their truest friends in the ever-to-be-lamented death of the Honorable J. Thomason, a real friend of the people, who made two great objects paramount during his Government—irrigating the lands by the appliances of modern science in his great Ganges Canal—and irrigating the minds of the masses by diffusing the healthy current of European ideas through the agreeable medium of Vernacular education. The Marquess of Dalhousie has well remarked of the latter object that "Mr. Thomason's noblest 'monument is in his system of Vernacular education;" we rejoice that his successor Mr. Colvin is taking up his mantle, and that our new Deputy Governor for Bengal will carry out his plans in Bengal—but to Mr. Thomason we owe it that, while here in Bengal no effort was made on the part of the Government, to diffuse knowledge through the Vernacular, he quietly but firmly matured his plans and brought his great experience of native character, learned away from the haunts of Europeans, to bear on the cause of the people; he unostentatiously followed in the track of him of whom it is said "the *common* people heard him gladly."

The peasantry, who had been from time immemorial, the puppets of Moslem and Brahminical despots, found in Mr.

Thomason a friend, who released from the shackles of Calcutta centralisation, took his views of education not from the purlieus of Chowringhee but from the *people*. Five years after the Calcutta Council of Education had shelved Mr. Adams' admirable reports, Mr. Thomason commenced his plan for education in 1843, the last year of existence of that warm friend to Vernacular education, Mr. Wilkinson. On the North West Provinces being separated from Calcutta, he promulgated the statement that "to produce any perceptible impression on the 'public mind, in the North West Provinces, it must be through 'the medium of the Vernacular languages." The smaller English schools were abolished, and instruction in English was confined to the Colleges.

In 1845, Mr. Thomason issued a circular to Collectors and their subordinates, pointing out how Vernacular reading, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration bore on the people's interests —directing that they should encourage the village teachers whom the people select. "Encourage by kindly notice 'and by occasional rewards both the most distinguish-'ed of them and of their scholars; they might be aided 'by the distribution of books." Mr Thomason forwarded statistical tables after Adams' plan on Vernacular Education for them to fill up; this was followed out by sending to each Collector six of the Indigenous Books on Spelling, Arithmetic, Mensuration, to be shewn and lent to rouse the people to a sense of their wants. "Two important points were aimed at, the imparting to the peasantry certain plain practical, every-day knowledge" and that "the popular mind having been roused by a keen sense of *personal interest*, a higher system of intellectual culture may be universally introduced." In 1844, the Delhi Vernacular Translation Society was founded, which by 1846, had published in Urdu fifty volumes, containing 14,000 pages, at a cost of about 16,000 rupees. In 1845, an inspector was appointed to report upon Village Schools. *Vernacular Libraries* were formed for distributing elementary Vernacular works among the Village Schools; rewards for the proficiency of their pupils were offered to the school-masters, lists of the works proposed forstudy were published. A Circular was issued to all Collectors and Magistrates, directing their attention to Vernacular Education and to the great principle of it; "carry the people with you, *aid* their 'efforts rather than remove from them all stimulus to exertion 'by making all the effort yourself;" a portion of Adams' third Report was re-printed and circulated among Government Officers, and some of it was translated for the guidance of natives: speci-

mens of various Vernacular works were sent to native officers to be shewn to Zemindars, &c. In 1846, the Court of Directors approved of Mr. Thomason taking up Vernacular Education, and cordially admitted "the necessity of giving some powerful impulse ' to Elementary Education in the North West Provinces." Sixteen thousand five hundred of *Mr. Thomason's Elementary Treatises* were sold. By 1848, the educational statistics had been completed, and measures were taken for the improvement of the schools in four districts, and a School Book Agent appointed to form a centre for all private efforts. He then propounded his plan, a zillah visitor on 150 rupees monthly, three pergunnah visitors at thirty rupees each, in each Pergunnah six Tehsildari school-masters at fifteen rupees each. Four thousand five hundred rupees for each district to be given in rewards to teachers, a Visitor General to supervise the whole on 1,000 rupees monthly, and eight annas a mile travelling expense, to visit the whole of the districts and be in communication with the inspectors. In October 1849, the Court sanctioned an annual outlay of 50,000 rupees. In 1850, a volume of Vernacular Statistics was published, which showed the need of Vernacular Education and that out of a population of 23,200,000, only 68,200 received *any* education at all. In 1850, eight model districts were selected, with eight Zillah Visitors, thirty-three Pergunnah Visitors, and fifty-eight Teachers of Tehsil Schools.

The successful working of the Vernacular plan in the N. W. Provinces shews how necessary it is to avoid being linked in with Calcutta in a centralised system. Had the voice from the ditch been heard, this Vernacular plan of Thomason's would never have had a fair trial, neither Rurki nor any of the other fair creations of the North West Provinces would have sprung into existence Like Lord Hardinge's resolution of 1844 they would have been stifled in the ditch.

In judging of Vernacular Education in the North West Provinces we must not look to fine showy results. We have not there as in Bengal a few first-rate English Schools and a mass of utterly neglected Vernacular ones. We should make allowance for the bigotry and ignorance that had at first to be encountered, when parents thought the schools were nurseries for children, to be kept there and afterwards sacrificed to propitiate the Ganges, indignant at her waters being drawn away for the new canal; or that Missionaries in the character of magicians were to come and draw their children away; in Bengal in 1824 the introduction of the picture of a lion emptied a school, the people thought it was a Missionary *mantra*. In the N. W. within 4 years the number

of scholars has been doubled and a powerful impulse has been given to Vernacular Literature.

Schools and School-books reciprocally re-act on each other in the way of supply and demand. We see this in the N. W. Provinces, as the following list of school-books in Hindi, called into existence by Thomason's schools, shows.

Akshara Depika, a Primer. *Balopdesh*, illustrated Hindi Primer. *Patramalika*, Forms of Letters. *Bhasa-chandraday*, on Syntax, Etymology. *Dharmasing Britanta*, or Passages in the life of an upright Thakur. *Surajpurhelchan*, a Tale descriptive of the history and constitution of a village. *Budhi phaladay*, the Life of an Idle and of an Industrious Youth. *Vidyankur*, Chamber's Rudiments of Knowledge. *Samay prabodh*, explaining the use of the Calendar, Computation of Time, Æras &c. *Shudhi Darpan*, on Cleanliness. *Alasi Upadesh*, Advice to the Prodigal, Idle. *Gyan bibaran*, Moral Couplets with a Hindi prose commentary. *Ganita Prakash*, arithmetic. *Khetra Chandrika*, Mensuration, a Treatise on *Arithmetic* on the Pestalozzian Principle. On *Algebra* to Quadratic Equations. *Geometry* four books of Euclid. *Mechanics*. Tales. principles of *Geometry*, *Trigonometry*. Baker's *Hydrostatics*, and Dynamics. Hann's *Conic Sections*, *Mahajansar*, Specimens of Writing, Banker's Accounts. *Krsanopdesh* on Settlement Papers. *Gramya-kalpadrum* on the Constitution of Zemindari and Patnidari Villages. Tucker's Selections from *Todd's Hints on Self-improvement*. Muirs's selections from *Sturm's Reflections*. Selections from *Paley's Natural Theology*. *Khugolsar*, Prominent Facts of the Solar System. *Chitrakari Sar*, Elements of Linear Drawings with Diagrams. *Shala Paddheti*, on Defects of Indigenous Schools and Proposed Remedies. *Budhi prakash*, Current News of the Week, with instructive articles on History, Geography, Science, circulated among the Schools.

Ninety-four publications,—and 184,400 copies of the same have been put into circulation and great success has crowned this department.

Among the results we may enumerate the high proficiency attained in pure mathematics by vernacular students of the Delhi college. The success of the vernacular classes of Engineering at Rurki, the students of which are draughted from the Vernacular schools—the knowledge of history and political economy in the Vernacular department of the Bareilly College. The success in the Kasi district of Muttra, where the boys have increased from 110 in 1848 to 1,062 in 1853, many of them studying Algebra and Geometry, chiefly brought about by the exertions of one man the Tehsildar of Kosc,—37,000 boys attend the schools. The Musalman population have been acted on—boys remain longer at school. The Persian is giving way to the Hindi and Urdu Vernaculars—the barbarous Kaithi character is being superseded by the elegant Nagri.

In June, 1852, a *Central School* was opened in Agra composed of fifty-two pupils selected from the Zillah Schools, all lodged and boarded and receiving each two rupees monthly for clothes

and books, they study Euclid, Algebra, Logic, the Geography of Asia, Surveying, Chemistry. Dr. Mouat reports of this school as follows: —

In Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geography, and History, the boys were not only well taught, but had attained a larger amount of proficiency than will for some time be required in teaching the pupils of the Tahsildaree Schools to which they will hereafter be attached.

The Zillah Visitor of the Agra Division, whom I saw in this School is evidently an able officer, and the Pundit a very superior man of his class.

The pupils were clean, orderly, earnest and attentive, and in every way superior to the indigenous native teachers. It is impossible to exaggerate the amount of beneficial influence that will be produced by the dispersion of such a body of teachers throughout the North West Provinces.

But the most remarkable results have been witnessed in the Agra Jail under Dr. Walker He began first in the Mainpuri Jail, teaching the prisoners to read from immense alphabet rolls, and to write on the black board. He next introduced his plan in 1851 into the Agra Prison. The Inspector of Prisons has reported of it—"Nothing is so conducive to the improvement of 'discipline as jail education." The system of mutual instruction is adopted. They are engaged at reading, writing, arithmetic from half past four to half past six P. M. Two thousand receive daily instruction, at an average annual expense of six annas a head, or 2 pice a month! Dr. Walker gives the following account of his system:

To test the progress of the prisoner-pupils, voluntary examinations are held twice a month, when those who pass satisfactorily, receive as prizes the books required for the subsequent examination, and as an incentive to future application, they are furnished with certificates of good conduct, which entitles them to send a letter to their relatives and friends, and if presented on any Saturday morning within three months after date, to an interview; sometimes a little sweetmeat and fruit is distributed, and a bath in the river Jumna, or a visit to the Royal Gardens at the Taj, or Secundra, is permitted, as an additional incentive to study and good conduct.

After having mastered the elementary School Sheets, including the Alphabet, and the combination of the Letters, Proper Names, the Multiplication Table, and Tables of Money and Weights, &c., they are prepared for the first examination.

Before a prisoner can pass the first examination, he must be able,

I. To read the Surajpúr kahani, (a Village Tale.)

II. To repeat the Multiplication Table up to 16×16.

III. To repeat the Multiplication of Fractions up to 6¼×25.

The requirements for the second examination are;—

I. Repetition of the former examination.

II. Arithmetic, including Simple and Compound Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division, Calculations for Rates, Commission and Simple Interest—(No. II. of Rai Ram Sarn Das' Series, being the text book.)

III. The Patra Malika, or Letter Writer.

IV. The Kisam Opdesh; being a brief explanation of the Revenue System and Village Accounts.

V. The Shuddhi-Darpan, a popular treatise on Hygiene, explaining the advantages of cleanliness, method and order.

VI. The Khagol-Sar, a brief treatise on Astronomy.

The subject of the third examination is the Mensuration of fields, as contained in Part III. of Rai Ram Sarn Das' Series.

The subject of the fourth examination is the details of Patwari accounts, as contained in Part IV. of Rai Ram Sarn Das' Series.

The subjects for the fifth examination are:—

I. Arithmetic, including Simple and Compound Proportion, as contained in Parts I. and II. of the Ganit Prakash.

II. The Gyan Chalish Biburn, being forty moral maxims in verse, with explanations and deductions.

III. The Gunkari-updesh-ka Sankshep or Select Moral Maxims from the best sources.

The subjects for the sixth examination are:—

I. Fractions, as contained in Part II. of the Ganit Prakash.

II. Geography.

Dr. Mouat who saw the system in operation in the Jail remarks respecting it:

The old, the middle aged, and the young, the murderer confined for life, and the perpetrator of petty larceny paying the penalty of his offence by a few days or weeks of imprisonment, men and women, have all been subjected to the ordeal. Many who were unacquainted with the alphabet, and to whom the powers of letters in combination had been an unknown mystery, until advancing age had left them scarcely enough of unaided sight to trace the letters on the board, have been taught to spell, read, connect sentences, and write. The greatest amount of general proficiency which has been attained is in the use of figures, and multiplying them to an extent quite unknown to our English system of arithmetic. At all times and in all places is the sound of many voices heard following a leader in the multiplication of odd, even, and fractional numbers. At its appointed time it pervaded every department of the prison, which then resembled a vast, animated, calculating machine. As a means of prison discipline, it appears to me to be impossible to over-rate the value and advantages of this system. It leaves the vicious and ill-disposed no time to concoct evil measures, to organize conspiracy, or to contaminate those less steeped in crime and hardened in vice, than themselves. To the well disposed it affords an occupation, furnishes a means of passing time that would otherwise hang heavy, and implants a taste for pursuits, that will render them profitable members of society, when again let loose upon the world. To some of the prisoners I could perceive that the task was distasteful, and a sore punishment, but the majority spoke in terms of unfeigned, and I am convinced, sincere gratitude, of the change for the better, which they acknowledged to have been wrought in their condition. The better feelings of their nature have been roused. They are no longer considered and treated as savage and dangerous animals, to be broken into subjection by harshness and starvation, and they exhibit many humanizing sympathies in their demeanour and acts. Not the least creditable part of the whole proceeding is the simple and inexpensive machinery by which all this has been accomplished. The prisoners themselves are the chief agents in their own amelioration, and have exhibited a docility and

perseverance that are no mean tests of the success and value of the system.

To this evidence we append the remarks of the late Lieutenant-Governor:—

"The prevalent taste for Mathematics has been seized upon in its practical bearing on land Surveying, the mechanical arts, and mercantile transactions. Euclid is already a favorite text book, the Surveying compass and plane table are rapidly becoming household implements. There is not one of the 3,000,000 men, who cultivate the 100,000,000 acres in these eight Districts, who may not be taught that the field he tills is a Geometrical figure, the extent of which he ought to be able to measure."

We now direct our attention to the efforts hitherto made in Bengal for the improvement of Vernacular education:

Mr. Ellerton at Malda established schools in the beginning of this century. In 1814, Mr. May began his first Vernacular School in the fort of Chinsura; in June, 1815, he had sixteen schools and 951 pupils, which soon increased to twenty-six schools, and some ten others six miles below Chinsura, visited by Mr. May and his assistants sixty times every three months. In 1815, Lord Hastings made a monthly grant of 600 rupees to the schools. In 1816, there were 2,136 pupils, and a school for instructing teachers was commenced; in 1818, there were thirty-six schools and 3,000 pupils—but Mr. May was cut off by death. Mr. Pearson then took charge. Mr. May's labours excited such interest that after his death, money arrived in Bengal from friends in America for the support of his schools. Mr. Lushington, Secretary to Government, in his "History of Religious and Benevolent Institutions," remarks, "it may be 'safely asserted that the foundation of more extensive and 'higher knowledge is surely laid in the establishment of those 'schools;" they were all conducted on the Bell and Lancaster system. Government availed itself of the service of Messrs. Pearson and Harley, who were Missionaries, to establish a number of Vernacular Schools between Kalna and Chandernagor. Mr. May had introduced the Lancasterian system into them with great success—crowds attended the schools; but their efforts, though not having suitable *successors*, were not followed up. Yet the seeds of knowledge they sowed in the Vernacular have fructified into the English schools which are now in Chinsurah. Some of the best Educational Works in the Vernacular were composed for those schools. In 1819, Messrs. Pearson and Harley had under their superintendance, at Chinsurah, seventeen schools and 1,500 children, at Bankipur twelve schools, and 1,266 children, all conducted on the Madras system, and supported by Government at an expense per mensem of 800

rupees. Dr. Bell's "Instructions for modelling schools" were translated and introduced; Mr. Pearson writes, "I have heard 'it spoken of by the natives as wonderful, to see a boy in 'tears at losing his place in the class." The Court of Directors made a special grant to those schools, the pupils learned more rapidly than in the common schools.

The *Calcutta School Book Society* was founded in 1817, to prepare and publish cheap books for native schools. *No books*, previous to 1817, were used in the indigenous schools. In May 1821, this Society received from Government a donation of 7,000 rupees, and a monthly grant of 500 rupees, to be continued "while its concerns are so judiciously administered." This society *was* very useful in circulating a number of valuable works in Bengali, on Geography, Natural History, &c., but we now require very cheap books, which can only be obtained by encouraging competition.

The CALCUTTA SCHOOL SOCIETY was formed in 1818, under the presidency of the Marquess of Hastings, with the object of assisting and improving existing Vernacular Schools, establishing others, and preparing select pupils of distinguished talents, by superior instruction, for becoming teachers and translators: and they received in donations in the first year 10,000 rupees. Four native superintendents were appointed, teachers were rewarded according to the proficiency of their pupils, thirty of the most proficient pupils of the Vernacular Schools were sent to the Hindu College to be trained up as teachers and translators, —but they ended in being keranis!—An English School was established, to be filled by the best pupils of the Vernacular Schools; but this has not promoted Vernacular education. In 1821 it had 115 Vernacular Schools, containing 3,828 scholars, under its patronage, *i. e.*, it gave books, examining and superintending the schools by its officers and agents. In 1823 they received a monthly grant of 500 rupees from Government, and worked admirably until 1833. The following improvements were introduced by this Society into common schools:

Printed, instead of manuscript, school-books are now in common use. The branches formerly taught are now taught more thoroughly; and instruction is extended to subjects formerly neglected, viz., the orthography of the Bengalee language, geography, and moral truths and obligations. The mode of instruction has been improved. Formerly the pupils were arranged in different divisions, according as they were learning to write on the ground with chalk, on the palm-leaf, on the plantain-leaf, and on paper, respectively; and each boy was taught separately by the schoolmaster in a distinct lesson. The system of teaching with the assistance of monitors, and of arranging the boys in classes, formed with reference to similarity of ability or proficiency, has been adopted; and as in

some instances it has enabled the teachers to increase the number of their pupils very considerably, and thereby their own emoluments, it is hoped that it will ultimately have the effect of encouraging men of superior acquirements to undertake the duties of instructors of youth A system of superintendence has been organized, by the appointment of a pundit and a sircar to each of the four divisions into which the schools are distributed They separately attend two different schools in the morning and two in the evening, staying at least one hour at each school, during which time they explain to the teachers any parts of the lessons they do not fully comprehend, and examine such of the boys as they think proper in their different acquirements The destinations of the pundits and sircars are frequently changed, and each of them keeps a register, containing the day of the month, the time of going to, and leaving, each school, the names of the boys examined, the page and place of the book in which they were examined, and the names of the schoolmasters in their own hand-writing—which registers are submitted to the secretaries of the Society every week through the head pundit Further examinations, both public and private, yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly, as necessity or convenience dictated, have been held in the presence of respectible European and Native gentlemen, when gratuities were given to deserving teachers, and prize-books to the best scholars, as well as books bestowed for the current use of the schools The tendency of all these measures to raise the character and qualifications of the teachers must be apparent, and it is with reference to this tendency that the labours of the Calcutta School Society have received the special approbation of the Court of Directors In 1825, the Court in confirming the grant of 500 rupees per month which had been made to this Society by the local Government, made the following remarks "The Calcutta School Society appears to combine with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction, an arrangement of still greater importance for educating teachers for the indigenous schools This last object we deem worthy of great encouragement, since it is upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend By training up therefore a class of teachers, you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the natives of India far exceeding that which any elementary instruction that could be immediately bestowed, would have any chance of reaching" In consequence of the reduction of the Society's means, the examinations have been discontinued since 1833. Unequivocal testimony is borne to the great improvement effected by the exertions of the School Society, both in the methods of instruction employed in the indigenous schools of Calcutta, and in the nature and amount of knowledge communicated, and I have thus fully explained the operations of this benevolent association, because they appear to me to present an admirable model, devised by a happy combination of European and Native philanthropy and local knowledge, and matured by fifteen years' experience, on which model, under the fostering care of Government, and at comparatively little expense, a more extended plan might be framed for improving the entire system of indigenous elementary schools throughout the country.—*Adams' Report*, 1835, *pp* 9, 10

But Calcutta, with its English schools, was not the place for working out this plan, and its noble objects were perverted. The money is now spent on a mere English school.

The Serampore Missionaries, most anxious to spread know-

ledge of all kinds among the *people*, were not neglectful of Vernacular Education. In 1816 they published their *Hints relative to Native Schools*, together with an outline of an Institution for their extension and management: their plan took; 100 schools soon rose among the natives; in the first year 8,000 rupees were received in subscriptions and donations—respectable natives sent their children, and in several cases the family temple was given as a School-house.

Their system was a liberal one. *Manuals of Instruction* were provided on the *Solar System*, the Laws of Attraction, &c., on European and Asiatic *Geography*—on Popular Facts in *Natural Philosophy.—Ancient History and Chronology.—Ethics—Etymology*, Sixty Sanskrit Roots, with their 1,000 Bengali derivatives.

The Alphabet was learned, according to the shape and sound of the letters. Spelling, Grammar, Arithmetic, were taught in classes by large tables. Much general information was conveyed by *Writing by Dictation* from a compendium of important facts—

"When boys can write neatly, a field is opened for improving the mind by dictation alone to any extent which the time of the pupil at school admits; and one printed book for the monitor of each class, the price of which will scarcely exceed that of one Table, will be sufficient for a whole class however numerous. A little reflection on the nature of thus writing from dictation will convince us, too, that it is a most effectual means of conveying instruction. It secures the attention of a whole class, and promotes the improvement of a pupil in reading, writing, orthography, and grammar, at the same time that it conveys clear and distinct ideas to the mind. Its advantages relative to fixing ideas in the memory will easily appear from a review of the process observed in communicating a sentence. Suppose for example that a class of twelve boys were prepared to write from dictation the following three sentences:

"The earth moves round the sun in three hundred and sixty-five days, which motion forms the year."

"The earth turns round on its own axis once in twenty-four hours, which forms day and night."

"The moon encompasses the earth in twenty-nine days and a half, thus forming the lunar month."

The whole class being ready, receive and write the first word, and are led to expect the next with calmness and desire, the state of mind best suited for the reception of ideas; this heard and written, they go on gradually receiving and almost anticipating the idea till the last word leaves it full on the mind. These three sentences being written by each of the twelve boys, they now turn them into a reading exercise, the first boy reading the first sentence aloud, which the rest have also before them in their own hand-writing; the next boy reads the second, and the next the third; which brings the fourth boy to read the first a second time; and thus with the rest, till each sentence will thus have been read four times, while the whole class have had them all written before them, and written too with their own hand. Thus three of the *most important facts* in nature *first*

written, and then distinctly read four times, will be so impressed on the mind as perhaps never to be wholly obliterated. This will serve to shew with what ease and effect the whole of the ideas in these various compendiums can be communicated ; and if comprised in 450 pages, which might perhaps be done, the whole, at half a page each day, might be thus written from dictation in the space of three years. Thus, while the mode of conveying these various ideas in short and easy sentences, would admirably suit them for dictation, the method of first writing and then repeatedly reading them would secure their being retained, in a degree almost equal to that of their being committed to memory."

The masters' *pay* was regulated by the *number* and *proficiency* of the boys writing by dictation—the boys were provided with blank books, at a monthly expense of three pice, which were examined every month by the Superintendent, as to writing, orthography, &c.—those books were often read by adults from curiosity. A European Superintendent was appointed, and it was designed to have had East Indian sub-inspectors—a small Normal School was commenced, but as a Missionary body, they could not devote sufficient time to them, and these schools were given up.

The results of Female Education in missions have been, that while a *few* may receive a knowledge of English, the great mass have to be instructed through the Vernaculars. The Government cannot leave half the population of the country, which are females,—twenty millions,—in ignorance; an impulse was given by that enthusiastic friend to female education, the late lamented Hon'ble J. D. Bethune, who gave one lakh of rupees towards the object. Considering the early marriage system in this country, the interruptions from festivals, the necessity of training to *domestic* duties, we see that while a few girls can learn English, the great mass must receive knowledge pleasantly and intelligently through their own tongue—a mere smattering of English is apt in various cases to make a girl discontented and undomesticated. The cause of female education is therefore inseparably bound up with Vernacular education. Miss Cooke began, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and under the patronage of the Marchioness of Hastings, female schools in Calcutta, in 1821. Though previous to that, some desultory efforts had been made by a few young ladies ; in 1822 she had twenty-two schools and 400 pupils. The Central School was founded in 1824, and in 1837 the Agarpara Orphan Refuge.

In 1822 the Christian Knowledge Society began the system of "school circles," each circle containing five Bengali schools, and one Central School in which English was taught. One of those circles was at Russapagla, another at Kasipur, another at Howrah ; they contained in 1834, 697 pupils—but being subsequently transferred to the Propagation Society, the funds of the

latter were appropriated to other operations, and the schools were given up.

Mr. Deer commenced Bengali schools with great energy and success in Burdwan. In 1823 he had fourteen schools of 1,254 boys, besides ten girl's schools of 243 pupils. In 1824 the Rev. T. Thomason, father of the late Lieut.-Governor, reported of those schools to Government, that "the boys were greatly brought forward," but that at fourteen or fifteen they left the school, and the school-master "must begin again and again with new pupils, and so proceed in a round of mere elementary reading *ad infinitum*." With Mr. Thomason's recommendation it was decided "that certain monthly little sums should be allowed to such scholars as distinguished themselves by their proficiency, in order to secure their attendance, and thus promote their further improvement." English scholarships were founded then in the Hindoo College, but to the present day nothing has been done.

The London Missionary Society directed its attention, in 1819, to Vernacular schools, "impressed with a sense of the 'exceeding great importance of well conducted schools in 'this country." They established them in 1820, at Chitla, and other places, in the neighbourhood of Tallygange, but there were strong prejudices at that time amongst the natives against attending schools where the Scriptures were read. Still in 1820, a Vernacular School with twenty-five boys was opened in a bungalo chapel, at Kidderpur, the boys committed portions of Scripture to memory, "and attend also on Sabbath mornings during Divine Worship," in Chinsura also they attended at the Chapel on Sundays to repeat their Catechisms.

The Calcutta *Church Missionary* Association had for many years 600 children under instruction, in their Vernacular schools in Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary Society had also several hundreds. But from the difficulty of getting suitable Christian teachers many schools were given up.

Of late the Church of Scotland have taken up Female Vernacular Schools with energy, and have 400 girls attending them in different parts of the suburbs of Calcutta.

Of Missionary Vernacular Education, which has been left to the casual visits of a Missionary overburdened with other duties, who had no time to study how to improve the teachers or the subjects taught, we must apply what Siljestrom, in his *Educational Institutions of the United States* remarks, of another subject; "the Education of the people was in most coun-'tries left to the enterprise of individuals, and was therefore but

'too often entirely neglected or restricted to a very imperfect 'knowledge of the Christian doctrines." It was thought enough in those schools to entrust the teaching of the Scriptures to some heathen sirkar, while little knowledge of Grammar, Geography or History, was imparted to give an intelligent reading of the Holy Books!—The religious instruction in Missionary Vernacular Schools would have been far more successful, had it been supplemented by an efficient system of secular instruction. We have no instance of any Missionary body in Bengal appointing as a Missionary's *sole* duty, the teaching in and superintendance of male Vernacular schools; the duty has only occupied *fragments* of time—and yet the work to be done efficiently requires the entire time. The Missionary Vernacular schools in Bengal now number 6,470 pupils.

A fierce warfare was waged in 1835, between the Orientalists and Anglicists, as to the media for conveying knowledge. One party advocating the Persian and Sanskrit, the other the English. Our own opinion on this question is very decided, and has been often expressed, that, as the medium of a higher education, English is infinitely preferable to any of the learned languages of the East. But it is impossible to over-state the importance of taking care that those who receive an English education, do not neglect the study of their own mother tongue, while it is certain that the great body of the people must and can be educated only through that tongue.

The abolition in 1835 of Persian as the language of the Courts, and the substitution of the Vernaculars, has given a considerable impetus to Bengali. The total state of decay the study of the Persian language has fallen into, reads a lesson to those who, judging from Calcutta experience, fancy that English should be made the language of the Courts, thus turning Courts of Justice into philological schools, and thereby mystifying every thing. The Moslems who had naturalised themselves and founded *colonies* in Bengal, made Persian for *six centuries* the language of the Courts and of business; every native of respectability was obliged to learn it, and no Hindu, ignorant of it, could occupy a seat on the bench. Yet where is Persian now? Echo answers where. If Persian has dropped after six centuries, what probability of the English succeeding? Mr. J. Shore states on this question;—"Some men have 'the effrontery to propose that to suit their own convenience, 'the rights and interests of a hundred millions of native in-'habitants, who are, against their will, subject to a handful of 'English conquerors, should be completely set at nought!" Mr. Marshman has pointed out the evils of making English

the medium of communication between the European and a few educated natives, "there is a constant disposition on the part ' of the *officers* (native) to address a Judge or Magistrate in a ' language which is not understood by the *people*, and thus to ' *exclude the people from a knowledge of what is going on.*" But enough on this subject, of which, we trust, that we have heard the last.

Lord W. Bentinck, a warm friend to English Education, did not think it beneath his notice to devote the machinery of Government to acquiring the Statistics of *Vernacular* Education. To him are we indebted for the three very able reports on *Vernacular* Education, by W. Adam, in 1835, 1836, 1838. Mr. Adam was sent by *Government* to enquire into the state of *Vernacular* Education in Bengal and Behar—as the result, basing his suggestions on accurate statistic evidence, he recommended "Government to *afford encouragement to existing schools*, thus calling forth the efforts of the natives—the preparation of improved class books—the appointment to each district of a native *examiner* of teachers and scholars, with an inspector to each five districts—a *model Vernacular School in each district*, to which promising pupils from the ordinary schools should be admissible, to be paid small *stipends* in order to enable them to continue their studies." It is now 1854, sixteen years have elapsed, nothing has been done to carry out those plans in Bengal.

Constituted as the Bengal Council of Education is, the members residing in Calcutta, a semi-Anglicized city, we could not expect them to take up with zeal Vernacular Education. Their first act in this case was to set aside Mr. Adams' plan, the only one feasible for this country. Mr. Macaulay, their President, knew nothing of the people; his knowledge of India was limited by the bounds of the Mahratta ditch. In 1842 various Meetings were held of a sub-Committee of the Council of Education, for the procuring a series of Vernacular Class Books on the Histories of Bengal, England, India, the Wonders of Nature and Art in India, an Ethnological View of the Rise and Fall of Kingdoms, a Compendium of General Geography, with a few leading statistical facts, none to exceed 250 octavo pages,—they talked, but did little. The Council have, however, in *words*, constantly held forth the necessity of "the ' acquisition by the students, of a sufficient mastery of the ' Vernacular, to enable them to communicate with facility and ' correctness, in the language of the people, the knowledge obtained by them." In 1844, when an inspector of English schools was appointed, they directed part of his duty to be "the

'extension of the means of instruction in the zillahs." Of late years the Council have been more strict in requiring a higher standard of Vernacular knowledge in the Government institutions. We give the following extract from a Circular of theirs :—

Fort William, May, 1853.

SIR,—It has long been felt that the existing Vernacular tests for Senior and Junior English Scholarships have failed to produce the results intended from them, *viz*, to encourage the pupils of the Government schools and colleges to become intimately acquainted with their own mother tongue

As the causes which tended to produce such a result, are now susceptible of being in a great measure removed, the Council have resolved, for the future, to exact a higher and more definite standard of Vernacular knowledge, than has hitherto been required

For this purpose it has been resolved that the following revised standards shall come into operation at the next Scholarship examination.

JUNIOR SCHOLARSHIPS

Every candidate for a Junior English Scholarship must exhibit an intimate acquaintance with Bengali, Urdu, Hindi or Uriya Grammar, and must be able to analyze and explain passages from such works in some one of those languages, as may from time to time be selected

He must also be able to translate into the Vernacular, such passages from English authors, as may be selected for the purpose.

SENIOR SCHOLARSHIPS

"All candidates for Senior English Scholarships will be required to translate into their Vernacular tongue, two moderately difficult passages, one in prose, the other in verse, from some classical English author, to translate a very difficult passage from the Vernacular into English, and to answer searching questions in Vernacular Etymology and Syntax, as well as exhibit an intimate acquaintance with the Grammar of his own language."

In adopting the course of study necessary to carry out the above resolution, the Council desire me to solicit the particular attention of all officers in charge of colleges or schools to the absolute necessity of insisting most carefully, as a part of the regular course of instruction, that the pupil shall never neglect the double process of translating from English into the Vernacular and from the Vernacular into English

Mr Beadon, the Secretary to the Bengal Government, has lately founded a prize of 100 Rupees annually, to be given to the best Vernacular scholar of the year, who can make the best translation from Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, or English, in prose and verse, into either Bengali, Hindi, or Uriya, and vice versâ, to be written in pure Vernacular, the object being to polish the language of the people.

In Assam, in 1844, twenty-two Vernacular Schools were established at the suggestion of the Collector of Kamrup, at a cost of seventy-nine rupees monthly! and contained 795 scholars. Difficulty was found in getting suitable teachers—no wonder, the salary being three rupees a month; the amateur superin-

tendence of Collectors being found unsatisfactory, in 1844 a *paid* inspector was appointed—Mr. Robinson, who has been ever since indefatigably laboring for their improvement. In 1845 there were fifty-five schools and 2,257 scholars, which increased in 1846 to 3,908, in 1847 to 3,778, in 1850 to 3,934, in 1851 to 4,025. In 1849 the Inspector recommended making grants of books, to encourage the masters and pupils,—but Government negatived this! The results of the experiment here have been pronounced by the Commissioner of Revenue, in 1852, to be "on the whole very satisfactory. When the Vernacular effort was begun, only a hundredth part of the common people could read our books, now they are on a level with others, not only this but the *upper* classes have been shamed into exerting themselves, they have had a wonderful effect also in encouraging the study of Bengali, which was almost unknown when those schools began." Several of the public functionaries in the Province have pledged themselves to regard those schools as nurseries for the public service, and to give certificated candidates from them the preference in public employment.

Lord Hardinge proposed, in 1845, establishing 101 schools in the thirty-seven zillahs of Bengal. It was a well meant effort on the part of one who declared in his Minute that, in the selection of candidates for Government employ, "*the man who* '*could read and write should have the preference over the one* '*who could not.*" But these 101 schools were left without any efficient *paid* superintendence, placed under the Board of Revenue, which gave plenty of rules about schools, but no machinery for executing them, no one to look efficiently after them, the *amla* now and then putting in his own creatures as teachers, &c. Besides, the Board itself was apathetic, and took no real interest in the question—those schools now number twenty-nine. Collectors, already over-burdened with official duties, were expected to supervise in a *foreign* language, a system of elementary education, which, in England, Germany, France and America, is considered deserving the *whole* attention of men who are well paid and receive a special training for it. As a matter of course, these schools have been failures. We want the Napoleon system of *concentration* in our educational warfare—press on the centre, bring your efforts to bear in compact masses;—the Hindu proverb states of a hundred loose straws, each has but the power of a straw, but if these straws be *bound together*, they acquire tenacity and strength. Select particular districts, work them thoroughly as *model ones*, pay your teachers well, hold out to the meritorious pupils prospects of employment. Professor Hayman Wilson has well stated, in 1821, in reporting on

Native Institutions:—"A Hindu literary institution, left with-
'out control, must, in the present state of native principle, be
'a nonentity." Respecting the control of local committees, he remarks, "superintendence should be essentially a duty;
'the control of a committee, whose members have no time
'to spare from other occupations, and whose studies do not
'qualify them for an intimate scrutiny of the objects of the
'institution and competency of its servants, cannot be more
'than occasionally beneficial." We would encourage local superintendence for Vernacular Schools—only not to make the weight of the building rest on it—however, the mere presence of a Government officer occasionally would be of use. The plan of study in Lord Hardinge's schools was good; Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, the History of India and Bengal, were the subjects to be taught in each school. Twenty masters, each at twenty-five rupees monthly,—composed the first grade, thirty at twenty rupees, the second grade, and fifty-one at fifteen, the third grade; the masters were all *pandits*, examined for the different grades at Fort William College, where 159 candidates presented themselves and were questioned on Bengali Composition, Geography, Elementary Astronomy, Arithmetic to the Double Rule of Three—thirty-nine passed. The schools, three in each zillah, were to be established in the most populous towns which the Collector or Deputy Collector might select, the scholars to pay monthly fees, and a school-house to be built, but no prospects of temporal advancement were held out to proficient pupils in those schools; while valuable situations were the reward of attending *English* schools, the student of the *Bengali* saw only a *cul de sac*,—in a country like Bengal he was expected to pursue "knowledge for knowledge's sake!" Lord Hardinge's resolution of 1844 has proved a dead letter as far as Bengali is concerned—it is now 1854! nothing has been done in Bengal to carry it out as respects the masses—however, in the North Western Provinces, in August, 1852, a Government order was issued in its spirit requiring a knowledge of reading and writing for all Government servants. Mr. Lodge, the Government Inspector, who *knew nothing of Bengali*, reported on those schools, and was even requested to draw up a scheme of school books for them—he certainly had not "the discreet exercise of control."

In 1838 the managers of the Hindu College turned their attention to the establishment of a Vernacular School, "con-
'ducted on a better system than the common Vernacular
'schools, and also to pave the way for a system of national
'education, to instruct Hindus thus in literature and science,
'through the medium of the Bengali language, to comprehend

'a system of political economy, and moral philosophy, in five years." In April, 1841, it opened, the study of Geometry was introduced, and lectures on Ethics were delivered. But little encouragement was given by the authorities, though the managers recommended that "five free admissions to the Hindu 'College should be given as prizes to the most successful stu-'dents," and that the rules of the Hindu College, which allowed admission to no student after he was eight years of age, should be relaxed in favour of the pupils who had gone through a five years' course of study in the patshálá—but both proposals were negatived,—still the school numbers 200 pupils, who *pay eight annas each*, and that for *Vernacular* education. It will be re-modelled, we believe, shortly, and affords a splendid field for a practising school in connection with a training school for teachers.

Lord William Bentinck won high honors by his abolition of *Sati*, but widow-burning has not inflicted one-fiftieth of the evils on this country, which is now being inflicted by medical quacks and empirics, 'legalized murderers;'—this evil cannot be remedied by any legal enactments, nor by students trained up in the English department of the Medical College, who charge four rupees a visit (a man and his wife, and two children live well in a village on five rupees monthly.) A class of pupils taught through Urdu had been established in 1839, having 100 scholarships, and has supplied in a satisfactory manner native doctors to the army. To Lord Dalhousie's Government are the peasantry of Bengal, forty millions, indebted for the founding of fifty Government scholarships, each of five rupees monthly, in the Medical College, for a class of pupils to be instructed through the Bengali language, many of whom might be attached to the different thannas. In this class we have frequently heard with pleasure lectures in Bengali, delivered on anatomy, by Madhu Sudhan Gupta, the students taking notes; we have witnessed them dissecting with their Bengali MSS. notes before them, we have heard lectures also on Materia Medica delivered. The students attend the clinical lectures in the Medical College hospital. It is interesting to trace the rise of this class. In 1842-43 Dr. Mouat, the late able Secretary of the Council of Education, circulated a minute stating, that on the ground of the expense of supplying Sub-Assistant Surgeons to the millions of Bengal, it was necessary to have a class trained through the Bengali language, "men who would be the only checks on the common vendors of poisons:" to consist of one hundred persons on scholarships of five rupees monthly, trained by two professors selected from

the passed students : when their studies were completed, to be located at their own choice at thannas, "thus increasing tenfold 'the usefulness of the Medical College, by bringing the blessings of European medicine to the hearths and homes of the 'opprest in remote stations, where Government dispensaries 'could not be established, and thus forming a special medical police." Ram Komal Sen, noted for his Oriental scholarship, proposed in 1844, 1,000 rupees as a prize for the best translation, into Bengali, of a treatise on Anatomy, Materia Medica, and the treatment of the principal diseases prevalent in India. The Council of Education cordially agreed with the plan. In his proposal the Babu stated, instruction must be given through the Vernacular, the natives studying through an English medium, 'have neither time nor disposition, nor means to communicate to their countrymen the knowledge they possess. No *foreign* science or art can be *effectually* introduced into any country, unless means are effectually adopted for communicating them through the medium of the language of the country." Previous to this, however, in 1828, Dr. Tytler was appointed Anatomical lecturer in the Sanskrit College, with a pandit assistant, the students not only handled the bones of the human skeleton without reluctance, but in some instances themselves performed the dissection of the softer parts of animals—"an 'hospital was proposed to be connected with it, as also that the 'passed pupils should be attached to jails." A Vernacular Medical school of thirty students had previously existed under Dr. Jameson, a knowledge of Hindustani was required, they received eight rupees monthly during their course of three years' study, and were afterwards posted to civil or military employ, on salaries of twenty or thirty rupees monthly, with pensions : instruction through Hindustani was given on Anatomy, Materia Medica, and Clinical subjects. Dr. Breton, another professor, published various Urdu works on Medical subjects. Previous to 1807, from fifty to one hundred native doctors used to attend the native hospital to study the practice there, and introduce it among their countrymen—one of them got so rich as to drive in his carriage.

To a superior class of Vernacular schools, however, must we look for a class of candidates, "with enlightened minds, accustomed to exercise their intellectual powers, and familiar with habits of accurate observation, possessed of such a degree of literary acquirement as may secure the respect of those with whom they are to associate in the exercise of their profession. The learning of its medical profession is afoot in the tripod of a country's erudition." Dr. Jackson, in his

memorial to the Governor-General on the Bengali medical class, proposed that these scholarships should be held out as prizes to the Vernacular schools, that after a given period no person should be a candidate, who had not received a training in some Vernacular school, and had not obtained a certificate of proficiency.

On July the 3rd, 1847, a school, supported by Government, began under Dr. McClelland's auspices in the Botanic Gardens which, though of humble pretensions, may be of vast consequence in the country—an initiatory school for teaching the sons of malis, giving them a general education for six hours, while they work in the garden five hours daily—thirty-two boys learn Bengali and twelve the elements of English. There are a dozen boys studying the nomenclature of plants, and their systematic arrangement according to the natural orders, three of them can point out the natural order of almost any plant in the garden. It is in fact an industrial school; twenty-five boys receive one rupee twelve annas monthly for working in the garden out of school hours. A Guru Mohashay is paid six rupees, and an English teacher twelve. We hope to see this excellent institution enlarged, and superior teachers attached to it, so that it might be a model agricultural school, on the plan of that of Vehrlis, in Switzerland.

Adjacent to this school, the Agri-Horticultural Society founded in 1847, another school for educating the sons of malis in Bengali reading and writing; the boys are allowed for working from two rupees to one rupee four annas monthly.

Why should we not have, in connection with our Central Vernacular schools, malis draughted from those schools, who might instruct boys in the practical parts of botany? Even Ireland has seventeen Model Agricultural Schools and nineteen ordinary ones, besides nineteen Industrial Schools—and though in 1805 the Marquis of Wellesley publicly recommended an Agricultural School being formed at Barrackpur, nothing has been done. The North-west has its Rurki—Bengal has nothing.

We shall now notice some signs of the times favorable for Vernacular Education. It is a fact that since the commencement of this century, 1,400 different works have been published in Bengali, many of them containing able disquisitions on *medicine, philosophy, law, metaphysics*, and *religion*—a number of these have gone through twenty or thirty editions, not less than one million and a half of copies of these works have been published and *sold*,—this shows there is a certain reading public—though many of these books are not calculated to improve the mind or morals. The

only remedy for this is the creation of a purer taste by schools and the production of a healthy Vernacular literature, on the plan of the Vernacular Literature Committee, which has given us *Robinson Crusoe, the Life of Clive,* and *of Rajá Prutápaditya, Lamb's Tales, Selections* from the native press, and an excellent illustrated Magazine. It is a fact that the language has been found quite adequate "to express the subtleties of law and philosophy, and to impart the enthusiasm of poetry,"—that 30,000 Bengali books issue annually from the Calcutta presses —fifty *new* ones were published in 1852. Even the Musalmans have published thirty books in a dialect half Bengali, half Urdu—1,00,000 Bengali Almanacks are sold annually in Calcutta. —The recent publication of a Bengali Dictionary, the *Shabdámbudhí,* by a native, containing 36,000 words, shows the progress and copiousness of the language. The Bengali language, fifty years ago was as crude as the Italian before *Dante's* time—but "Dante rose"—and a *single* man by a *single* work, the *Divine Comedie,* shewed that his country's language was capable of expressing the most lofty and abstract ideas—what may we not expect in Bengal?

All this has been done, notwithstanding the downright apathy of the Government towards the language, though we are glad to see an improved tone is rising up on this point, and that the Honorable C. H. Cameron, in his plan for a Calcutta University, states "that every encouragement which the Government 'can give, would be given to the production of original works 'in the native languages." Lord Hastings, when he had subdued the Mahrattas, fostered the Bengali press in 1817, but since that it has never enjoyed the smiles of the authorities.

To any one who appreciates the close connection between Sanskrit and the Bengali,—how the latter, like other languages used by a hundred millions in India, derives all its expressiveness and technical terminology from the former, (nine-tenths of the Bengali is Sanskrit)—the reform in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, whose students are drafted from various zillahs in Bengal, cannot be a matter of indifference. Though founded in 1824, this college, except for a short time when Professor Wilson introduced the plan of translations, has not, until lately, been made a means for enlightening the masses. Its early plans contemplated the study of English, medical science and law. Though the College was established in Lord Amherst's days, yet to Ishwar Chandra, the present able Principal, animated by the spirit of a Bacon and a Bopp, are we indebted for making the institution, besides the mental training given in it by Sans-

krit, a philological one, a royal academy for Bengali, a fount for purity of style, a training school for able philological teachers. He has taken the noble Sanskrit away from being the weapon of superstition and Brahminical enthralment, to be the lever for giving dignity to the language of the masses. What Whateley has done for popularizing Logic, or Socrates Philosophy, Ishwar Chandra has done for facilitating the study of Sanskrit Grammar—rendering a study hitherto so abstruse as easy as Greek. His grammar and easy reading lessons in Sanskrit are now the class books in various English schools, where the pupils learn the *Bengali Sádhu Bháshá* by his system,—and Professor Wilson's statement is verified, that a native can be taught Sanskrit in three or four years. Instead of youths being "four or five years engaged on the 'study of Sanskrit Grammar, and not advanced beyond its 'simplest rudiments," they, after three months' study of the declensions and conjugations, begin reading simple Sanskrit sentences, and then study the *Belles Lettres* and poetic works, thus liberalising the mind. For an account of Ishwar's improved system, see Report of the Committee of Public Instruction for 1852. His elementary Sanskrit Grammar and Reader, have been introduced into the course of study of the Chief Missionary Institutions in Calcutta, and into various Mofussil Schools, as being the best means of grounding pupils thoroughly in the *Bengali* idiom and in *Etymology*, and in making them familiar with technical terms. The *Mugdabodha* is being gradually displaced by the natives *themselves*. Ishwar's name will go down to posterity with those of Wilkinson of Sehore, and of Dr. Ballantyne who has made Bacon intelligible to the pandits of Benares, —men who have done so much for enlisting the learned and influential classes of this country in a course of diffusing enlightened ideas.

The employment of pandits for the systematic teaching of Bengali to the youths in the Parental, St Paul's, the Martiniere and Mr. Montague's educational seminaries, for European and East Indian youths—its introduction also into the European Orphan Asylum, the Normal School, and other schools for females,—the increased strictness of the examinations in Fort William College,—the late excellent rules for the examination of Civilians and Military men in the Vernaculars, are full of hope as increasing the number of Europeans who will take an interest in the Vernaculars. Europeans, hitherto, have generally despised Oriental studies, through not knowing any thing about them,—but the orders of Government requiring Col-

lectors and Magistrates to itinerate in their districts, will make the wants and language of the people better known. We trust that Government may soon require a certain Vernacular qualification from principals and head masters of Colleges,—without this they will never be able to exercise an efficient superintendance over the lower classes in a school. These classes really form the base on which you have to erect your superstructure,—native lads will often give long definitions of a word in English, not knowing the proper meaning of the word. We have known a lad give the correct meaning of the word *desert*, and yet when translating the sentence, "in the desert of Arabia there are no trees," translating desert by *jungal*, and of another rendering the *imposing* rocks of Arabia by *prabanchak*—roguish.

We have seen a remarkable improvement in the mode of teaching Bengali carried on in the Hindu College by Babu Ram Chandra Mittra, the Vernacular Professor. He aims at making the pupils translate idiomatically and closely passages from English works of a didactic, narrative, or pathetic class; he then corrects and points out their errors to the class, he trains them to turn common Bengali expressions into elegant ones, and notices all the parallel passages to an English word, phrase or sentence, which they meet with while translating, as well as their appropriate meanings in the Bengali language,—thus making the students familiar with elegant and idiomatic expressions in the English and Vernacular languages simultaneously; this system has been highly approved of by several good Bengali scholars.

Strenuous and persevering efforts have long been made to circulate Christian truth among the natives, by preaching, by circulating the Scriptures and Tracts in the Vernacular. The Calcutta Bible Society circulated of Bengali Scriptures, in whole or part, in 1853, 25,208 copies, and since 1811, 779,280 copies, besides the Baptists have circulated nearly half a million copies; in whole or in part: in all more than a million! We would only remark on this point, "the soil requires dressing for the seed." And to use the language of Burke, "The Bible is a collection 'of an infinite variety of cosmogony, theology, history, prophecy, 'psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, ethics, carried 'through different books by different authors." Had Vernacular schools opened the mind, imparted a taste for reading, given a better acquaintance with reading, general knowledge, geography and ancient history, "rendering certain terms familiar, which, 'on account of their strangeness, always prove repulsive to the 'adult or wholly uneducated, when addressed directly on the 'solemn truths of religion," they surely would have been

pioneers of religion and "the most substantial fulcrum on which the Christian lever can be brought to work,"—and how much more successful might the labours of Missionaries and Tract distributors have been. The Bishop of London has shewn in his various publications, the value of general knowledge in explaining Scripture.—That the Bible is not to operate as a mere *mantra* or charm, independent of the use of our faculties.—Schools are more or less calculated to prepare an audience for the preacher, "the intellect and moral sense are roused from their torpor." The Serampore Missionaries, who had done so much for Bible circulation, said, in 1817, "without native *schools* the Scriptures will remain in a great 'degree unread, and of course inefficient." How can we expect, in ordinary cases, "to rouse the mind brutalized by the rudest forms of labor, from its physical torpor to the consciousness of another life?" In Bengal it is as much ignorance, as priestcraft, which seals the word of God to the people. The peasant's title to the Christian inheritance is in a record which he ought to read intelligently.

The prospect of obtaining situations is what has given of late years, the great stimulus to English education here: "knowledge is merely sought as a means of livelihood," must be the keystone of the arch of Vernacular education also. According to the marketable value of knowledge will be the investment of capital and labour—subsequently "the motive will improve as education advances." The Prussian and French Governments use the same spur. Mr. Marshman in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, *Sixth Report, p.* 35, states on this subject:—

> The number of situations which the Government of Bengal and Behar has at its disposal, amounts to no fewer than 19,000 of the value of from five to thirty rupees a month: which would be exceedingly coveted by that class of men who are likely to send their children to the Vernacular schools. What I would propose, therefore, is, that those situations should be held out as *prizes* to the most advanced students in those Vernacular schools, upon the report of the inspector employed by the Government. This would produce a double advantage. It would induce a very large body of the Natives, in fact all men above the labouring classes, to send their children to our schools to receive a good education, and at the same time give the Government a body *of superior men* for all the inferior offices in the public service.

Now in Bengal and Behar we have 1,54,613 chowkedars, on three rupees a month each, 6,918 burkundazes, at four, 1,747 paharidars at four, 608 jamidars at eight, 474 mohurrirs at 7-8, and 445 darogahs at seventy each.

The Bombay Government, in 1852, published a notification that the peon who can read and write is to get the preference over the one who cannot—a similar one came out in the Agra Presidency, but in Bengal no step has been taken in this respect, though in the Agra Presidency chuprassis, burkandazes and all the officials of Government are required to pass an examination in reading, writing, and accounts.

We hold with Aristotle, that as it is the interest of the state to check crime, and that as prevention is better than cure, so the Magistrate should see that children are educated; but it should be on the principle of "help them to help themselves," —this is particularly necessary in Bengal, where the natives are so disposed to leave every thing in the hands of Government, like creeping plants they love to lean on a parent stem. Hence we think that, after the English model, the Government should limit itself principally to appointing a well-paid staff of examiners, making grants to schools by way of help, (not to *supersede* private exertion) and having here and there *model* schools. We know various cases of Indigo-planters and others who, if aid were granted by the State, would be glad to establish Vernacular Schools, to whom, "in their frequent journies through 'the villages, inhabited by their cultivators, with the view of 'examining the state of their crops, a glance at the human 'plants advancing in knowledge would form a source of de-'lightful amusement."

There is however a party in England who think, that while the Government should be the jailor, hangman, policeman, doctor of the people, it should do nothing for their education. Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth, in his work on education, has shewn how this *ultra-voluntaryism* has failed in England.

The Natives value education. To impart knowledge to the young is esteemed an act of *religious merit*—in many cases teachers pay the pupils. Mr. Adam has given in his returns the number of children receiving *domestic* instruction as one-third of the community. He and others have calculated that there are in Bengal and Behar, 100,000 Vernacular Schools, supported by natives.

Improvement, and not *mere innovation*, is the motto of the North Western Provinces; let us follow this; as also the policy of the Agri-Horticultural Society of Calcutta. They wished to improve Native Agriculture, as one means to this they have periodical distributions of prizes for the common Mali, who is to Horticulture as the *Guru Mohashay* is to a school. At a late distribution of prizes held in the plain before the Fort we

saw 2,500 spectators present, and prizes in money, &c., were distributed to seventy malis, of whom there were 200 in attendance. This system has been acted on since 1830. 150 malis are annually rewarded in this way, and 650 Rs. given in prizes and medals.

But where are teachers to come from? Look at the number of young men that have left our English schools and are seeking for employment, content with a trifle; many of them would answer as teachers of Geography, and History; and in fact, it would do our native teachers of English schools much service were they to commence their pedagogic career as teachers in Vernacular Schools. We know cases where this class of teachers are employed part of the day in an English and part in a Vernacular school, and it works well.

We would employ the Guru-Mahashay for the teaching of arithmetic. The Guru Mahashay is a fac-simile on Indian ground of the Irish Hedge School-master. Fees are regulated by the progress of the student; we would pay him so much a head for the boys that can write by dictation, to encourage him "rather by premiums offered than by a monthly salary." Dr. Bell drew some of the best parts of his system from this said Guru Mohashay system, such as monitors, simultaneous answering, learning the letters by writing them, chanting. The Guru Mohashay has got local influence, the parents have more confidence in him than they would have in a stranger, though a superior teacher.

But a training school for Vernacular teachers is required in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, which will give as superior an education in literature through Bengali as is done in the Medical College in *Medical* matters, where lectures in Bengali are delivered on *Anatomy, Materia Medica, Surgery, the Practice of Medicine*, to fifty students, who all take notes in Bengali. There were 300 candidates for admission to this class on its opening. By founding scholarships for superior lads in model Mofussil schools, we can get a class of pupil teachers gradually.

In the Kishnaghur district a Vernacular training school for teachers, in connection with missions, has been in operation for the last two years. Instruction is conveyed by lectures on the following secular subjects, the students taking notes—Physical Geography, Ancient History, Histories of Greece and Rome, Sanskrit Reading, and Bengali Composition.

The practical suggestions we would offer, as the result of the previous remarks, are—still allowing a wide margin for "local

experience," leaving the choice of means at the disposal of the agent to hold him responsible for the end.

(1.) Take the plan in the North Western Provinces as the model, at the same there should be "elasticity in the application of general rules," according as circumstances suggest, and suited to an experimental system.

(2.) The whole management should be not under "the vacillating councils of a fluctuating Committee," with its Calcutta Associations and local prejudices, but, as in the North Western Provinces under the *Lieut.-Governor*, who, from his official position, would be acquainted with the wants and state of the Mofussil, and by his moving about, could avail himself of the experience of others, and particularly of Vernacular Inspectors.

(3.) In connexion with him, as in the North Western Provinces, a *Visitor General*, on a salary of 1,200 rupees a month, a man of position in society, whose recommendation and correspondence with Mofussil authorities would carry weight, a man of enthusiasm, not discouraged by difficulties, one who has faith in the ultimate triumph of *popular* education. His duties would be inspecting schools in the Mofussil, correspondence with teachers and the friends of popular educations. The history of the Madressa and other Government institutions shows the absolute necessity of a vigilant, active *European* superintendance. It is of no use making rules, unless we see them acted on—local Committees have proved decided failures. Much of the success of Vernacular education in the North West Provinces, we attribute to the appointment of Mr. Reed, as Visitor General, who, by his position in society, has given dignity to the cause of popular enlightenment; his three reports shew how zealously he has acted. The late Hon'ble J. Thomason remarks thus of his appointment, "but it is also evident that his 'success has been greatly owing to the position he occupied in 'the service. This greatly promoted his influence with the peo- 'ple with the Native officials and with his brother officers in 'charge of districts, this can be done by no one with so much 'effect as by a Civilian who is on habits of intimate friendship 'with those of his own service, and to whom all natives look up 'as to one who at some future day may exercise an immediate 'influence over their prospects and fortunes." "A Visitor General 'proceeding to a native school, would be regarded as a kind- 'ness and an honor, as *a connecting link which brings the 'pupils* in contact with the Government of the country, and 'elevates them in the consideration of their countrymen."

(4.) Under the Visitor General Sub-Inspectors, one for each

of the zillahs—to visit every school which receives Government aid at least twice a year, to carry out the instructions given by Government, to hold examinations of candidates for certificates to entitle them to be registered for public employment, to distribute prizes to the most deserving teachers. The instructions given to the pergunnah visitors in the North Western Provinces, are well adapted to the Lower Provinces.—See *Thornton's Statistics, pp.* 44, 45.

(5.) *Five zillahs*, say the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, Hugli, Nuddea, Midnapur, Burdwan, which have a population of five millions, to be selected first, the primary object should be rather "intensive effort than extensive." In the North Western Provinces, eight districts were selected; when the experiment was successful, it was extended to the *whole* of the North Western Provinces. A few districts *well worked*, regarding quality more than quantity, would serve as *model* districts. At the same time, in particular cases, where there is a guarantee of *efficient superintendance*, aid might be extended to other districts. Too much must not be attempted at first, "restricting to a *nar-* 'rower sphere and a more *select* number, with the view of ulti- 'mately and more speedily reaching the *entire* mass, through the 'instrumentality of those awakened and enlightened." *(Dr. Duff.)*

(6.) *Grants in aid.* Giving help to all schools, in *secular* education, has been ably advocated by Messrs. Marshman, Duff, Halliday, Trevelyan. Thomason's principle was, "the 'Government does not intend to establish schools of its 'own, but intends to help the people in establishing schools '*for themselves.*" We have 100,000 Vernacular schools in Bengal. Besides improving these, there ought to be in central places model schools like the Tehsildar schools of the North Western Provinces, established by Government, "to 'set an example of improved modes of teaching and improved 'books, so as eventually to supersede the common Guru 'Mohashay ones."

(7.) *A* certain number of the following *subjects* to be taught in schools applying for aid. Writing by Dictation,—Mental Arithmetic which trains to a habit of reasoning and to precision of thought, rendering the peasant less a prey to fraud—Natural History,—Lessons on objects,—the History of Bengal, with the map—Map copying,—Physical Geography,—Grammar and Etymology, and Ethics. Each school required to employ a pandit for two days a week at least, and a teacher of a class superior to the Guru Mohashay, capable of teaching Mensuration and Physical Geography.

(8.) *Prospects* in the spirit of Lord Hardinge's resolution,

that the man who can read or write should get the preference to one who cannot, to be held out to promising pupils persevering in the studies—such as promotion to the Bengali Medical class, Calcutta, where Government has founded fifty scholarships of the monthly value of five rupees each, tenable for three years, or to be trained as superior agriculturists in the Botanical Gardens, with the prospect of receiving salaries ranging from eight to thirty rupees,—but above all, that the 19,000 situations ranging from five to thirty rupees monthly, at the disposal of the Government of Bengal, might be held out as prizes "Learning for learning's sake' is not the rule in England, why should we expect it to be so in India? If we wish to have education here like the light of heaven distributed among all, 'popular education should be the principal cog wheel in the 'machinery of the state" Government patronage should be extended to deserving pupils of the schools

(9) *A Vernacular Library* to be connected with each school—to cherish a taste for reading among teachers, and boys books might be lent from it, to senior pupils, as exercises in analysis and affording materials for essays These books might be lent to persons in the neighbourhood as an amusement for leisure hours By indenting for a copy of every useful Vernacular work that issues from the Calcutta press a good supply would soon be obtained In the North Western Provinces, Government subscribe for a number of copies of every valuable Vernacular book, and put it on their published lists, so as to give it a wider circulation, and encourage private enterprise Periodicals also and a Newspaper like the *Satya Pradip* might be taken in *Schools* give the appetite, but *libraries* must supply a healthy food Without mental food the mind sinks into a state of stagnation Vernacular Libraries have been established by the Bombay Council of Education in the chief towns in the interior—we want the fostering of a domestic literature, "cheap, instructive and interesting, 'adapted both to the pecuniary means and mental con-'stitution of the people' The people of Nimai, in 1848, subscribed 1,397 rupees for the purchase of Vernacular books for libraries Every model school might carry out a recommendation of Dr Mouat's, "to have a *garden* so arranged as to exhibit 'the classification of plants—the students might study it as a 'department of Natural Science, and even in lectures on the 'structure, economical uses, mode of growth, development and 'cultivation of plants. The illustrations are always at hand, 'there is nothing in them offensive to native tastes or habits,

'and they are clothed with a perpetual charm of poetic interest 'that has not been lost upon the classic writers of the East."

(10.) *Scholarships* in connection with a certain number of superior schools, to keep boys longer at school, so that "the living principle taught the boy at school, shall be kept alive in the breast of the man." These scholarships would enable superior pupils drafted from the common schools, as from a kind of nursery, to lay a deeper foundation of knowledge, and thus create a thirst for knowledge, and would give us a superior class of native functionaries and teachers—students for the Sanscrit College—medical students—employés in the courts, &c. Five rupees a month would enable them "to protract their course of study, 'and also to render their own attainments subservient to the 'instruction of the lower classes of the students." The Rev. T. Thomason, father of the late Lieut.-Governor, proposed to Government the Vernacular scholarship plan as early as 1824, and Mr. W. B. Bayley, in the same year also recommended "such an 'allowance to be granted to the cleverest boys, as might induce 'them to pursue their studies to a later age than they can now 'be expected to do." Length and variety of study is absolutely necessary to quicken and expand the mind: if 52,000 rupees have been annually given by Government in Bengal since 1839 for English scholarships in their colleges, surely some encouragement ought to be given to the Vernacular.

ART. II.—*The Indian Agricultural Miscellany, published under the superintendence of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India. Vol. I., Parts* 1, 2 *and* 3.

"THE Agricultural Society of India" was established in this city on the 14th September, 1820. It was resolved at the same time, that "the promotion of Horticulture be considered a branch of its main object" The prospectus, from the pen of Dr. Carey, the venerable founder, which will be found in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the Society, fully details its object, as being the general amelioration of the agricultural condition of India. And the means recommended are, 1st, collecting information on the innumerable subjects connected with the agriculture of the different parts of the country. 2nd, enhancing the value of the land by improved modes of culture, manures, rotation of crops, draining, embankments, &c. 3rd, the introduction of new and useful plants. 4th, the improvement of the implements of husbandry. 5th, improving live-stock. 6th, bringing waste lands into a state of cultivation, &c.

It does not appear that the maintenance of a farm or garden, for the purpose of making experiments on an extensive scale, was contemplated by the founder—and the reasons given by him against such maintenance were forcibly repeated by Mr. Leycester, the first President, in his Introductory Discourse delivered in 1824, which will also be found in the same volume of the *Transactions*. Speaking of the inability of the Society to maintain such an Institution, he says—"further, were it possible, still its utility would be doubtful, as no one situation could command all the advantages of varied soil, situation, elevation, and many other things necessary to the successful cultivation of all the different productions of Indian husbandry."

It is quite clear that the policy has been to make the Society the depository of "the information and experience of a body 'of men engaged in the same pursuit, and thereby put every 'individual in possession of the sum total acquired by them 'all."

The Society has been in existence for upwards of thirty-two years, and has published eight volumes of the *Transactions*, and nearly eight volumes of the *Journal*, the translation of the first two volumes of the *Transactions* into Bengali, and three parts of the work under review.

The *Transactions* and *Journal* contain a mass of varied information, on subjects connected with the Agriculture, Horticul-

ture and Floriculture of this country It is true that information on several subjects is not sufficiently practical, and is moreover imperfect, but it will, nevertheless, be found not altogether without value in the prosecution of enquiry There is, on the other hand, "a total of the present ideas, the experiments, 'the general practice, and the proposed plans of a great number 'of individuals, combined, indeed, with a history of errors, mis-'takes and failures, which, however injurious to the individuals 'who make them, are of the utmost advantage to the So-'ciety"

Dr Royle observes, that "the skill required for the culture, 'either of indigenous or exotic plants in India, may be dis-'tinguished into two kinds '—

1 "A practical knowledge of the details of culture in general, or of that peculiar to particular plants"

2 "A knowledge of the principles which are applicable to all, and which necessarily influence all results"

Those who will refer to the proceedings of the Society will find that it has to some extent contributed to the stock of such knowledge

It is satisfactory to find that the Society has received cordial co operation from the Government, and its interesting labors have been in a great measure stimulated by this fortunate circumstance, but it is nevertheless true that it presents a large mass of facts, which would never have been ascertained, and experiments which perhaps would to this day have been unperformed, had it not been in existence

There are several staple articles which have engaged the attention of the Society

Dr Royle's work on the culture and commerce of cotton in India, is a comprehensive record of the "measures adopted at 'different periods to improve the culture of cotton in India" From the experiments which have been made in different parts of the country it is evident that the improvement of that article is not hopeless, when the expense of its cultivation in India is six to nine Rs against sixty Rupees an acre in America—when "there is abundance of land' in the former country "fitted for cotton culture, and it might beneficially enter 'into the rotation series without displacing an acre now em-'ployed in growing food" Is there not ample reason for supposing that a more practical knowledge of the subject on the part of the people would increase the consumption of the article in the English market? Even Bengal, which is generally considered inferior to other parts of India for producing good cotton, ought not to be pronounced incapable of coming off satisfactorily from the ordeal The failure of the experiment by the

Society at Akra ought not to be used as an argument against this inference, as in the Report submitted by the Committee it has been ascribed to accidental causes—on the contrary the opinion expressed by Mr Patrick of the Fort Gloucester Cotton Mills on a portion of the cotton grown on the Akra farm, and the reports on the experiments of Mr Piddington from Bourbon seed, and of Dr Hufnagle from the upland Georgia seed grown at Cossipore, fully support the inference we have drawn *

An intelligent writer in the *Times* of November, 1845, says, "on the moist and rich parts of Bengal, the American plants 'run too much into leaf This might be obviated by variation 'in culture, but the insects are unfortunately also very destruc-'tive to the American cotton But even there, some varieties of 'cotton, either indigenous or exotic, may be found suitable to the 'soil and climate' Mr Turner, President of the Commercial Association of Manchester, says —'you ask what is the Court to 'do as regards those Districts in which American plant will not 'thrive? My answer is, encourage the growth of the leaf cotton 'that *will* grow, induce the natives to pick it carefully, &c &c. 'Such cotton, though not equal to what I expect will yet be grown 'in India from American seed, will always be saleable and useful 'to the manufacturers of the country at its fair relative value 'compared with other cotton —*Chapman's Cotton and Commerce of India, page* 3

In the North Western Provinces of India, which produce very fair native cotton, the culture of the American cotton failed, "apparently owing to two very dry seasons, a drawback which the completion of the Doab canal has since removed The experiments in the Madras Presidency, and in Central India, have been more successful Dr Wight, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee (*4th Report*, p 64), says that "the cultivation of the exotic cotton is a perfectly feasible and profitable occupation of capital in India, and that 'it is more profitable for the natives to grow American than native cotton The increase in the export of the East India cotton to the English market is a proof of its more extended cultivation

In 1849 the exports were...	1,82 079	Bales
In 1850	3,09,168	„
Increase.....	1,27,089	„

It is stated that cotton from Bundlecund, Broach, Candeish, Dharwar, Coimbatore, Tinnevelly, Hyderabad and Nagpore can be landed in Liverpool with some profit at about 3½*d* a pound The cotton grown from American seed in Dharwar,

* Transactions, Vol VI, p 109 to 119

Belgaum, Candeish, Coimbatore and Tinnevelly "has been highly valued by manufacturers, as well fitted for their purposes," and *frequently sold from 6d. to 7½d.* a pound. At one of the recent Meetings of the Society some Nagpoor cotton was laid on the table; and it was of so good quality that a mercantile member is said to have expressed his readiness to buy several hundred tons of it if procurable.

The great objection to the native cotton is its shorter staple, and the unclean manner in which it is grown and picked. American saw-gins have been introduced into the country to remedy the defects. Both the Government and Society have been endeavouring for some time to substitute an improved Cotton-cleaning Machine, which should be "perfect in its action 'in separating Cotton Wool from the seed, and possess such qua-'lities of expedition, simplicity and comparative cheapness, as 'to render it likely to come into practical use." The premium of 5,000 Rs. so liberally offered by Government, and the Society's gold medals, have been awarded to the gins exhibited by Messrs. Carver and Co., and Messrs. Bates, Hyde and Co. But neither of these gins is likely to supersede the simple and cheap *charka*, as the Cottage Machine of the rural population. They will however be of use to cleaning establishments that may be formed on an extensive scale in central situations.*

The attention of the Society has also been directed to the cultivation of the superior kinds of Sugar-cane. They were in the first instance grown in the Society's Nursery; and since 1838 more than 220,000 canes have been distributed to various parts of the country. Dr. Royle says "a European house, however, 'employed in the culture and manufacture of sugar, and in the 'distilling of rum in the North West of India, writes that they 'found the China cane to be superior to that introduced from 'the Isle of Bourbon, and now spread over India under the name 'of the Otaheite cane." In "the statistics of Sugar," published in 1848, the following statement is made; "it is an as-'certained fact that the cane cultivation in Lower Bengal is fast 'improving from the Otaheite (known by the natives as Bombay) 'cane, which has been of late years substituted both for the sake 'of quality and yield." It is difficult to ascertain to what extent the Society has been instrumental in the increased cultivation of the better kinds of cane. Private enterprise, as well as the increasing demand for the article in the English market, have no doubt mainly led to the more extended cultivation of Sugar-

* Since the above was written, we have seen Mackay's Western India, containing a highly interesting introduction from the pen of Mr. T. Bazely, President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in which he clearly shows the capability of India to compete with America in the production of cotton.

cane in India* But it cannot at the same time be denied that such extensive distribution of the cuttings for a number of years by the Society has stimulated and aided the improvement of the produce.

In 1836 Mr T Williamson reported favorably on the introduction of Otaheite Sugar-cane in the Deccan Dr Stevenson bore similar testimony as regards Lucknow Captain W H. Sleeman, who appears to have taken great interest in the distribution of this Cane throughout the Saugor and Nerbudda territories and other parts, also reported on the subject, and to "sugar of excellent quality" being made in the Nerbudda valley.† The China cane grew successfully in Buxar and the Doab

In volume VI of the *Journal* of the Society, there is a practical paper on the subject, written by its late gardener, which may be recommended to those who wish to be informed on the mode of growing the different kinds of cane. The paper would have been more complete if it had given the *comparative quantities* of saccharine matter which they yield, and thus established the order of superiority, which, we believe, is now given to the Otaheite cane

The eighth volume of the Society's *Journal* contains an article on the drying process of the Sugar-cane, from the pen of Mr. Henley—an enquiring and practical member of the Society. As the cultivation of the Beet root Sugar has extraordinarily increased on the Continent, and it is grown at a moderate cost, the special attention of the Indian Agricultural Community ought to be directed to the consideration of the communication in question. It would tell powerfully on the increased growth and export of the Indian Cane-Sugar, if by the application of the drying process it could be exported at a lower price, so as to compete with the Beet-root Sugar.

With regard to fibrous materials, the Museum of the Society has been enriched with various specimens, and the information collected on the subject is really of a valuable nature. Dr. Roxburgh, in his interesting work, states, that besides hemp and flax, the *malvacae* tribe abounds in trees which afford materials "fit for cloth, paper and cordage" A variety of fibrous specimens have since been brought to the notice of the Society, from various parts of the country. The Deyra hemp,

* The number of biggahs cultivated with cane in Bengal and N W Provinces according to the return published in 1848, is 20,02,609
Ditto Madras 84,947
Ditto Bombay 77,346
26,64,902 biggahs.

† Transactions, Vol. III

which interested Lord Auckland, was submitted to the Society in 1842, and was pronounced by its judges to be "equal in color, clearness, length and strength to the best Russian."* The stinging nettle, known "throughout the lower and centre ranges 'of the Himalaya by the names of *babar*, or *allow* or *bichoo*, 'has been favorably noticed by Captain Rainey, on account of its 'declared resistance to injury from immersion in water."† The introduction of Mauritius *pandanus vacoa* was recommended by Mr. Henley, but it was thought that certain species of pandanus "were commonly employed in Burmah and the Straits for 'matting, and if pandanus were to supersede jute, it would 'rather be from the pandanus of Burmah than from Mauritius." Mr. T. Tonnochy, Deputy Collector of Bolundshahar, drew public attention to the aloe. He was instrumental in its extensive cultivation in Bolundshahar, and its fibre was subservient to various economic purposes, viz, setringies, cordage, &c

Mr Sconce, while at Chittagong, took warm interest in the development of its agricultural resources. The hemp and flax prepared there under his superintendence were, on the whole, good. Mr. Daneef, a practical Belgian farmer, to whom the samples were submitted, reported as follows: "After the favo-'rable report I have given on these samples, it is almost needless 'for me to add, that I consider the soil and climate of Chitta-'gong to be admirably adapted for the growth of hemp and flax, 'and particularly for the former. All that appears to be wanted, 'is a proper and cheap mode of preparation, such as I have 'attempted to describe. If this is followed out, I think these 'two staples, especially hemp, are likely to prove a great source 'of profit to parties embarking in their culture."‡ Mr. Daneef has also informed the Society, from his own practical experiment, "of the means at our disposal, in this country, which 'can readily be made available for the production of flax 'and its seed."§ The Report of the Flax Committee, appointed by the Society, contains good suggestions, but the high premium of 10,000 Rs. which they recommended the Government to offer for "ten tons of merchantable flax yielding a fair profit in the English market," was evidently an injudicious measure. The pooah fibre of Nepal and Sikim, sent to the Society by Dr. Campbell, was reported upon by Capt. Thompson, who said, "these have been tested both at the arsenal and 'Government dock-yards, and proved perfectly equal to any and 'all purposes that cordage made of Russian hemp has hitherto

* Journal, Vol I, p. 41.
† Journal, Vol. I, p. 281.
‡ Journal, Vol. II, part ii., p. 281.
§ Journal, Vol. I., p. 394.

been used for. From the encouraging report upon the cordage, from the heads of both the naval and military departments, there seems no reason to doubt that this hemp, and others that are being daily discovered, will completely supersede the importation of Europe-made cordage."* The Munneepoor rope, sent by Mr. F. Skipwith, is also deserving of enquiry.† In 1848 the attention of the Society was drawn by Dr. Campbell, to the *Kunchoora* fibre of Rungpoor, which, on further enquiry, appeared to be the *Urtica tenacissima* of Roxburgh, and "identical with that from which the superior 'fabric known as the 'China *grass-cloth* is manufactured, and 'for which there is at present a large demand for the English 'market." It is the *Calooee* of Sumatra, the *Ramee* of Penang, the *Pan* of the Shans, and the *rheea* of Assam.‡ It appears that the rheea of Assam can be readily sold in Calcutta for £20 per ton. According to the opinion of an English broker, there is "an extensive market for this article." The samples that were sent to England were considered "equal to the best sorts from China." Dr. Wallich, to whom they were shown, says, "the rhea fibre you showed me is, indeed, a vast achievement. I am entitled to speak decisively in this matter, because I utterly failed in producing the article, as did one far greater than me, the celebrated Dr. Roxburgh; so much more credit is due to Col. Jenkins and to Major Hannay, for their complete success."§ The rhea is cultivated at present on a small scale by the dooms or fishermen, and the fibre is used in making nets, &c. It sells at eight annas per seer. A more extended cultivation of the article will, no doubt, enable the grower to sell it at a cheaper rate. Dr. Royle quotes it at £48 to 50 per ton in the English market.‖

Major Hannay also deserves the best acknowledgments of the Society, for bringing to its notice the cognate species¶ of the rhea and the *side rhomboidia*, which, "from the length of the staple, its 'similarity to silk, and its great strength," would command a "high price in England." From the accounts of Mr. Gubbins and Capt. Rainey, it appears that an urtica also grows in Simla. Thread prepared from the wild pine-apple plant, was submitted to the Society in 1839, by Miss Davy. The other fibrous substances which engaged the attention of the Society, are the Jubbulpore hemp, muddar, commonly known

* Journal, Vol. VI, p. 141.

† Journal, Vol. VIII., p. 45.

‡ Journal, Vol. VI., p. 30, 209 and 215.

§ Journal, Vol. VIII., part iii.

‖ Calcutta Gazette, 18th March, 1854.

¶ Journal, Vol. VIII., part iii, p. 88.

as the *akunda* tree, which is " better adapted for cloth than cordage"* and the *agave contula of Indore*, which was found " quite equal to the best Russian hemp,"† the *chittee creeper* of Palamow and the *moorga* fibre of Balsone. The Society seems to have taken up in right earnest the subject of the improvement of silk and flax at the early stage of its proceedings, and in 1838 awarded the Gold Medal to Mr. W. G. Rose, for the best samples of white and yellow raw silk, and to Mr. G. Law for the second best sample of yellow raw silk.

We will now proceed to take a short review of the different oils which the Society has been instrumental in making known to the public.

The *jychee* oil of Bolundshahar which, according to Dr. Griffiths, is a genuine euphorbia, was sent to England, where it was pronounced to be a " drying oil of a *superior description*." How far this oil can supersede the linseed, remains to be ascertained. The mowah oil (bassia latifolia) has been used in making candles and soap. One great advantage which it has over cocoanut oil is, that its stearine is edible.‡ It can be sold extensively in the English market at £35 per ton. The Secretary of the Society of Arts, who caused the oil to be subjected to an examination, says, " the elain obtained in this process from ' tallow is fitting for soap-making and other rough purposes. ' From palm oil it is too much colored to be applicable to many ' uses ; but that obtained from this oil is superior to either, and ' in its appearance and properties resembles olive oil, and I think ' for many purposes would be as useful, especially for dyeing." It is supposed that an enterprising European, assisted with the information from the Society, exported this oil to England, by which he benefitted largely. The butter tree of Kumaon is a species of the *mahwa* tree, and the substances which the former yields are, in a great measure, used in the same way. The dhesee akroot, grown in the Nizam's dominions, yields a fine oil, which is " of more commercial value than linseed, as it is less liable to rancidity." It has been found very useful in painting. The other oils of any note, which have been brought to the notice of the Society, are the *jungly badam* oil, and *ram til*, which are subservient to various economic purposes.

Of the articles containing tanning properties the American sumach or dividivi first engaged the attention of the Society. This plant was introduced by Dr. Hamilton, and raised in the Botanical Garden here in 1835. Mr. Teil

* Journal, Vol. VIII., p. 132.

† Journal, Vol. VIII.,p. 151.

‡ Journal Vol. IV., Correspondence, p. 211 and Vol. V, Correspondence, p. 81.

thought that "the soil of India is better adapted for its growth than that of America," but "that, until it is very 'extensively cultivated in this country, it will not, as an article 'of commerce, yield much, or indeed any profit whatever to the 'growers." Mr. Sconce, Collector of Chittagong, brought to the notice of the Society the pods of the *teree* plant, which grows in the jungles of that place. Mr. Teil, to whom the pods were submitted, reported more favorably on them than those of the dividivi, adding, that, "if therefore it can be extensively 'grown, not only at Chittagong, but also in other parts of 'the country, at a moderate expense, I feel confident it 'would become an article of considerable demand in foreign 'markets, besides being extensively used in this country." The Society was favored by Dr. Irvine, with a paper on the *Resources and Products of Darjeeling.* In that paper Dr. Irvine alludes to "the existence, in the forests of Darjeeling, of several 'species of oak affording *valonia* in large quantities, of a quality 'fully equal to that of Smyrna." "Dhak" or palass tree is not likely to be useful for tanning purposes.

Information on plants yielding coloring substances, is also to be found in the records of the Society. It is well known that munjeet or Indian madder is not equal to the madder of Europe. Munjeet grows principally in Nepaul and Saugor. In Nepaul it "thrives best at elevations of 4 to 5,000 feet," and sells at about Rs. 1-14-9 per Calcutta maund. The late Dr. Griffiths undertook to furnish a report on the article, but since his death the subject remained dormant until it was recently revived by Mr. Henley (see *Journal Vol. VIII.*) The enquiry is still open as to what means are necessary for making munjeet enter into "commercial competition" with the European madder. And it is to be hoped that some practical correspondents of the Society will add to its stock of information on this point.

Major Sleeman brought to the notice of the Society, in 1838, that the tree which "yields the best lac" in Mirzapoor is the *kosum or asun.* It is generally produced on the *dhak, tensa ghout, peepul, beer* and *ramna.** The comparative worth of the lac produced on the different trees here, remains to be practically known. From 1786 to 1807, the East India Company made continued efforts to introduce fine grained cochineal into India, and the large expense which they incurred from time to time attests the sincere interest they took in increasing the resources of this country. In 1838 the late John Bell, to whom the Society is so much indebted, took up the question, which led to much useful discussion, but

* Transactions, Vol. VI p. 47.

it was settled at the same time that the insect brought from Bourbon was not the species known as the *grana silvestre* in India.* This evidently shows that the cochineal of India has not yet approached the Mexican kind. The remarks of Dr. Falconer on this subject are worthy of being quoted.†

"With reference to the discussions to the subject, at some of 'the late Meetings of the Society, I may remark, that the desi-'deratum as regards our Indian dominions, does not lie in 'the production of a cochineal which will dye a fine deep colour, 'but in producing an article which will quantitatively yield a 'remunerating amount of the dye.

"The cochineal raised in the Botanic Garden, during the 'experiment of 1796, from the insect introduced by Capt. Neil-'son, afforded a color equal in intensity to the best Mexican or 'Mestique. The same result, at the same time, was produced 'by Dr. Berry, at Madras, who dyed flannel of a color equal in 'brightness to the best scarlet: the insect experimented on 'was the 'grana sylvestra' kind, which, by the consent of all 'observers, does not yield more than one-third of the coloring 'matter afforded by the Mexican, Mestique or grana fina. 'Hence, after a trial of twelve years, fostered by a liberal pre-'mium, the production of Indian cochineal proved a failure, 'as a remunerating article of export, although 55,000 lbs. of 'the article had been transmitted to Europe between 1796 and '1799.

"These objections would appear to apply equally now to the 'cultivation of the wild cochineal in the North Western Pro-'vinces. The expenses of collecting, preparing, and drying 'grana sylvestra, are at least as much, if not greater, than those 'attending 'grana fina,' while the yield of coloring matter, and 'commercial value of the former are but one-third of the latter.

"The Punjaub observations and experiments do not seem to 'establish more than the great abundance, facility of production, 'and hardness of the naturalised 'grana sylvestra,' for strictly 'speaking, it is not indigenous. But the growth of grana 'sylvestra, has nowhere, in India at least, been remunerat-'ing. Much encouragement is presented, for an experiment, 'in the growth of cochineal, in the Punjab, but it appears 'to me that it can only be made, with any reasonable pros-'pect of success, by introducing the 'grana fina.' "‡

* Transactions, Vol. VI., p. 251.

† Journal, Vol. VIII., p. 33.

‡ The Society is also indebted to Dr. Falconer for a consignment of *chulchulhera* or dyeing Lichen of the Himalayah. And it was subsequently favored with no less than eighteen kinds from Darjeeling by Mr. A. Campbell.

With regard to the cultivation of grain the Society has not been wanting in attention. It has been ascertained that the Cabul wheat is "adapted to meet the wants of the English miller."* It can be laid down in Calcutta at two rupees per maund. Bengal already possesses a superior wheat in the kind known in the bazar as the Benares or Pegu wheat, although it is often inculcated that Cape and Australian wheats should be introduced here. No less than sixteen kinds of foreign wheat were grown in Goruckpore, and as there is an infinite diversity of soils in India, there is no knowing what may not be grown with care and skill. The pissee wheat of Nerbudda, sent to England, by the late Colonel Ousely, an indefatigable contributor to the Society, was also pronounced to be "most invaluable," and "is valued at from four to five and six shillings above the highest prices of the day."

For some years the Society has actively distributed Carolina paddy. Major Bogle spoke favorably of the good effects which would flow from its introduction into Arracan. In October, 1848, he had to leave Arracan and join his regiment on the Punjab frontier. The accounts of the experiment culture since received are not favorable. Mr. Payter, an Indigo-planter of Bogra, said, that if Carolina paddy were introduced there, "it would become a staple export of the district." In the Malwan zillah (Bombay) it appears to have succeeded, and the natives "acknowledged its superiority in every respect to the country rice." The new Granada paddy was distributed to various parts of the country, and the only place from which any satisfactory account of its germination was received, in 1851, is Darjeeling. This paddy is considered better than the Carolina paddy, and is said to yield two or three crops from one sowing, which has been established by the experiment of Mr. Haworth at Cossipoor. As this subject is of vast importance to the Bengal zemindars and planters, we trust that the Society will not lose sight of it.

Colonel J. de Hezeta and Mr. G. F. Hodgkinson drew the attention of the Society to the improvement of the Bengal ginger, by means of the West Indian ginger, but it does not appear that this suggestion has been attended to. In 1835, Dr. Wallich reported that ginger grown in Kemaoon "was of superior quality."

The existence of excellent Government coffee plantations in Chota Nagpoor, and the success that has attended the persevering efforts of Mr. Wheeler, at Hazaribag, afford proofs of the naturalization of the coffee plant in India, in which the

* Journal, Vol. II., p. 537.

Society has taken some part by holding out premiums. The plant has admirably succeeded in Mysore and in Chittagong, and the coffee grown at Russapagla, by Dr. Strong, was ranked with St. Domingo or fair Batavia.*

During the administration of Lord William Bentinck, the discovery of the tea plant as being indigenous in Upper Assam was made. Tea plantations have since been extended by Government to Deyra Doon, Darjeeling and the Trans-Sutledge territories, and although the merit of the acclimation of this useful plant is, no doubt, due to Government and to a private Company, the Society has not been wanting in its duty in drawing public attention to the subject, and thus stimulating enquiry and adventure.

From Mr. Piddington's analysis of soils adapted to the cultivation of tobacco, he considers *Hinglee* the best, and Singoor (six coss from Chandernagore) the second best. Tobacco has however been grown at Diamond Harbour and other localities. Dr. Cassonova has given some practical hints in a paper (*Transactions, Vol. II.*) where he thus concludes: "I have no hesitation 'in saying that if the rules mentioned herein are strictly ob-'served, the quality of East India tobacco will, undoubtedly, 'improve, and that its culture will in time afford a considerable 'article of exportation." In 1836 Mr. Piddington announced to the Society that Cabul tobacco was a valuable species, which may be cultivated throughout Bengal with common care, and perhaps, become a valuable export. The tobacco of Arracan and Bombay shows what may be done here without "foreign seed," while the tobacco grown by the Society from the Virginia seed, and pronounced in England "the best sample of Indian tobacco" proves that the soil of Bengal is also adapted for its cultivation.†

There are several gums to which attention has been drawn by the Society. In 1832, Lieut. Charlton mentions the gum copal on the Nagah hills, and a caoutchouc tree similar to the ficus Indica in Assam. Dr. Wallich subsequently named *hiream grandiflorum*, a native of the Peninsula, as abounding in caoutchouc. The *Transactions* of the Society show that there was a good deal of discussion on the article, and it was at last determined that "no doubt can be now entertained that Assam 'is quite capable of competing with any part of the world."‡ It has also been discovered that the juice of muddar is susceptible of being converted into a substance resembling gutta percha, and the milk of the *munsa shij* (prickly pear) is being also used in the same way by Mr. Cheeck. Dr. Falconer does

* Transactions, Vol. II., p. 158. † Transactions, Vol. III., p. 114.
‡ Transactions, Vol. V., p. 197.

not, however, think that it can yet be a substitute for gutta percha; but its properties may be altered by chemical means. We have since learnt from the proceedings of a late meeting of the Society, that Dr. O'Shaughnessy has reported the total inapplicability of muddar extract as a substitute for gutta percha, for insulating the wires in Electric Telegraphs, to which purpose Capt. Hollings, Dr. Riddle, and other correspondents of the Society thought it might be applied.

The efforts of the Society were directed towards the improvement of cattle. The Committee originally appointed for carrying out the object, were not sanguine as to the result, as they were under an impression that the climate of Bengal would interfere with the success of the measure; but they expected better results from Northern India. Several exhibitions were, however, held, and prizes awarded, but the improvement induced by them was not such as to warrant further prosecution of the object. The Society would, we think, do well to take up the subject again at some future period.

It has been shown that the wool of this country is susceptible of great improvement. The late Mr. Robert Smith, of the Commissariat Department, who possessed an extensive and practical knowledge of the subject, made a favorable report on certain samples of wool, from a cross breed and Kohistan ewe.* He concluded by saying, "Now that the Indus is open, fine wooled ewes from Mekram and Jhawar, in Beloochistan, might be readily procured, instead of breeding from the coarse wooled sheep of Patna, and with the Jeypoor sheep to give size, a cross breed might, in a few years, be established on this side of India, which would lay the foundation of much wealth to growers, and benefit the country and revenue materially." In 1844 the wool of a cross-breed between a Bengal ewe and an English merino ram, was submitted to Mr. T. Southey, of London, who, in presenting the sample to the Court of Directors, says, "it affords me great gratification in thus demonstrating to your Hon'ble Court, a theory which I have long entertained, that the flocks in your Honorable Court's territories in India and your dependencies, are capable (with ordinary attention) of producing wool, both as to quality and quantity, that would become an article of vast importance, both to the flock-owner in India and the British Empire." The sample sent by Mr. A. Sconce, of Chittagong, of Shanghai wool, was very fair, and was well spoken of by Mr. Cowell,† and Mr. Haworth's report on the Tibetian wool from Dr. Campbell was favorable.

Of the grasses, the Society has been for some time assiduous

† Journal, Vol. II., part ii., p. 159. ‡ Journal, Vol. III., part ii.

in introducing the Guinea grass into this country. The interesting compilation of Dr. Spry, viz., *Suggestions for extending the Cultivation and Introduction of Useful and Ornamental Plants*, shows the vegetable resources of the different parts of India, and that the interchange of plants may be beneficially worked out.

It would exceed the limits of this paper, were we to expatiate on the points on which we have briefly touched, or to embody all the interesting information lying scattered in the pages of the *Transactions* and *Journals* of the Society. We trust that what we have already stated proves the utility of the *Society as a depository of practical information.* To those who have visited its museum, abounding in specimens of the varied productions and manufactures of the country, and affording proofs of its unexplored and boundless resources, it will appear what light enquirers may obtain on agricultural and industrial subjects. The nursery which the Society has had, since 1836, in the Botanical Garden, has added to the stock of its information the result of experiments carried on from time to time, and enabled it to introduce new and useful plants into the country, and distribute them extensively in all its parts.

The improvement effected by the Society in Horticulture is too striking to escape notice. Dr. Carey says, in the Prospectus;—"It is also known and lamented that the state of Horticul-
'ture in this country is almost as low as that of Agriculture;
'so that, except in the gardens of certain Europeans, who at a
'great expense procure a few articles for the table, there is
'nothing to be met with, besides a few wild herbs, or garden
'productions of the most inferior kind. All that is seen of
'orchards, amounts to no more than clumps of mangoe trees
'crowded together, without judgment, and in which the quality
'of the fruit is little consulted. The improvement of fruit is
'almost neglected, and every thing which can contribute to the
'furnishing of our tables with wholesome and agreeable vege-
'tables and fine fruits, is yet to be commenced;—not to mention
'that ornamental gardening is scarcely known." This picture was drawn in 1820. In November, 1830, "the Society had the
'gratification of learning from their President, the Hon'ble
'Sir Edward Ryan, on his return from the newly established
'sanatarium at Cherra Poonjee, that many European and
'country vegetables and fruits, principally introduced from
'their garden, were flourishing, and would, in all probability, be
'successful there."*

Those who have attended the recent Horticultural exhibitions

* Transactions, Vol. II., part vii.

enquired as to the number of competitors, the localities whence they come, and the progressive improvement of several European vegetables, which have been fairly acclimated here, will be able to form an idea of the benefits which have been derived from the Society Not only have many indigenous and foreign vegetables and fruits been improved, but they have been brought within the reach of all classes of the community, in consequence of cheap prices

The late President, Sir John Peter Grant, laid a great stress on Horticulture In his remarks on Col Sykes' paper, he says, "the cultivation of these (Horticultural productions), which were *exotics* in England, in Queen Elizabeth's day, and for some time after the establishment and supply of Covent Garden market, instead of bringing every cabbage and cauliflower from Holland, as was then done, has done as much to enrich England, as the culture of more sounding productions, and the manufacture of fabrics for exportation, which attract more attention" Sir John Grant was therefore for extending and improving the "cultivation of potatoes, cauliflowers 'and peas over every part of India" Col Sykes has expressed a different opinion, which to us appears to be more correct He says, 'the parallel drawn between the Horticultural wants 'of England in Elizabeth's time, and the Horticultural wants of India in present days, cannot hold good England had its indigenous sorrel, parsnip, asparagus and carrot, only to boast of, the two fibrous and barely edible weeds To England therefore every Horticultural product was an inestimable boon. How different the case with India! I do not believe one European in fifty is aware of the number and variety of the vegetables and fruits which its fertile soil yields, yet from lists before me, I could say that they exceed in *number* the products of Europe, and there is nothing in Europe, *available to the population at large*, comparable with the mangoe —the grapes of Italy, Spain, and the South of France excepted'

In 1842 American ploughs were distributed, which answered "exceedingly well, in the Goruckpoor district especially" It is difficult to say to what extent an improvement in the implements of husbandry has been effected, when we consider that this question has reference to the *nature of the soil*, to which the existing implements are in many instances well adapted

Not having any returns before us, it is impossible to state the present value of land, compared with that of 1820, or the extent of waste land since brought into cultivation, but that

improved modes of culture, and the cultivation of useful and valuable plants, must have enhanced the value of land, is a self evident proposition Nor can we deny that cultivation has increased, when we see along the banks of our meandering rivers and their tributary streams, cottages and cootees of zemindars and planters, resounding in the bustle and alacrity of traffic The Soondeibun now wears a different aspect, and it is to be hoped that the recent order of Lord Dalhousie will accelerate its reclamation, and convert it into a scene of rural activity.

In 1844 Floriculture was superadded to the functions of the Society. It has since encouraged the improvement of indigenous, and the naturalization of foreign plants, and there is now scarcely a native nursery or a garden in and around this city which does not testify the good effects of this measure It is rather remarkable that the *dulce* and *utile* are going hand in hand, for every plot of land that contains any vegetables is diversified by tubs of rich flowers The poinsettia pulcherrima is so common that its uncommonness, a few years ago, may now be well wondered at

For the last four or five years the Society has maintained a school for the training of gardeners They are instructed in the rudiments of the Bengali language, and the details of gardening practically. This school has educated a number of *malis* who have gone out of Calcutta, and it now contains twelve pupils It is of great importance that this school should be placed on a more efficient basis, by strengthening its instructive staff, and securing the regular supervision of a special committee Every encouragement should also be held to *chassi* boys to avail themselves of its benefits *

We believe the only premium which the Society is now holding out is that of 1,000 Rupees for "a plain and untechnical Treatise on Gardening, as applicable to Bengal" The Society of Arts have advertized premia for several objects having reference to the productions of India (*Journal Vol VIII, part III, Selection, p* 96) The Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India should now take up the subject too, and offer prizes for objects coming within its reach and scope The field of operations before it is vast and boundless The construction of Rail-roads and Electric Telegraphs has already commenced The finance of the country is in a more prosperous state than it ever was, and,

* It affords us much pleasure to state that a number of young malis are being brought up in the same manner under the able superintendence of Dr Falconer of the H Co's Botanic Garden

judging by the condemnation of the paucity of public works during the last twenty years, expressed on the late renewal of the Charter, we think that there is no doubt but that the attention of Government will in future be more directed to the extension of the means of inter communication throughout the country. This will develope more and more its resources, call forth and encourage talent and invention, stimulate its internal and external trade, and elevate its commercial and social position

We therefore think that the present is the fitting opportunity for the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, to continue acting more vigorously as a pioneer in the good work of improvement Among the fibres, oils, gums, dyes, and other substances of this country, the Society ought to go on discovering what are likely to form *consumable* and *exportable* articles, and there ought to be a *special* committee of practical members for carrying out this *special* object It is hardly necessary to enter into details by mentioning specific articles, which will be suggested by the requirements of trade

In 1805, the Marquis of Wellesley recorded a minute in which he said* "under these circumstances the Governor Gene-
' ral is satisfied that the establishment of an experimental farm,
' under proper regulations, in Bengal, would be an object of great
' public utility, and he is persuaded that the expense of such an
' institution would not prove considerable The object of the
' establishment ought to be, as already stated, the improvement
' of the breed of black cattle, the introduction of a better system
' of agriculture than the system now in general use in these ter
' ritories, and the reduction of the expense of preparing the
' grains for consumption, by the use of machinery, or by other
' means"

In 1835, Lord William Bentinck said to the Society —"It is
' impossible not to deplore the same defective state in the Agri-
' cultural, as in every other science in this country Look
' where you will—examine the whole scheme of this Indian
' system, and you find the same results—poverty, inferiority,
' degradation, in every shape For all these evils, knowledge,
' knowledge, knowledge, is the universal cure '

"It is to be hoped, that the progress in European Literature
' will lead to those improvements in Agriculture, which, during
' the last half century, have so much benefitted the mother
' country. It was my intention, had I remained in India, to
' have proposed the establishment of small farms in the Upper,
' Centre, and Lower Provinces, as seminaries, or rather examples

* Asiatic Annual Register for 1807, Miscellany, p 112.

of improved modes of cultivation and cropping, and of preparing for distribution seeds and plants of the superior products. It is part of the general education, in which a very small annual sum, well expended, might have been attended with inestimable advantages. The very limited establishment and means at your disposal have shown what might be done. We must not forget that the Government is the landlord of the country, possessing both the means, and knowledge of improvement, and, putting all obligation of public duty aside, is the most interested in the advancement in wealth and comfort of its numerous tenantry." These memorable words of two illustrious Governors-General, appear to have been spoken to the wind, for the subject has not since engaged the attention of Government. In the last printed Report on Public Instruction for 1851-52, Page 171, we see a minute of Dr. Mouat. He says, "there is probably no single advantage that could be afforded to the vast rural population of Bengal that would equal the introduction of an improved system of Agriculture. In my opinion, the only means of accomplishing this desirable result, will be by the establishment of experimental farms, with gardens, orchards and all the adjuncts necessary to a complete Agricultural institution." Dr. Mouat is quite right in the means he recommends. We have already too much of the speculative and cramming system in the Government schools, and a superficial knowledge of Liebig or Johnstone can never bring about the desired end. We would recommend that, in carrying out the idea of Dr. Mouat, practical agriculturists should be attached to the zillah schools; for the measure will prove quite abortive if its execution be left to the head master or his deputy. It would perhaps be better if the subject were considered along with that of Vernacular Education, which it is in contemplation to re-model on a more extensive and efficient scale. A knowledge of practical agriculture to the rural community, such as will enable them to economize their outlay, increase the productive powers of the land, and secure the richest harvests it is capable of producing, is eminently calculated to promote the material improvement of the country. We trust that the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, anxious as he no doubt is to spread the blessings of knowledge and civilization, will bestow on this subject his serious consideration.

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India has, in our opinion, acted most judiciously in causing a Bengali translation of its practical papers to be published from time to time. The Nos. of the *Indian Agricultural Miscellany* before us contain articles on subjects interesting to the rural community. We

are glad to be able to state that the language in which they are written is simple, and adapted to the comprehension of the class to whom they are addressed. As this publication is also to consist of original papers, we recommend our Mofussil friends, zemindars, farmers and others, to contribute to it the result of their experiments, and such practical information as they may collect from time to time.

It affords us much pleasure to state that the Indian Agricultural *Miscellany* has been extensively distributed in the Mofussil and that it is understood by the *chassi* class, and that is sought after by the pupils of the Society's School. Another proof of the simplicity of the style is, that an European member of the Society has been growing *asparagus* from reading the translation of the article in the *Miscellany*, without referring to the original.

It is to be regretted that the different Branch Societies which at one time sprang up, have all lost their activity, or died away, with the exception of the Bhagulpoor Branch Society, the success of which is in a great measure owing to its late indefatigable Secretary, Lieut. Col. Napleton. The Societies of Bombay and Madras appear to have been for some time in a state of somnolency. The Punjab Society, considering the short period of its existence, has carried on its operations satisfactorily, although nothing practical has as yet been done by that body. We hope that the Punjab Society, having at its command all the necessary means and appliances, will vigorously prosecute its labors and thus materially aid the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, in the attainment of its objects.

We cannot conclude without once more calling upon the zemindars, planters and others interested in the *improvement of the soil*, to come forward and render their best assistance to the Society, so that its labors may be made more and more subservient to the substantial benefits of this country.

ART. III.—1. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval. Paris*, 1847. *Vol. I.*

2. *Life of Mohammad. By A. Sprenger, M. D., Allahabad*, 1851.

3. *Sirat Wâckidi, Arabic MS.*

4. *Sirat Tabari, Ditto Ditto.*

5. *Sirat Hishâmi, Ditto Ditto.*

IN previous papers we have traced the history of Mecca, and of the ancestors of Mahomet, from the earliest times of which we have any account, down to the famous *year of the elephant* (570 A. D.) which marks the deliverance of the sacred city from the invading army of Abraha, the Abyssinian Viceroy of Yemen. Before proceeding farther, we propose to take a survey of the valley of Mecca, and the country immediately surrounding it.

Within the great mountain range which skirts the Red Sea, and about equi-distant, by the caravan track, from Yêmen and the Gulph of Akaba, lies the holy valley. The traveller from the sea-shore, after a journey of fifty or sixty miles, reaches it by an almost imperceptible ascent, chiefly through sandy plains, and defiles hemmed in by low hills of gneiss and quartz, which rise in some places to the height of 400 or 500 feet.* Passing Mecca, and pursuing his eastward course, he would proceed, with the same gentle rise, and between hills partly composed of granite, through the valley of Minâ, and in five or six hours reach the sacred eminence of Arafat. From thence the mountains begin to ascend to a great height, till about eighty miles from the sea, the granite peaks of Jebel Kora crown the range, and Tâif comes in sight, thirty miles farther eastward. Between Jebel Kora and Tâif, the country is fertile and lovely. Rivulets every here and there descend from the hills, and the plains are clothed with verdure, and adorned by large shady trees. Tâif is famous for its fruits: the grapes are of a "very large size and delicious flavour;" and there is no want of variety to tempt the appetite; for figs, peaches and pomegranates, apricots, quinces, apples and almonds, grow in abundance and perfection. Far different is

* *Burkhardt's Arabia, pp.* 58—62. The journey was performed in nineteen hours on a camel. Burkhardt, however, rode it upon an ass in thirteen hours. He estimates the distance at sixteen or seventeen hours walk, or about fifty-five miles from Jedda. For the characters of the rocks, see *Burkhardt, p* 62 *and Ali Bey, Vol. II., p.* 118.

it with the frowning rocks and barren valleys, which for many a mile surround Mecca. Stunted brushwood and thorny acacias occasionally relieve the eye, and furnish scanty repast to the hardy camel, but the general features are only rugged rocks and sandy or stony glens, from which the peasant in vain looks for the grateful returns of tillage. Even at the present day, when the riches of Asia have for twelve centuries poured into the city, and a regular supply of water is secured by a canal of masonry from the mountains East of Arafat, Mecca can hardly boast a garden or a cultivated field, and only here and there a tree.*

In the vicinity of Mecca the hills are formed of quartz and gneiss; but eastward strata of granite appear, and within one or two miles of the city, lofty and rugged peaks (as the Jabal Nur or *Hira*,)† begin to shoot upwards in grand and commanding masses. The valley of Mecca is a little more than a mile and a half in length; the general direction is from north to south;

* Burkhardt (*p* 197) noticed a few acres to the North of the town "irrigated by means of a well, and producing vegetables. Some trees also grow in the extreme southern quarter, where Burkhardt first took up his abode. — I had here, he says, 'the advantage of several large trees growing before my windows, the verdure of which, among the barren and sun burnt rocks of Mecca, was to me more exhilarating than the finest landscape could have been under different circumstances' (*p* 101). But of the town generally he says — "it is completely barren and destitute of trees' (*p* 103,) and 'no trees or gardens cheer the eye' (*p* 101). So Ali Bey — 'I never saw but one flower the whole of my stay at Mecca which was upon the way to Arafat' (*Vol II*, *p* 99). 'It (Mecca) is situated at the bottom of a sandy valley surrounded on all sides by naked mountains, without brook, river, or any running water, without trees, plants, or any species of vegetation.' (*Vol II p* 112). Again, — "the aridity of the country is such that there is hardly a plant to be seen near the city, or upon the neighbouring mountains. We may not expect to find at Mecca any thing like a meadow, or still less a garden. They do not sow any grain, for the too ungrateful soil would not produce any plant to the cultivator. The soil refuses to yield even spontaneous productions of which it is so liberal elsewhere. In short there are but three or four trees upon the spot where formerly stood the house of Abu Taleb, the uncle of the prophet, and six or eight others scattered here and there. These trees are prickly, and produce a small fruit similar to the jujube, which is called nebbak by the Arabs' (*Vol II*, *p* 110).

And of its environs, Burkhardt writes, — "As soon as we pass these extreme precincts of Mecca the desert presents itself, for neither gardens, trees, nor pleasure houses, line the avenues to the town, which is surrounded on every side by barren sandy valleys, and equally barren hills. A stranger placed on the great road to Taif just beyond the turn of the hill in the immediate neighbourhood of the sheriff's garden house would think himself as far removed from human society, as if he were in the midst of the Nubian desert' (*p* 131). This, however, he ascribes to indolence and apathy, seeing that water "can be easily obtained at about thirty feet below the surface." But there must, nevertheless, be some natural defect in the gravelly and sandy soil of Mecca, else the munificence of the Moslem rulers, and the notorious avarice of its inhabitants would long ere this have planted trees and gardens to produce a profit, or to beautify the town.

† *Burkhardt, p* 175, *and note*

but at the upper or northern extremity, where the way leads to Arafat and Tâif, it bends to the eastward; and the southern or lower end, where the roads branch off to Yemen, Jedda, and Syria,* there is a still more decided bend to the westward. At the latter curve the valley opens out to a breadth of about half a mile, and it is in the spacious amphitheatre thus shut in by rocks and mountains, that the kaaba, and the main portions of the city, both ancient and modern, were founded. The surrounding rocks rise precipitously two or three hundred feet above the valley, and on the Eastern side they reach a height of five hundred feet. It is here that the craggy defiles of *Abu Cobeis*, the most lofty of all the hills encircling the valley, overhang the quarter of the town in which Abd al Muttalib and his family lived. About three furlongs to the north-east of the kaaba, the spot of Mahomet's birth is still pointed out to the pious pilgrim as the *Sheb Maulúd*; and hard by is the *Sheb Ali*, (or quarter in which Ali resided,) built, like the other, on the declivity of the rock.†

Though within the tropics, Mecca has not the usual tropical showers. The rainy season begins about December; the clouds do not discharge their precious freight with continuousness or regularity; but sometimes the rain descends with such excessive violence as to swamp the little valley with the floods from Arafat. Even in the summer, rain is not unfrequent. The seasons are thus very uncertain, and the horrors of a continued drought are occasionally experienced. The heat, especially in the months of autumn, is very oppressive.‡ The surrounding ridges intercept the zephyrs that would otherwise reach the close and sultry valley; the sun beats with violence on the bare and gravelly soil, and reflects an intense and distressing glare. The native of Mecca, acclimated to the narrow valley, may regard with complacency its inhospitable atmosphere,§

* The high road to Medina and Syria takes this southerly circuit. A direct road has been made through a dip in the mountain to the north-west of the city. This is facilitated by steps cut out of the rock:—a modern work, ascribed to one of the Barmecide family. (See *Burkhardt, p.* 129.)

† The above description is taken from Burkhardt and Ali Bey, chiefly from the former.

‡ Burkhardt says it is most severe from August to October. He mentions a suffocating hot wind in September. (*p.* 240.) Ali Bey says, "It may be imagined how great must be the heat in summer, when in the month of January, with the windows open, I could scarcely endure the sheet of the bed upon me, and the butter, at the same period, was always liquid like water." (*Vol. II., p.* 112.)

§ Some years after the Hegira, the refugees began to long for their native Mecca, and some touching verses are preserved, expressive of their fond affection for its sterile soil, and the springs in its vicinity.

but the traveller, even in the depth of winter, complains of a stifling closeness and suffocating warmth.

Such is the spot, barren and unpromising though it be, on which the Arabs look with a fond and superstitious reverence, as the cradle of their destiny, and the arena of the remote events which gave birth to their Faith. Here Hagar alighted with Ishmael, and paced with troubled steps the space between the little hill of Safâ, (a spur of Abu Cobeis,) and the eminence of Marwâ, which, on the opposite side of the valley, is an offshoot of the lower range of Keyckáân. Here the Jorhomites established themselves upon the falling fortunes of the ancestors of the Coreish; and from hence they were expelled by the Khozâa, the new invaders from the south. It was in this pent-up vale that Cossay nourished his ambitious plans, and in the granite defiles of the neighbouring Minâ, asserted them by a bloody encounter with the Bani Sûfa: and here he established the Coreish in supremacy. It was hard by the kaaba that his descendents, the Bani Abd al Dâr, and Bani Abd Menâf, were drawn up in battle array to fight for the sovereign prerogative. It was here that Hâshim exhibited his glorious liberality, and on this spot that Abd al Muttalib toiled with his single son till he discovered the ancient well Zamzam. Thousands of such associations crowd upon the mind of the weary pilgrim, as the minarets of the kaaba rise before his longing eyes; and in the long vista of ages, reaching even to Adam, his imagination pictures multitudes of pious devotees from all quarters and in every age, flocking to this little valley, to make their seven circuits of the holy house, to kiss the mysterious stone, and drink of the sacred water. Well then, may the Arab regard the fane, and its surrounding rocks, with awe and admiration.

At the period of the retreat from Mecca of Abraha,* with his Abyssinian army, Abd al Muttalib (as we have seen in a previous article, now above seventy years of age, enjoyed the rank and consideration of the foremost chief of Mecca. Some little time previous to this event, he had taken his youngest son, ABDALLAH,† (born 545, A. D.) then about four and twenty years of age, to the house of Wuheib, a distant kinsman of

* By Caussin de Perceval's calculations, this event occurred in June 570 A. D.

† Abdallah, *servant of God*, (corresponding with the Hebrew *Abdiel*,) was a name common among the ante-Mahometan Arabs. (*Conf. C. de Perceval*, Vol. *I.*, *p.* 126, *Vol. II*, *p.* 286, 434, and 436.) Mahomet's nurse, Halima, was the daughter of a person called Abdallah, and had a son of the same name: (*Vide Wâckidi*, *p.* 28½.)

the Coreishite stock, (being descended from Zohra, brother of the famous Cossay:) and there affianced him to AMINA, the daughter of Wahb, brother of Wuheib, under whose guardianship she lived. At the same time Abd al Muttalib, notwithstanding his advanced age, bethought him of a matrimonial alliance on his own account, and married Hâlah, daughter of Wuheib and cousin to Amina The famous Hamza was the first fruit of this marriage.*

As was customary, when the marriage was consummated at the home of the bride, Abdallah remained with her there for three days.† Not long after, he set out, during the pregnancy of his wife, on a mercantile expedition to Ghazza (Gaza,) in the south of Syria On his way back he sickened at Medina, and was there left behind by the caravan, with his father's maternal relatives of the Bani Najâr‡ Abd al Muttalib, learning of Abdallah's sickness from his comrades, despatched his son Hârith to take care of him: but on reaching Medina, he found that his brother had died about a month after the departure of the caravan, and was buried in the house of Nâbigha, in the quarter of the Bani Adî§ And his father and brethren grieved sore for him Abdallah was five and twenty years of age at his death, and Amina had not yet been delivered‖ He left behind him five camels fed on wild shrubs,¶ a flock of goats, and a slave girl called *Omm*

* Hamza is said to have been four years older than Mahomet. (*Vide Wackidi, p.* 20, *margin*) This would either imply that Abdallah was married at least four years to Amina before Mahomet's birth, which is not likely, and is opposed to the tradition of Amina's early conception or that Abd al Muttalib married Hâlah at least four years before his son married Amina, which is also opposed to tradition.

† We reject the absurd story (of which there are many versions inconsistent with each other,) of a woman offering her embraces, without success, to Abdallah, while on his way to Wuheib's house, but declining his advances on his return thence, because the prophetic light had departed from his forehead. It falls under the Canon II D. Some make this woman to be a sister of the Christian Waraca, who having heard from her brother tidings of the coming prophet, recognized in Abdallah the prophetic light, and coveted to be the mother of the prophet! This fable perhaps gave rise to the later legend that many Meccan damsels died of envy the night of Abdallah's marriage. (See *Calcutta Review, No.* XXXIV, p. 430)

‡ It will be remembered that Abd al Muttalib's mother (Hâshim's wife,) belonged to Medina, and to this tribe.

§ The Bani Adî were the family to which Solmâ, Abd al Muttalib's mother, belonged.

‖ This account is from Wâckidi, (*p* 18); he mentions other accounts, such as that Abdallah went to Medina to purchase dates; that he died eighteen months (others say seven months,) *after* Mahomet's birth. but he gives the preference to the version transcribed in the text.

¶ خمس اجمال اوارك تتغي تاكل اراك (*Wâckidi, p.* 18¼.), that is to say, camels not reared and fed at home, and therefore of an inferior kind.

Ayman (and also *Baraka*,) who tended the infant born by his widow. This little property, and the house in which he dwelt, were all the inheritance Mahomet received from his father; but, little as it was, the simple habits of the Arab required no more, and instead of being evidence of poverty, the possession of the female slave is rather an indication of prosperity and comfort.*

Passing over, as fabulous and unworthy of credit, the marvellous incidents related of the gestation of the prophet, and his first appearance in the world, † it suffices to state that the widowed Amina gave birth to her infant in the autumn of the year 570 A. D. It is a vain attempt to fix, with certainty, the precise date of the birth, for the materials we possess are too vague and discrepant to be subjected to so close and stringent a calculation. We may be content to know that the event occurred about fifty-five days after the attack of Abraha,‡ and may accept, as an approximation, the date of M. Caussin de Perceval (in whose calculations we have already expressed our general concurrence,) viz., the 20th of August, 570 A. D §

* See *Sprenger*, *p* 81. The house was sold by a son of Abu Tâlib, to one of the Coreish, for twenty dinars. (*Tabari*)

† Specimens of these are given in No XXXIV., Article VI. of this *Review*, p 404 *et seq* The stories there narrated are however modern, but the most ancient biographies likewise contain many absurd tales They say that at the moment of the birth, a light proceeded from Amina, which rendered visible the palaces and streets of Bostra, and the necks of the camels there (*Wâckidi*, *p* 18½—*Hishâmi*, *p.* 30) This evidently originated in the mistaken application of some metaphorical saying, such as, that, "the light of Islam to proceed hereafter from the infant now born, has illuminated Syria and Persia" It is remarkable that the "honest," but credulous Wackidi leaves Hishâmi far behind in his relation of these miracles Thus his traditions make Mahomet as soon as born to support himself on his hands, seize a handful of earth, and raise up his head to heaven He was born clean, and *circumcised*, whereat Abd al Muttalib greatly marvelled. So of Amina, it is said, that she felt no weight or inconvenience from the embryo that heavenly messengers came to her, and saluted her as the mother elect of him who was to be the prophet and lord of his people that she was desired by them to call the child *Ahmed*; that, alarmed by these visions, she, at the advice of her female acquaintance, hung pieces of iron as charms on her arms and neck, &c. (*Wâckidi*, p 18) Sprenger infers from these traditions, that the mother had a weak and nervous temperament, which descended to her son. But we discard the traditions themselves as utterly untrustworthy, both on account of the *period*, and the *subject matter* of which they treat. (See *Canons I. A., and II. D, in Article I., No. XXXVII. of this Review*)

One tradition makes Amina say, "I have had children, but never was the embryo of one heavier than that of Mahomet." Wâckidi (*p.* 18) rejects this tradition, because he says Amina never had any *child* except Mahomet, but its very existence is a good illustration of the recklessness of Mahometan traditionists.

‡ Vide *Wâckidi*, *p* 18½.

§ We know accurately the date of Mahomet's death, but we cannot calculate backwards with certainty, even to the *year* of his birth, because his life is variously stated as extending from sixty three to sixty five years and, besides this, there

No sooner had Amina given birth to the infant, than she sent to tell Abd al Muttalib. And the messenger carrying the good tidings of a grandson, reached the chief while he sat in the sacred enclosure of the kaaba, in the midst of his sons and the principal men of his tribe: and he was glad, and arose, and they that were with him. And he went to Amina, and she told him all that had come to pass. So he took the young child in his arms, and went to the kaaba. And as he stood beside the holy house, he gave thanks to God. Now the child was called MOHAMMAD.*

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is a doubt whether the year meant is a lunar, or a luni-solar one. See *note on p.* 49 *Calcutta Review, No. XLI.*

The Arab historians give various dates, as the fortieth year of Kesra's reign, or the 880th of the Seleucide Dynasty, which answered to 570 A. D. others the forty-first, the forty-second or the forty-third of Kesra's reign, or the 881st, 882nd, and 883rd of Alexander. M. de Sacy fixes the date as the 20th of April A. D. 571, on the principle that the lunar year was always in force at Mecca. But he adds,—"En vain chercheroit-on à determiner l'epoque de la naissance de Mahomet d'une maniere qui ne laissât subsister aucune incertitude" (See the question discussed, *p* 43 *et seq Memoire des Arabes avant Mahomet, Tome XLVIII. Mem. Acad. Inscrip et Belles Lettres*)

Herr v Hammer fixes the birth in 569 A D., and Sprenger notes two dates as possible, viz, 13th April, 571, and 13th May, 567 A D (*Life, p* 74)

The common date given by Mahometan writers is the 12th of Rabi I, but other authorities give the 2d, and others again the 10th of that month (*Wâckidi, p.* 18½) It is scarcely possible to believe that the date could, under ordinary circumstances, in Meccan society, as then constituted, have been remembered with scrupulous accuracy.

There are two circumstances affecting the traditions on this head which have not attracted sufficient notice The first is that *Monday* was regarded as a remarkable day in Mahomet's history, on which all the great events of his life occurred. Thus an old tradition —"the prophet was born on a *Monday*, he elevated the black stone on a *Monday*, he assumed his prophetical office on a *Monday*, he fled from Mecca on a *Monday*, he reached Medina on a *Monday*, he expired on a *Monday*" (*Tabari, p.* 214—*Wackidi, p* 37—*Hishâmi, p.* 173, *marg gloss.*) Nay, Wackidi makes him to have been *conceived* on a Monday! (*p.* 18.) This conceit no doubt originated in Mahomet's death, and one or two of the salient incidents of his mature life, really falling on a Monday, and hence the same day was superstitiously extended backwards to unknown dates. When Monday was once fixed upon as the day of his birth, it led to calculations thereon (See *Sprenger, p.* 75, *note*) and that to variety of date.

Secondly, something of the same spirit led to the assumption that the prophet was born in the same month and on the same day of the *month*, as well as of the week on which he died, and thus the popular tradition is that which assigns Monday, the 12th of *Rabi I*, as his birth-day But that such minutiæ as the day either of the month or week, were likely to be remembered so long after, especially in the case of an orphan, is inconsistent with Canon I. A. of the Article in No. XXXVII. of this *Review*, above quoted

* The above account is given in the simple words of Wâckidi (*p.* 19.) Though some of the incidents are perhaps of late growth (as the visit to the kaaba,) yet they are introduced because possible. In the original, however, are several palpable fabrications as, that Amina told Abd al Muttalib of her visions, and the command of the angel that the child should be called *Ahmad*. The prayer of Abd al Muttalib at the kaaba is also apocryphal, being evidently composed in a Mahometan strain.

This name was rare among the Arabs, but not unknown. It is derived from the 'root *Hamd* [حمد] and signifies "The Praised." Another form of it is AHMAD, which having been erroneously employed as the translation of *The Paraclete* in some Arabic version of the New Testament, became a favorite term with Mahometans, especially in addressing Jews and Christians: for it was (they said,) the title under which their prophet had been predicted * Following the established usage of Christendom, we speak of Mohammad as MAHOMET.

It was not the custom for the higher class of women at Mecca to nurse their own children. They procured nurses for them, or gave them out to nurse among the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, where was gained the double advantage of a

* It may be of some importance to show to the Mahometans, that the name was known and used in Arabia before Mahomet's birth. We have seen that his grandfather was called Sheba al *Hamd*, which is the same word. The precise form of Ahmad was very rare, but we find it in use among the Bani Bakr ibn Wâil, about thirty or forty years before Mahomet. (Vide C *de Perceval, Vol II, p. 378*) We have a *Mohammad*, son of Sofian, of the Tamîm tribe, born before 500 A. D. (*Idem, p 297.*) We meet also with a Mohammad, of the tribe of Aws, born about 530 A D (*Idem, Table VII*) and among the followers of the prophet killed at Kheibar we find a *Mahmud* ibn Maslama (elsewhere called *Mohammad* ibn Maslama,) whose name could not have had any connexion with that of Mahomet, he was also an Awsite (*Hishâmi, p 341,—Wâckidi, p. 121.*) Wâckidi, in a chapter devoted to the subject, mentions *five* of the name before the Prophet; 1 Mohammad ibn Khoâ'ya, of the Bani Dzakwan, who went to Abraha, and remained with him in the profession of Christianity a verse by the brother of this man is quoted, in which the name occurs; 2, Mohammad ibn Saffin, of the Bani Tamîm. 3. Mohammad ibn Joshamî, of the Bani Suwâat 4, Mohammad al Asiyadî: 5. Mohammad al Fockimî. But with the usual Mahometan credulity, and desire to exhibit anticipations of the prophet, Wâckidi adds that these names were given by such Arabs as had learnt from Jews, Christians, or sooth-sayers, that a prophet was about to arise in Arabia so called, and the parent in the fond hope that his child would turn out to be the expected one, called him by that name! In the second instance this intelligence is said to have been imparted by a Christian Bishop.

The word Ahmad, it appears, occurred by mistake in an Arabic translation of John's Gospel for "the Comforter," περικλυτος for παρακλητος or was forged as such by some ignorant or designing monk in Mahomet's time. Hence the partiality for this name, which was regarded as the fulfilment of a promise or prophecy.

Wâckidi has a chapter devoted to the titles of the prophet. Among these are ماهي, عاقب, حاشر, خاتم the last of these means "obliviator," or "blotter out." and is thus interpreted حي قال الا محا به سات من اتبعه و اما الما "because God blots out through him the sins of his followers;" or as farther explained, "blot out through him unbelief." (*Wâckidi, p. 7½.*)

robust frame, and the pure speech and free manners of the desert.*

The infant Mahomet, shortly after his birth, was made over to Thueiba, a slave woman of his uncle Abu Lahab, who had lately nursed Hamza.† Though he was suckled by her only for a few days, he retained in after life a lively sense of the connection thus formed. Both Mahomet and Khadîja used to express their respect for her, and the former continued to make her presents and gifts of clothes, until the seventh year of the Hegira, when, upon his return from Kheibar, he had tidings of her death; and he asked after her son Masrûh, his foster-brother, but he, too, was dead, and she had left no relatives ‡

After Thueiba had suckled the child for probably not more than a few days,§ a party of the Bani Saád (descended from the Hawazin stock,‖) arrived at Mecca with ten women of their tribe, who offered themselves as nurses for the Meccan infants. They were all soon provided with children, excepting Halîma, who at last consented to take the orphan Mahomet; for it was to the father the nurses chiefly looked for a liberal reward, and the charge of the fatherless child had been before declined by

* Burkhardt states that this practice is common still among the Shereefs of Mecca. At eight days old, the infant is sent away, and excepting a visit at the sixth month, does not return to his parents till eight or ten years of age. The Hodhail, Thakîf, Coreish, and Harb, are mentioned as tribes to which the infants are thus sent, and (which is a singular evidence of the stability of Arab tribes and customs,) to these is added the *Bani Saad*, the very tribe to which the infant Mahomet was made over (*Burkhardt's Travels, pp.* 229—231) Weil assigns another reason for this practice, viz, the anxiety of the Meccan mothers to have large families, and to preserve their constitutions. (*Life of Mahomed, p* 24, *note* 7)

† Foster-relationship was regarded by the Arabs as a very near tie, and therefore all those are carefully noted by the biographers who had been nursed *with* Mahomet, (or as Sprenger puts it, 'with the same milk.") Ali, when at Medina, proposed to Mahomet that he should marry Hamza's daughter, and praised her beauty to him. but Mahomet refrained, saying that a daughter of his foster-brother was not lawful for him. (*Wâckidi, p* 20)

‡ These pleasing traits of Mahomet's character will be found at page 20 of Wâckidi. It is added that Khadîja sought to purchase her, that she might give her liberty, but Abu Lahab refused After Mahomet, however, had fled from Mecca, he set her free. The credulous traditionists relate that on this account Abu Lahab experienced a minute remission of his torments in hell

§ So Wâckidi لبث | (*p* 20. Weil, *p*. 25, note 8) adduces traditions, but apparently not good ones, for a longer period. If the nurses used (as is said,) to come to Mecca twice a year, in spring and in harvest, they must have arrived, in autumn, not long after the date which we have adopted as that of Mahomet's birth.

‖ Descended from Khasafa, Cays Aylân, Modhar, and Maádd, and therefore of the same origin as the Coreish.

the party. The legends of after days have encircled Halîma's journey homewards, with a halo of miraculous prosperity, but this it does not lie within the object of our story to relate.*

The infancy, and part of the childhood of Mahomet, were spent with Halîma and her husband,† among the Bani Saád. At two years of age she weaned him, and took him to his mother, who was so delighted with the healthy and robust appearance of her infant, (for he looked like a child of double the age,) that she said, "take him with thee back again to the desert, for I fear the unhealthy air of Mecca" So she returned with him. When another two years were ended, some strange event occurred to the boy which greatly alarmed Halima. It was probably a fit of epilepsy, but the Mahometan legends have invested it with so many marvellous features, that it is difficult to discover the real facts ‡ It seems clear, however, that Halîma and her husband were uneasy, and the former desiring to get rid of a charge which Arab superstition regarded as under the influence of an evil spirit, carried the child back to its mother With some difficulty, Amina obtained from her an account of what had happened, calmed her fears, and entreated her to resume the care of her boy. Halima

* Thus, Amina said to the nurse that for three nights she had been told in a vision, that one of the family of Abu Dzueib was destined to nurse her infant, when, to her astonishment, Halîma said, *that is my husband's name* ' Neither Halîma nor her camel had any milk for her own child on their journey to Mecca, but no sooner had she received the infant Mahomet, than she had abundance for both, and so had the camel. Her white donkey could hardly move along to Mecca for weakness, but on their way home it outstripped all the others, so that their fellow travellers marvelled exceedingly. It was a year of famine, yet the Lord so blessed Halîma for the little Mahomet's sake, that her cattle always returned fat and with plenty of milk, while those of every other were lean and dry —and many such other stories. See the legend as given by *Sprenger*, *p* 143, *Wâckidi*, *p* 20½, and *Hishâmi* (who here indulges more in the marvellous than Wâckidi,) *p* 31.

† Wâckidi makes the husband's name Abu Dzueib, (*p* 20½), but some call him Hârith, and name Halîma's *father* Abu Dzueib.

‡ The following is the account of Wâckidi, who is more concise than the other biographers on the subject

"When he had reached four years of age, he was one morning playing with his (foster) brother and sister among the cattle, close by the encampment. And there came to him two angels, who cut open his body and drew forth from thence the black drop, and cast it from them, and washed his inside with water of snow, which they had in a gold platter. Then they weighed him against a thousand of his people, and he out-weighed them all together and the one of them said unto the other, "let him go, for verily if thou wert to weigh him against the whole of his people, he would out-weigh them all." His (foster) brother seeing this, ran screaming to his mother, who with her husband hastened to the spot and found the lad pale and affrighted." (*Wâckidi*, *p.* 20½.)

loved her foster-child, and was not unwillingly persuaded to take him once more to her encampment. There she kept him for about a year longer, and never suffered him to go far out of her sight. But her apprehensions were renewed by fresh symptoms of an unusual nature, and she set out to restore the boy to his mother, when he was about five years of age.* As she reached the upper quarter of Mecca, the little Mahomet strayed from her, and she could not find him. Abd al Muttalib, to whom in this difficulty she repaired, sent one of his

Hishâmi, and other later writers add that her husband concluded he had "had a fit," (صيب ا) and advised her to take him home to his mother. Arrived at Mecca, she confessed after some hesitation what had occurred. "Ah!" exclaimed Amina, "didst thou fear that a devil had possessed him?"—علية ا لشيطا ن فتخو فت ا—she proceeded to say that such could never be the case with a child whose birth had been preceded and followed by so many prodigies, recounting them in detail. Then she added, "leave him with me, and depart in peace, and heaven direct thee!" From this Sprenger rightly concludes (*p.* 78,) that according to Hishâmi the child did not return with Halîma: but Wâckidi explicitly states the reverse.

This legend is closely connected with Sura XCIV. v. I. "Have we not opened thy breast?"—*i. e., given thee relief.* These words were afterwards construed literally, into an actual opening, or splitting up, of his chest; and, coupled with other sayings of Mahomet as to his being cleansed from the taint of sin, were wrought up into the story given above.

It is possible, also, that Mahomet may have himself given a more developed nucleus for the legend, desiring thereby to enhance the superstitious attachment of his people, and conveniently referring the occasion of the cleansing and its romantic accompaniments to this early fit. But we can not, with any approach to certainty, determine whether any, and if so, what part, of the legend, owes its paternity to Mahomet directly; or whether it has been entirely fabricated upon the verse of the Coran referred to, and other metaphorical assertions of cleansing construed literally.

* When Halîma took back the child to Mecca after its first attack, she told Amina that nothing but the sheerest necessity would make her part with it:—

انا لا ترد ا لا عاي جاء ع ا نفنا (*Wâckidi p.* 20ا). She then took him back with her, and kept him close in sight. She was, however, again startled (as the legend goes,) by observing a cloud attendant upon the child, sheltering him from the sun, moving as he moved, and stopping when he stopped. This alarmed her:—

فا فز عها ذ لک ا يضا من ا مره If there be any thing in the tradition, it probably implies a renewal of symptoms of the former nature.

It appears extremely probable that these legends originated in some species of fact. One can hardly conceive their fabrication out of nothing, even admitting that the 94th Sura, and other metaphorical expressions may have led to the marvellous additions.

We have given in the text what appears to us the probable narrative, but it must be confessed that the ground on which we here stand is vague and uncertain.

family to the search, who discovered him wandering in Upper Mecca, and restored him to his mother.*

If we are right in regarding the attacks which alarmed Halima as fits of a nervous or epileptic nature, they exhibit in the constitution of Mahomet the normal marks of those excited states, and ecstatic swoons, which perhaps suggested to his own mind the idea of inspiration, as by his followers they undoubtedly were taken to be evidence of it. It is probable that, in other respects, the constitution of Mahomet was rendered more robust, and his character more free and independent, by his five years' residence among the Bani Saád. At any rate his speech was thus formed upon one of the purest models of the beautiful language of the Peninsula; and it was his pride in after days to say, "Verily, I am the most perfect 'Arab amongst you; for I come of the Coreish, and my 'tongue is that of the Bani Saád"† When his success came to depend in great measure upon his eloquence, a pure language, and an elegant dialect, were advantages of essential moment.

Mahomet ever retained a grateful impression of the kindness he had experienced as a child among the Bani Saád. Halima visited him at Mecca after his marriage with Khadija; "and it was" (the tradition runs) "a year of drought, in 'which much cattle perished; and Mahomet spake to Khadija, 'and she gave to Halima a camel accustomed to carry a litter, 'and forty sheep, so she returned to her people." Upon another occasion he spread out his mantle (a token of special respect,) for her to sit upon, and placed his hand upon her in a familiar and affectionate manner.‡ Many years after, when, on

* *Wâckidi*, *p.* 20} *and* 21. Hishâmi makes the person who found him to be the famous Waraca but Wâckidi represents Abd al Muttalib as sending one of his grandsons to the search. The latter also gives some verses purporting to be Abd al Muttalib's prayer to the deity at the Kaaba to restore the child; but they are apocryphal.

† انا اعربكم انا من قريش ولساني لسان بني سعد ابن بكر

Wâckidi, *p.* 21.—See *Hishâmi*, *p.* 34. Sprenger translates the opening verb: "I speak best Arabic," (*p.* 77); but it has probably a more extensive signification.

‡ ادخل يره في تيابها ووضعها عاي صدرها وقضي حاجتها فبسط لها رداءه *Wâckidi*, *p.* 21. It is added that Abu Bakr and Omar treated her with equal honor, omitting, however, the actions of familiar affection referred to in the extract just quoted. But to what period this refers is not apparent; she could hardly have survived to their caliphate: indeed, we understand her to have been dead before the taking of Mecca and siege of Tâif.

the expedition against Tâif, he attacked the Bani Hawâzin, and took a multitude of them captive, they found a ready access to his heart by reminding him of the days when he was nursed among them* About the same time a woman called Shîma (by others Judâma) was brought in with some other prisoners to the camp, and when they threatened her with their swords, she declared that she was the prophet's foster sister. Mahomet enquired how he should know the truth of this, and she replied :—"Thou gavest me this bite upon my back, once upon a time, when I carried thee on my hip." The prophet recognized the mark, spread his mantle over her, and made her to sit down by him. He gave her the option of remaining in honor and dignity with him, or of returning with a present to her people, and she preferred the latter.†

The sixth year of his life (575-6 A. D.) Mahomet spent at Mecca under the care of his mother. When it was nearly at an end, she planned a visit to Medina, where she longed to show her boy to the maternal relatives of his father. So she departed with her slave girl Omm Ayman (Baraka,) who tended her child; and they rode upon two camels‡ Arrived at Medîna, she alighted at the house of Nâbigha, where her husband had died and was buried. The visit was of sufficient duration to imprint the scene and the society upon the memory of the juvenile Mahomet. He used often to call to recollection things that had happened on this occasion; and seven and forty years afterwards, when he entered Medina as a refugee, he recognized the lofty quarters of the Bani Adî :—"In this house," said he, "I used to sport with Aynasa, a little girl of Medina; 'and with my cousins, I used to put to flight the birds that 'alighted upon its roof." And as he gazed upon the house, he added;—"here it was my mother lodged with me; and in

* *Wâckidi, pp.* 21 *and* 131—*Hishâmi, p.* 379. The deputation from the Hawâzin, contained Mahomet's foster uncle Abu Burkan. Pointing to the enclosure in which the captives of their tribe were pent up, they said :—"there are three (foster) fathers and (foster) mothers of thine, and those who have fondled thee in their bosom, and we have suckled thee from our breasts. Verily we have seen thee a suckling, and never a better suckling than thou, and a weaned child, and never a better weaned child than thou; and we have seen thee a youth," &c., &c. *Wâckidi, p* 21.

† *Wâckidi, p.* 20½—*Hishâmi, p.* 379. It is added, "the Bani Saád say, he also gave her a male and a female slave; and that she united them in marriage, but they left no issue."

‡ The number of the party is not stated; but there would be one, if not two camel drivers, and perhaps a guide besides.

'this very house is the tomb of my father; and it was there in 'that well (or pond,) of the Bani Adî, that I learnt to swim."

After the sojourn of about a month, Amina bethought her of returning to Mecca, and set out in the same manner as she had come. But when she had reached, about half way, a spot called Abwâ, she sickened and died, and there she was buried. The little orphan was carried upon the camels to Mecca, by his nurse Baraka (Omm Ayman,) who, although then quite a girl, seems to have been a faithful nurse, and continued to be the child's constant attendant.

The early loss of his mother, around whom his constant heart and impressible affections had entwined themselves, no doubt imparted to the youthful Mahomet something of that pensive and meditative character, by which he was afterwards distinguished. In his seventh year he could appreciate the bereavement, and feel the desolation of his orphan state. In the Coran he has alluded touchingly to the subject. While re-assuring his heart of the divine favour, he recounts the mercies of the Almighty; and amongst them, this is the first;—"*Did he not find thee an orphan, and furnished thee with a refuge?*" (*Sura XCIII.*, 6.) On his pilgrimage from Medina to Hodeibia, he visited his mother's tomb, and he lifted up his voice and wept, and his followers likewise wept around him; and when he was asked regarding it, he said;—"the tender memory of my mother came over me, and I wept."*

The charge of the orphan was now undertaken (576 A. D.) by his grandfather Abd al Muttalib, who had by this time reached the patriarchal age of four-score years; and by whom he was treated with a singular fondness. A rug used to be spread under the shadow of the kaaba, where the aged chief reclined in shelter from the heat of the sun; and around his

* The whole of this account is from *Wâckidi* (*p.* 21½); where is added the following tradition:—"After the conquest of Mecca, Mahomet sat down by his mother's tomb, and the people sat around him, and he had the appearance of one holding a conversation with another. Then he got up, weeping; and Omar said, "*Oh thou to whom I could sacrifice both my father and my mother! Why dost thou weep?*" He replied. "*This is the tomb of my mother: the Lord hath permitted me to visit it, and I asked leave to implore pardon for her, and it was not granted: so I called her to remembrance; and the tender recollection of her overcame me, and I wept.*" And he was never seen to weep more bitterly than he did then." But Wâckidi's Secretary says this tradition is a mistake; for it supposes the tomb of Mahomet's mother to be in Mecca, whereas it is at Abwâ. The prohibition, however, against praying for his mother's salvation, is given in other traditions, and it forms a singular instance of the sternness and exclusive severity of the dogmas of Mahomet's faith.

carpet, but at a respectful distance, sat his sons. The little Mahomet used to run up close to the patriarch, and unceremoniously take possession of his rug, and when his sons would drive him off, Abd al Muttalib would say, "Let my little son alone," and stroke him on the back, and delight to watch his childish prattle.*

He was still under the care of his nurse Baraka; but he would ever and anon quit her, and run into the apartment of his grandfather, even when he was alone or asleep.

The guardianship of Abd al Muttalib lasted but two years, for he died eight years after the attack of Abraha, at the age of fourscore years and two: (578 A. D.) The orphan child bitterly felt the loss of his indulgent grandfather; as he followed the bier to the cemetery of Hajûn, he was observed to be weeping; and when he grew up, he retained a distinct remembrance of his death.† The gentle, warm, and confiding heart of Mahomet was thus again rudely wounded, and the fresh bereavement would be rendered the more poignant by the dependent position in which it left him. The nobility of his grandfather's descent, the deference with which his voice was listened to throughout the little vale of Mecca, and the splendid liberality displayed by him in discharging the annual offices of feeding the pilgrims and giving them drink, while they were witnessed with satisfaction by the thoughtful child, left, after they had passed away, a proud remembrance, and formed the seed perhaps of many an ambitious thought, and many a day-dream of power and domination.

The death of Abd al Muttalib left his family (*i. e.* the progeny of Abd Menâf,) without any powerful head, and enabled the

* *Hishâmi, p.* 35.—*Wâckidi, p.* 22. Many incidents are added to the narrative, taken evidently from the point of view of later years Thus Abd al Muttalib says "*Let him alone for he has a great destiny, and will be the inheritor of a kingdom*" :— انه ليؤنس ملكا | Wâckidi adds the injunction the nurse Baraka used to receive from him, *not to let him fall into the hands of the Jews and Christians, who were looking out for him, and would injure him!*

† *Wâckidi, p.* 22, where it is said that Mahomet was eight years of age, when his grandfather died aged eighty-eight years. Others make Abd al Muttalib to have been 110, and some even 120 years old at his death. Caussin de Perceval has shown the futility of these traditions, which would make the patriarch to have begotten Hamza when above 100 years old. (*Vol. I. p.* 290, *note* 4.)

other branch, descended by Omeya from Abd Shams (*i. e.*, the Omeyad stem,) to gain an ascendancy. Of the latter family the chief at this time was Harb, the father of Abu Sofiân, to whom belonged the "leadership" in war, and who possessed a numerous and powerful body of relations.

Of Abd al Muttalib's sons, Harith the eldest was now dead, and the chief of those who survived were Zobeir* and Abu Tâlib (both by the same mother as Abdallah the father of Mahomet,) Abu Lahab, Abbâs, and Hamza The two last were very young. Zobeir was the oldest, and to him Abd al Muttalib bequeathed his dignity and offices† Zobeir, again, left them to Abu Tâlib, who finding himself too poor to discharge the expensive and onerous task of providing for the pilgrims, waived the honor in favor of his younger brother Abbâs. But the family of Hâshim had fallen from its high estate; for we find that Abbâs was able to retain only the *Sickaya* (or giving of drink), while the *Rifâda*, (or furnishing of food,) passed into the rival branch, descended from Noufal, son of Abd Menâf‡ Abbâs was rich, and his influential post, involving the constant charge of the well Zam-zam, was retained by him till the introduction of Islam, and then confirmed to his family by the prophet, but he was not a man of strong character, and never attained to any commanding position at Mecca Abu Tâlib, on the other hand, possessed many noble qualities, and enforced a greater respect; but whether from his poverty, or other cause, he too remained in the back ground It was thus that in the oscillations of phylarchal government, the prestige of the house of Hâshim waned and disappeared; while a rival branch had risen into importance This phase of the political state of Mecca began with the death of Abd al Muttalib, and continued until the conquest of Mecca by Mahomet himself.

* *Wâckidi*, *p.* 17.

† *Wâckidi*, *ibidem*, and *p.* 15½. Zobeir evidently held a high rank at Mecca, but how long he survived is not apparent. Wâckidi says of him,

وكان شاعرا وشر بفا والله اوصي عبد المطلب

‡ Hishâmi (*p* 35,) specifies that Abbâs inherited the *Sickaya*; and the subsequent history gives proof that he held nothing more. The authority for stating that the branch of Noufal possessed the Rifâda, is given by M. C. de Perceval as derived from D'Ohsson. We have not traced it to any early Arabic writer. Abbâs, no doubt, did not inherit the *Sickaya* till Zobeir's death, when he would be old enough to manage it. M. C. de Perceval makes him succeed to it immediately after Abd al Muttalib's death, but this is opposed to tradition as well as probability, for he was then only twelve years of age.

To Abu Tâlib, the dying Abd al Muttalib consigned the guardianship of his orphan grandchild; and faithfully and kindly did he discharge the trust.* His fondness for the lad equalled that of Abd al Muttalib himself: he made him sleep by his bed, eat by his side, and go with him when he walked abroad: and this tender treatment was continued until Mahomet emerged from the helplessness of childhood.†

It was during this period that Abu Tâlib, accompanied by Mahomet, undertook a mercantile journey to Syria. At first he intended to leave the lad behind him, for he had reached twelve years of age, and was able to take care of himself. But when the caravan was now ready, and Abu Tâlib prepared to mount his camel, his nephew was overcome by the prospect of so long a separation, and clung by his protector. Abu Tâlib was moved, and carried the boy along with him. The expedition extended to Bostra and perhaps farther. The journey lasted for several months, and afforded to the young Mahomet opportunities of observation, which were not lost upon him. He passed near to Petra, Jerash, Ammon, and other ruinous sites of former mercantile grandeur; and their sight, no doubt, deeply imprinted upon his reflective mind the instability of earthly greatness. The legends of the valley of Hejer, with its lonely deserted habitations hewn out of the rock, and the tale of divine vengeance against the cities of the plain, over which now rolled the billows of the Dead Sea, would excite apprehension and awe, while their strange and startling details would win and charm the childish heart, ever yearning after the marvellous. On this visit, too, he came into contact with the national profession of Christianity in Syria, and passed through several

* *Wâckidi, p.* 22. The disposition, however, to magnify the prophet is manifest here, as in the case of Abd al Muttalib: and there is added this marvellous incident connected with Abu Tâlib's scanty means, that the family always rose from their frugal meal hungry and unsatisfied if Mahomet were not present, but if he were there, they were not only satisfied, but had victuals to spare. So, too, the other children used to run about with foul eyes and dishevelled hair, whereas the little Mahomet's head was always sleek and his eyes clean. There thus appears so continuous a tendency to glorify the nascent prophet, that it becomes hard to decide what, amidst these statements, to accept as facts and what to reject. Vide *Canons I. C. and II. D. in* No. XXXVII. *above quoted.*)

† The reason given for Mahomet being entrusted to Abu Tâlib, is, that his father Abdallah was brother to Abu Tâlib by the same mother, (*Tabari, p.* 59); but so was Zobeir also.

Jewish settlements. The former he never before had witnessed, for he could as yet have been acquainted only with occasional and isolated specimens of the Christian faith. Now he saw its rites in full performance by the whole people of the land. The national and the social customs founded upon Christianity, the churches with their crosses, images or pictures, and other symbols of the faith; the ringing of bells; the frequent assemblages for worship, the accounts (and, possibly, the glimpse by himself,) of the continually repeated ceremonial, must have effected a deep impression upon him, which would be made all the more practical and lasting by the sight of whole tribes, Arab like himself, converted to the same faith and practising the same observances. However fallen and materialized was the Christianity of that day in Syria, it cannot be doubted that it would strike the thoughtful observer in favorable and wonderful contrast with the gross and unspiritual idolatry of Mecca. Once again, in mature life, Mahomet visited Syria, and whatever reflections of this nature were then excited, would receive an intenser force, and a deeper color, from the bright scenes and charming images which childhood had pictured upon the same ground.*

* The account of this journey is given by all the biographers with the many ridiculous details anticipative of Mahomet's prophetical dignity. The following is the gist of them:

The youthful Mahomet, along with the rest of the caravan, alighted at a monastery or hermitage on the road, occupied by a monk called Bahîra. The monk perceived by a cloud which hovered over the company, the bending of boughs to shelter one of them number, &c., that it continued the prophet expected shortly to arise. He therefore invited the party to an entertainment; but when they had assembled, he perceived that the object of his search was not amongst them. he enquired where the wanting guest was, and they sent for the lad Mahomet, who, on account of his youth, had been left to watch the encampment. Bahîra questioned him and examined his body for the seal of prophecy, which he found upon his back. he then referred to his sacred books, found all the marks to correspond, and declared the boy to be the expected prophet. He proceeded to warn Abu Talib against the Jews, who would at once recognize the child as the coming prophet, and, moved by jealousy, seek to slay him. Abu Talib was alarmed, and forthwith set out for Mecca with his nephew.

The fable is so absurd, that a feeling of contempt and mistrust is excited with respect to the entire traditional collections, which every here and there give place to such tales. A clue to the religious principle which engendered these stories is attempted in the Article of No. XXXVII of this *Review*, *Canon II G.*

Dr. Sprenger thinks that Abu Tâlib sent back Mahomet under charge of Bahîra to Mecca; (*Life, p.* 79) and grounds his deduction on the phrase طا لب معه ابو ذ ك ر —at p. 22½ of Wâckidi. But this expression may equally signify, "Abu Talib took him back *with himself*" to Mecca, and this meaning is undoubtedly the one intended.

The subject has been discussed in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen gesellschaft, Vol. III. p.* 454, *IV. p.* 188; and *IV. p.* 457,; where professors Fleischer

No farther incident of a special nature is related of Mahomet, until he had advanced from childhood into youth.*

and Wustenfeld oppose Dr Sprenger's view Dr Sprenger has written a further paper on the subject in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1853, where he has given the various authorities in original, bearing upon the point I *Tirmidzi* says that Abu Tâlib sent Mahomet back from Syria by Abu Bakr and Bilal which (as Sprenger shows,) is absurd, seeing that the former was two years younger than Mahomet, and the latter then not born II, *Hishami* makes Abu Talib himself return with Mahomet, after concluding his business at Bostra III *Wackidi* gives several traditions, *one* in which the monk immediately after warning Abu Talib to make Mahomet return without loss of time to Mecca, expires (*Wâckidi*, *p* 22½) and a *second*, that, viz, quoted above, upon which Dr Sprenger so much relies (*Ibid*). But he has omitted a *third* detailed account of the journey which is given in the same volume, on the authority of Muhammad ibn Omar (*i e* Wâckidi himself) it is full of marvellous statements and ends with distinctly saying that Abu Talib returned to Mecca with Mahomet ورجع به ابو طالب This may have escaped Dr. Sprenger's notice, as it occurs under another chapter in Wackidi, *i. e.* the "marks of prophetical rank in Mahomet."(*p* 28½) So also (*Tabari*, *p* 60) فخرج به عمه سريعا

Dr Sprenger goes further He suspects that the monk not only accompanied Mahomet to Mecca, but *remained* there with him and as he finds the name *Bahira* in the list of a deputation from the Abyssinian King to Mahomet at Medina, forty years later, he concludes the two to have been one and the same person, and he thinks that the early Mahometan writers endeavoured to conceal the fact, as one discreditable to their prophet The conjecture is ingenious, but the basis on which it rests is wholly insufficient. It is besides quite inconsistent with our theory of the rise of traditions, in which *design* is not apparent Omissions no doubt occurred, and stories died out, but on different grounds (*See Canon II L in the article on the Sources for the Biography of Mahomet, above quoted*)

Some Arabs will have it that this monk was called Jergîs (*Georgius*), Christian apologists call him Sergius

* Weil (*p* 29) states that in his sixteenth year Mahomet journeyed to Yemen with his uncle Zobeir on a mercantile trip. Dr Sprenger (*p* 79 *note* 3) says that there is no good authority for this statement, nor can we find any original authority for it at all. The expression with respect to Abu Talib (ولم يكن تسافر سفرا الا كان معه) "that he never undertook a journey, unless Mahomet were with him," might possibly imply that he undertook several, but in the absence of any express instance it can hardly be pressed to prove that he did So (*Wâckidi p* 29) it is said that Abu Talib never took him again on a journey after this Syrian expedition, fearing lest injury should befall him (ورجع به ابو طالب فما خرج به سفرا بعد ذلك خوفا عليه) —but the sentence is a mere pendant to the absurd story of the Jews recognizing in Mahomet the coming prophet, and seeking to lie in wait for his life, and is therefore equally futile with it

The chief reason which leads us to suppose that this was Mahomet's only mercantile journey (besides that taken for Khadija,) is that had he undertaken any other, we should indubitably have had special notice of it in Wâckidi, Hishâmi, or Tabari.

ART. IV.—1. *The Life and Correspondence of Henry St. George Tucker, late Accountant General of Bengal, and Chairman of the East India Company. By John William Kaye. London,* 1854.

2. *Memorials of Indian Government; being a Selection from the Papers of Henry St. George Tucker, late Director of the East India Company. Edited by John William Kaye. London,* 1854.

WE have long been accustomed to regard the late Mr. Tucker as a sort of Nestor amongst Anglo-Indians. Although he did not very far over-run the gaol of human life, having died in his eighty-first year, yet when we consider that he spent sixty-five years either in India or in close connexion with its Government, we conclude that his Indian experience was probably more extensive than that of any other man of our age. When he arrived in India, in 1786, he must have come into contact with many men who had been here at least thirty-six years earlier; and it is not unreasonable to expect that of the men whom he was instrumental in sending to India in his late years, some will live and labor on to the end of the present century. Hence he forms a connecting link between the men of 1750 and the men of 1900. Even if Indian generations be longer-lived than they are generally supposed to be, it might have been said of him during not a few of the last years of his life :—

> Τῳ δ' ηδη δυο μεν γενεαι μεροπων ἀνθρωπων
> Εφθιαθ', οἱ δι προσθεν ἁμα τραφεν ἠδ' ἐγενοντο
> Εν Πυλῳ ἡγαθεῃ, μετα δε τριτατοισιν ἀνασσεν.

The history and opinions of a very ordinary man, whose experience had been spread over so wide a space, would possess a value and an interest derived from this circumstance alone. But Mr. Tucker was not an ordinary man. Rather he was a very extraordinary one. His extraordinary energy makes his *life* a useful study to all who are entering upon the great life-battle, while his no less extraordinary sagacity renders his opinions worthy to be deeply pondered by those who are, or who hope to be, entrusted with the rule of this mighty Empire; Mr. Kaye has therefore done wisely and well in giving these two volumes to the world.

Henry St. George Tucker was born on the 15th of February, 1771, in the island of St. George's, (one of the Bermudas), from which we presume he derived his *agnomen*. His earlier boyhood was passed as that of an active boy might be expected

to be passed in a remote island, with no schools and few books, and with few or no suitable companions of his own age. His chief employments were riding and boating, varied occasionally by a *spill* on the land, and an involuntary *dip* in the water. These exercises converted a somewhat delicate child into a fearless and vigorous boy, and had, doubtless, their influence in forming the character of an energetic, persevering and able man. When ten years old, he was sent to England, and after an attack of the small-pox, entered upon the scene of life in a "Do-the-boys-hall" at Hampstead. Here apparently he remained little more than four years; and when we consider that on his arrival in England, his whole stock of learning consisted of "a little reading and less writing," we cannot but wonder how he managed, in the course of so short a period, to pick up so much information, and to form so good habits of thinking and reasoning, as we find him possessed of immediately after his leaving school. The occasion of his abrupt removal from Hampstead was an offer made him by an aunt to send him to India. She procured for him a mid-shipman's berth on board ship; but whether this was intended merely as a means of providing him with a cheap passage to the land of the Gold Mohur tree, or whether it was meant that he should abide by the marine service, and make his permanent home upon the deep, does not clearly appear from the narrative before us; and we have no means of ascertaining the point. The latter seems the more probable supposition, as he spent the "six or eight weeks" that intervened between his appointment and departure, in attendance on a teacher of navigation, which would scarcely have been deemed necessary, had his sea-life been expected to terminate with a voyage. Thus endowed with such amount of knowledge as could be picked up in two months, and with two golden guineas presented to him by his kind aunt, our hero set off for Gravesend, in a carriage and four, being, with two other midshipmen, under the charge of the purser. The account of the voyage of the *William Pitt*, transcribed from Mr. Tucker's journal, is amusing and interesting—the sea-sickness—the discipline (quarter-deck and cockpit)—the tricks played upon the green-horn,—the salt junk—and the Sunday evenings' Bible-readings in the cabin of the purser, followed by a regale of gingerbread and a glass of wine or cherry-brandy, are all graphically and pleasantly described. As a fair specimen of Mr. Tucker's style, let us extract the following incident:—

> I had lost a wager to one of my mess-mates of a dozen of ducks; and, whether through his influence, or my own extraordinary merit and trustworthiness, I was sent on shore (at Madras) in the first boat, conveying

stores, or investment, to the beach. This was too favorable an opportunity to be lost, and I was commissioned to add a pig to my dozen of ducks, for the purpose of having a proper *cheveau* on the very next day, which, I believe, was Sunday—I succeeded admirably. The ducks gave me no trouble, for they were dead; but a live pig is a queer customer, and I not only had some trouble with him, but when he was handed up the side of the ship, with all due ceremony, he squeaked so as to attract the quick ear, or keen eye, of our chief officer. This was a contre-temps which gave me much vexation.

The next morning I was placed on general duty, and was employed incessantly under the immediate eye of the chief officer himself, until it pleased him to retire from the quarter-deck to take a hasty dinner. My ducks, in the mean time, had been roasted, served up, and nearly consumed, with the little rascal of a pig. No time was to be lost. Down I went to the orlop, to feast upon the debris; but I had a certain presentiment, or misgiving, that I should not be allowed to pick my bones in peace, so I prepared for the worst, like a skilful general who foresees a manœuvre on the part of his opponent. Anon a gruff voice thundered down the hatchway, 'Below there, Midshipman Tucker!' I lost not a moment. Off went my shirt, and in an instant I sprang upon the medicine chest, which occupied the hatch, almost in a state of nature. I then made a pathetic appeal to the immutable principles of justice—urged that I had been at work the whole morning—had not had time to clean myself, nor (I might have added) to pick the bones of my delicious ducks. The tiger growled, and went in search of other prey. This was a triumph not unworthy of Alexander, with the advantage of not shedding a drop of blood; and I proceeded, with some exultation, to finish my dainty repast, too long delayed.

After remaining ten days at Madras, the *William Pitt* proceeded to Bengal; and on her arrival at Diamond Harbour, Mr. Tucker bade her farewell, and was transferred to a budgerow, sent for him by his uncle, Mr. Bruere, one of the Secretaries to Government, whose guest he became. The month of August was a bad time to arrive in Calcutta. The close of the rains, the most unhealthy season of the year, was at hand; and a cock-pit appetite, brought to bear upon the delicacies of an old civilian's table, probably contributed to hasten on the "acclimatizing process," and to reduce the sturdy midshipman into the Calcutta invalid. We have often had occasion to witness this "fining down" process, and it must have been abundantly accelerated in those days by the ample doses of calomel which it was orthodox to administer on all occasions. The process over, we find our hero, at the close of the year, (1786) at Gyah, the guest of Mr. Thomas Law, whom our author has heard described as "the father of the Permanent Settlement, and brother of Lord Ellenborough;" but whether he had merely gone on a visit to this gentleman, or whether he had got an appointment there, does not clearly appear. Mr. Law had his mind at this time full of the subject of the Permanent Settlement, and he took great delight in expounding his views

on revenue matters to his ardent guest, whom long after he delighted to regard as his pupil, and whose distinguished career he traced with a paternal interest. An excellent "second spear" in a boar hunt, and an intelligent student of all matters relating to the condition of the people, it is not wonderful that young Tucker should have won the heart of Mr. Law.

With Mr. Law he continued for about a year, and in the cold weather of 1787-88, he returned to Calcutta. We have stated above, that we cannot exactly make out the position that he occupied in Gyah. Mr. Kaye conjectures that he had been appointed to an office in the Secretariat in Calcutta, and that "a certain time had been allowed him to join his office and commence his duties." He is led to this conjecture by the fact that, during Mr. Tucker's absence at Gyah, certain money was being regularly drawn for him by an agent in Calcutta, and this he supposes to have been the salary of his office in the Calcutta Secretariat. We will not say that this might not have been. If his uncle were the head of the office,* it is not impossible that, in those days, leave of absence for seven months, with full salary, might be granted to an Uncovenanted Assistant. But is it not more likely that he held some appointment in Mr. Law's office at Gyah, the salary of which was paid in Calcutta? Is not this supposition more consistent than the other, with an expression in a letter of Mr. Law's, written long after, "I rejoice that Gyah produced Barlow, and you, and me"? It strikes us that it would scarcely have been a correct expression to say that Gyah produced Tucker, unless he had held some office or other there. Be this as it may, Mr. Tucker entered upon his office at the date last mentioned, and on the receipt of Rs. 200 a month. The money that we have just referred to as having been drawn for him during his absence, was, like so much money drawn in Calcutta, *nowhere*. His agent had failed, and not only did he find himself with *nothing*, but all the bills that he had directed to be paid in Calcutta were found unpaid; and thus, instead of being, as he expected, in possession of a considerable fund, he found himself burdened with a considerable debt. This he set about discharging by monthly instalments, and succeeded in clearing it off in the course of a year.† In this office he continued till the close of the year 1788, and won golden opinions from

* Mr. Kaye thinks it "probable that this appointment had been procured for him through the instrumentality of Mr. Law." Is it not *more* probable that it was given him by his uncle, Mr. Bruere, in whose office it probably was?

† His Biographer says, "before two years had come to a close," and then adds—"before the year 1789 dawned upon him, he found himself clear of debt." But

his official superiors. He was employed in duties far above his years, and acquitted himself so well, that the drafts of papers which he drew up on important and complicated questions, were adopted without alteration as the orders of Government. After a year's tenure of his office, he was transferred to the appointment of assistant to the Commercial Resident of Commercolly and Hurripaul, on the same salary that he had drawn in Calcutta. Here he was fagged even beyond *his* strength; and the offer of doubling his salary was not sufficient to detain him there. Although often kept at his desk, "fasting, and 'weary, in a close, hot room, two or three hours after sunset, 'until, utterly exhausted with want of food and rest, his head sank 'on the table before him," he managed to enter deeply into questions of revenue and finance; and his letters on these subjects, addressed to Mr. Law, "are now (as his biographer truly says) 'after a lapse of sixty years, to be read by grown men, with 'pleasure and profit, not as curiosities with the infant-phenome-'non stamp upon them, but as papers of intrinsic value, admira-'bly written, and full of instruction." Altogether, these letters, written by a lad of eighteen, appear to us to afford an indication of an early developement of powers, to which, taken in connexion with the long continuance of these powers in full vigor, it would scarcely be possible to find a parallel.

At the close of 1789 Mr. Tucker returned to Calcutta, and his former situation being of course filled up, he "took a desk" without salary in one of the offices. At this time he lived in a small apartment in the Raneemoody gully, and supported himself on Sixty Rupees a month, lent to him by Mr. Law. Here he disputed possession of his humble abode with "the rats 'and the mice, who fell into a strife." But this period of depression did not continue long. In the course of the year 1790, he was appointed Assistant to the Accountant of the Board of Trade, and also Private Secretary to Sir William Jones. From these two offices he derived an income of 600 Rupees a month: and what was far better,—"in the Accountant's Office he laid 'broad and deep the foundation of his fame as a financier; 'whilst sitting at the feet of Sir William Jones, his natural 'taste for elegant literature found due cultivation, and there

Mr. Tucker came to Calcutta "in the cold weather of 1787-88;" and the cold weather does not begin before October. The earliest pay that he could draw must therefore have been for November, 1787. Then the debt was cleared off before the 1st of January, 1789; but his pay for December, 1788, would not be drawn till some days after, so that the whole debt must have been cleared out of the salary of the thirteen months, November 1787, to November, 1788, inclusive. We are confident that Mr. Kaye will take in good part this correction, which so much adds to the force of the lesson which he is anxious to teach.

'was little chance of his ever subsiding into a mere man of 'accounts and details. His love of literature abided with him 'to the closing years of his life." But he yet required discipline and training in the school of affliction, and it came upon him in due time. Towards the close of 1791, he entered into a speculation, in company with the well-known John Palmer. We have heard that they made an enormous investment in wax-candles for exportation to England, which yielded no return. But whether this is the correct account of the matter, we do not know. At all events, he was "smashed," and for ten long years he had to struggle with debt; and when at last he came out victor from the conflict, it was manifest that his powers had been tasked to the very uttermost, and that a little more would have cost him his life. But in 1792 he received the good tidings of his appointment to the Company's Covenanted Civil Service. His appointment as an Assistant in the Accountant General's Department, bears date the 26th of October, 1792, and his official superior soon said that he did as much in six weeks as any one else could have done in six months. We have so often alluded to Mr. Tucker's income in the various stages of his career, that some of our readers may think that we are inclined to attach undue importance to the matter; but really, among the many important life-lessons that such a biography as his is fitted to teach, there is perhaps no one more important than this, that a man of energy may live, and live well, because honestly and independently, upon an income that many would regard as scarcely sufficient to provide a young man with kid gloves and perfumery. For this and other reasons we think it right to state that Mr. Tucker's salary, as Covenanted Assistant to the Accountant General, was, during his first year's tenure of that office, not more than 200 Rupees a month, and this, although during some portion of the time he "doubled up" with his own office, that of a Commissioner of the Court of Requests, for which it does not appear that he got any additional salary. In the spring of 1793 he was appointed Register to the Zillah Court of Rajshaye, and here he formed a life-lasting friendship with Henry Colebrooke.

In the course of 1793 Lord Cornwallis handed over the Government of India to Sir John Shore; but Mr. Tucker's prospects were in no way injured by the change. He had been appreciated by Lord Cornwallis; and Mr. Law and Mr. Barlow, his Gyah friends, took care that his successor should have his attention directed to the young financier. His attention once directed to revenue talents, Shore was the man to recognize, appreciate, and employ them to advantage. Accordingly, he was

but a very few months on the vice-regal throne ere he appointed Tucker Deputy Register of the Sudder Courts, and assistant to the Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Judicial Department. Shortly after, he was nominated Register of the Provincial Court of Patna; but on a representation being made to Government that he could not be spared from the Secretary's Office, he was allowed to remain in Calcutta, with compensation for the larger allowances that he would have had in Patna. Nor did he long hold a subordinate place in the Secretary's Office. In 1796 Mr. Barlow was promoted to the chief Secretaryship, and Mr. Tucker succeeded him in the Revenue and Judicial Department. He had now the best opportunity that could be desired of preparing himself, in every respect, for whatever part he might afterwards have to take in the Government of India, while his salary of Rs. 1,000 a month gave him the delightful sight of the gradual diminution of the debt that had pressed so heavily upon him for five years.

On the 18th May, 1798, Lord Mornington arrived in Calcutta; and with his arrival began a new era in the history of British India. It was a wondrous time all through the world, that close of the 18th century—a time of great events—a time to require and call forth the energies of great men. Such a man was the Governor-General, and his powers were fully tasked. With a war inevitable, that promised to be of greater magnitude than any of those waged by his predecessors, with not only an empty treasury, but with a debt equal to the income of several years, with a revenue unable to discharge the expenses even of a peace establishment, and unable to raise loans otherwise than at a ruinous rate of interest, an inferior man would have yielded to the difficulties of his position, and sought for the most honorable terms of compromise that he could obtain.

But it did not come natural to the Wellesley family to yield, and the difficulties of the Governor-General's position only served to call forth his powers. One of the first objects to which he directed his attention, was a general revision of all the public establishments of the three Presidencies. For this purpose a Commission was named, consisting of several of the heads of Departments. But his Lordship knew well that a Commission for such a purpose requires to consist of two elements, combining the experience of age with the vigor of youth. While therefore three of the Members were—the President of the Board of Revenue, one of the Members of the Board of Trade, and the Accountant-General, the fourth was Mr. Tucker, who was also Secretary to the Commission. The labors of this Commission were most effective, and Tucker subsequently

received assurances, in various most gratifying shapes, of the Governor-General's appreciation of the mode in which he discharged his part of this difficult and delicate service.

The next subject to which we find Mr. Tucker's attention directed, was the establishment of a Bank, to be partly under the control of Government. He drew up a scheme for such a Bank, and presented it to Lord Mornington, shortly after his arrival ; and although it was not immediately put in operation, yet a few years later it issued in the establishment of the Bank of Bengal, an institution that has rendered so good service both to the Government of India and to the community, that it is difficult now to imagine how they could have gone on so long without it. The constitution actually adopted was almost precisely that proposed by Mr. Tucker. We next get a glimpse of our hero in a new character. India was threatened with an invasion by Napoleon, and the denizens of Calcutta followed the example of their brethren in Old England, and enrolled themselves as volunteers, to be trained to render such aid as they might in his expulsion. Mr. Tucker was of course a leader in this movement, and he seems to have attained the rank of a Captain of the Cavalry Corps, and Commandant of the whole Militia. We are accustomed to hear much of the "railway speed" with which events are moving on in these last days ; but it were a great mistake to suppose that they always stood still or moved very slowly in former times. There were epochs of intense and rapid action in former days, and such an one was the Administration of Lord Wellesley. Accordingly we next meet with Mr. Tucker in connexion with the preliminary arrangements for the foundation of the College of Fort William. In anticipation of the results that were expected to flow from the working of that establishment, the Governor-General instituted examinations of the Civilians, and Mr. Tucker was one of the Board of Examiners.

At the end of 1798, as all our readers know, the Governor-General proceeded to Madras, personally to direct the war against Tippu ; and in the spring of the following year, Mr. Tucker's health requiring a change of air, he also went down to Madras. He had not been long there when he was appointed to act as Military Secretary to the Governor-General, and it was probably only now that Lord Wellesley learned fully to appreciate the rare endowments of Mr. Tucker. It was in consequence of this appreciation that the Governor-General wished to transfer him to the Madras establishment, in order to his being employed in instituting an enquiry into the organization of the official establishments of that Presidency, similar to that in which he had

taken part in Bengal. Mr. Tucker felt that this would be an invidious office, and at his solicitation the arrangement was first postponed, and ultimately abandoned. On his Lordship's return to Calcutta, the new arrangements, consequent upon the investigation of the Bengal Commission, were brought into operation, and Mr. Tucker, who came back with the Governor-General, was appointed Secretary to Government in the Revenue and Judicial Department. The rules of the service did not admit of a Civilian of his standing drawing the full salary of such an office, and therefore Lord Wellesley proposed that he should draw the largest allowances that his standing would admit, and that these should be increased from time to time, until they reached the full allowance of Rs. 50,000 a year. He had held this office for but a few months, when he was required to add to its duties those of Acting Accountant-General; and this latter office having become vacant early in the following year, Mr. Tucker was transferred to it. For the sake of the extra-Indian portion of our readers, we ought to explain, what is well known to the Indian portion of them, that the Accountant-General is the Finance Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the Indian Empire. The office is at all times one of exceeding difficulty and most weighty responsibility, and on occasion of such a crisis as actually occurred during Mr. Tucker's tenure of it, becomes in some respects even more important than that of the Governor-General himself. It is said that Laplace lamented that he had not been fated to live before Newton; and perhaps he was the only man that was entitled to feel such regret, as he was probably the only man, between Newton's days and our own, that was entitled without presumption to entertain the idea, that he would have made the discoveries which Newton made. So if there should ever arise in India a Financier equal to Tucker, he will be entitled to regret that he has rendered the achievement of a fame equal to his own in this department a virtual impossibility. We cannot detail the various steps that he took, or the various results that he achieved. But it will give a general idea that the achievements were not trifling, when we state that, when he entered upon the office, Company's Paper, bearing interest at 12 per cent. was selling at 2 and 3 per cent. discount; that he had not long held the office, ere Government could borrow money at 8 per cent.; and that the system which he introduced, faithfully carried out during fifty years, has caused that at the present moment, when we have just heard that the English 3 per cent. Consols were lately at 85, the Company's 4 per cent. Paper is at 98.

Our readers cannot have failed to notice the multitudinous changes through which Mr. Tucker passed. They had generally been forced upon him, as being the fittest man available for certain appointments; and some of the appointments he had accepted with considerable reluctance, involving as they did pecuniary sacrifice, and requiring him to serve his apprenticeship afresh. But now we have to record a change more important than any of the preceding. After various negotiations, conducted throughout in an admirable spirit, and highly creditable to all parties concerned, Mr. Tucker resolved to give up his appointment, and to become a partner in the mercantile house of Cockerell, Traill, Palmer and Co. His main inducement to take this step, was the hope that it would enable him to return to England at an earlier period than he could hope to do by continuing in the Civil Service, the terms of his copartnership being, that after three years' residence in India, as a managing partner of the house, he should have the option of retiring to England and being admitted to a share of the home business. When the announcement of this step was made to Lord Wellesley, he was naturally surprised, and, we think not very unnaturally, somewhat angry. He threatened to strike his name from the list of the service altogether; and although Mr. Tucker had, probably, no expectation that he should ever return to active employment in that service, he of course did not relish the idea of being excluded from it. A compromise was made. Mr. Tucker consented to remain in office for four months, acting at the same time as senior member of the mercantile house. But although he discharged the duties of both offices, and although those of the mercantile office were very laborious, yet he would not receive from his partners any portion of the profits that accrued, as long as he was in the enjoyment of his salary as Accountant-General. On his retirement from office, Lord Wellesley put on record a minute, in which he gracefully acknowledged the services which Mr. Tucker had rendered to the Government. On the subject of Mr. Tucker's retirement, his biographer thus expresses himself:—

That such a step as Mr. Tucker had taken should have been diversely regarded by different friends, was natural—indeed necessary. To view the matter with plain mercantile eyes was one thing—to view it with official eyes was another. There were men, indeed, who looked upon it as a blunder, and others who saw it in the light of an offence: some shaking their heads in sorrow, others resenting it almost in anger. Among the former, it seems, was Mr. Tucker's first and best friend, Thomas Law. Among the latter was Lord Wellesley. Of the worldly wisdom of the act doubts may be fairly expressed. In this case, as will presently appear,

the experiment was not worked out to the result of ultimate success or failure, but seldom any thing *but* failure has closed upon such experiments It would be easy to multiply instances of men who have abandoned the fairest prospects of official advancement for a life of obscurity, poverty and toil They have made a fatal mistake, and are to be commiserated, but they are not to be condemned On Mr. Tucker, however, Lord Wellesley was inclined to pass something like condemnation The Accountant-General had delivered over the public finances to his successor in a most flourishing condition, and had been officially eulogized by the Governor-General himself But the approbation which descended upon the returning Finance Minister in his public capacity, did not follow him into private life The Governor-General marked his sense of Mr Tucker's withdrawal from official life, by ordering his name to be erased from the dinner-list of Government House

We cannot help feeling greater sympathy than Mr. Kaye seems to feel with Lord Wellesley's conduct in this matter Mr Tucker had the best prospects in the Civil Service of any man of his time Lord Wellesley had treated him with great distinction—not more, indeed, than he deserved, yet much more than official duty absolutely required He had, as it were, taken him into partnership with himself in the enterprise on which his heart was set,—the good Government of India—and when he found that, without once consulting him, he had entered deliberately into, and had actually concluded, arrangements for closing that partnership and entering into another,—it was scarcely to be expected that he should not feel "hurt," when the intelligence was communicated to him Officially Mr Tucker had rendered good service for his pay, and had got good pay for his service, the Governor-General acknowledged the value of that service in an official Minute, and so the official account between them was closed. But he knew very well that Lord Wellesley regarded him as a valuable assistant, that he had received important aid from him, and expected still more important aid from him in the Government of India, and had His Lordship continued to treat him precisely as he would have done had he fulfilled his expectations in this respect, his Lordship must have been either a very callous man, a very forgiving one, or a very hypocritical one However, be this as it may, "anger resteth (only) in the bosom of fools," and Lord Wellesley was not a fool It is pleasing to know that a complete reconciliation took place between these men before the departure of the Governor-General, and that their mutual regard and esteem remained unimpaired during many long subsequent years. Mr. Tucker had the satisfaction of finding that the same business habits, and large yet practical views that had made his services so valuable to the Government which he had served, were equally available in his new sphere for the advantage of

himself and his partners. He had every fair prospect of being able speedily to return to England, and to take his place in the London house, and this prospect was fondly cherished and highly valued.

But it was not so to be. Lord Cornwallis began his second Governor-Generalship on the 30th of July, 1805, and on that or the following day, he sent for Mr. Tucker, and requested him again to take charge of the Public Finances. We must state the case in the words of the biography.

> By no man was Lord Cornwallis more respected and more beloved than by Mr. Tucker. No man saw more clearly, than the old Accountant-General, that the State had need, in such an emergency, of all the administrative capacity it could command, and most especially in the department of Finance. But much as, on these accounts, it would have delighted him to return to his old office, he was compelled, at this time, to recognize the cogency of other more immediate claims. He could not, without injury to his associates in business, withdraw himself from the mercantile house with which he was connected, and of which his industry and ability had rendered him confessedly the main stay. It was, indeed, his primary duty, under the circumstances which then surrounded him, to cling to the mercantile friends with whom he had linked himself, whatever might be the allurements which tempted him to return to the service of the State. He was still on the list of Government servants, but he had made his election to retire. And the pledges which he had made to his associates could not then be violated without injury to the house, and without discredit to himself. He could only, indeed, withdraw under a voluntary release from his partners in business, and the assurance that his withdrawal would not be detrimental to the house.
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> The flattering offer made to him by Lord Cornwallis was therefore declined.

But it was not long ere the arrangement was effected. Lord Cornwallis died at Ghazipore, after having held the reins of Government but a few months, and Sir George Barlow succeeded him as Governor-General. It had been a promise of long standing, probably made in joke in the old Gyah days, when there was no great likelihood of its ever being fulfilled, that if ever Barlow should be Governor-General, Tucker should be his Accountant-General. There was no obstacle now to Tucker's leaving his mercantile avocations, as Mr. Palmer was on his way to India to relieve him. On the 18th October (1805) Mr. Tucker once more returned to his desk in the Accountant-General's Office, and entered upon the discharge of his duties with his accustomed energy and zeal. Whether any one might be blame-worthy or not, it is not of much consequence to enquire, but it is a simple fact that Mr. Tucker found the Indian exchequer exhausted—and more. Lord Cornwallis had come out to supersede Lord Wellesley, expressly with a view to the introduction of a state of things in which economy and

retrenchment were to be the alpha and the omega; and looking at the case through the medium of half a century, it does seem to us that there was no alternative, but to diminish greatly the expenditure of Government, or to go to wreck and ruin without remeed. Mr. Tucker knew that it was on a life-and-death struggle that he was entering, and he girt himself for the conflict accordingly. The first step was clearly to ascertain the precise financial position of the Company, and this was no easy matter; this done, it was the Accountant-General's part to provide for the current expenditure, and to organize measures for finally extricating the Company from their embarrassments. The labor and the anxiety were immense; but Tucker was in his element. His letters at this time to Barlow are fraught with intense interest, and if we had sufficient space, we should like to quote some of them. They are filled with statements of difficulties from which most men would have shrunk in dismay; but this idea never seems to have entered the mind of Mr. Tucker. He only saw a great work to be done, he knew that the doing of it was essential to the very existence of the East India Company, and unflinchingly, amidst all discouragements, he went on from year to year, until the end was triumphantly realized. Every thing can be forgiven in an Indian Governor-General, but economy and retrenchment; and Sir George Barlow was at the extreme of unpopularity amongst all classes of Anglo-Indians—an unpopularity second only, if second, to that which afterwards, from a similar cause, attached to Lord William Bentinck, when a young Ensign was afraid to acknowledge at mess that he was nearly related to the Governor-General. In Sir George's unpopularity Mr. Tucker shared. To us it seems that the following paragraphs, which we make no apology for quoting at length, savour more of the verdict of the impartial judge, than of the pleading of the interested counsel.

Even in these days men may question the wisdom and the propriety of some of these individual acts of reform; but looking at the aggregate, it must be admitted that they were necessary. Impartial history cannot refuse to pronounce that they were honestly and manfully carried out. Barlow and Tucker had not a thought beyond the interests of the state. The duty which had devolved upon them was as painful as it was onerous; and they went through it with the sturdy resolution and self-negation of honest men. And I believe that, if their cotemporaries had read, as I have done, all the correspondence which passed between these two public functionaries at that time, they would, in spite of all private inducements to censure and condemn, have regarded with respect the straightforward conduct of the Governor-General and his Minister of Finance. But the exigencies of the occasion were not appreciated, and the motives of the men were not understood. It was natural that in such a conjunc-

ture rash judgments should be passed. It is the great privilege of honesty, to live them down.

In carrying out the details of the measures, which, little by little, and almost against the fondest hopes of their projector, had the effect of restoring something like order to our finances, Mr. Tucker was necessarily brought into collision with members of his own service, for it was his to stimulate the tardy and to reproach the indolent; and more than one Revenue Officer at this time received a private hint from the Accountant-General, that if a little more activity were not displayed in the collections, a public reprimand would be the result of his remissness. To one Collector he wrote: "you are charged with a most important trust; and much will depend on your energy and activity. I trust for your sake and my own, and for the sake of the public service, that you will exert yourself with vigor; for I tell you candidly, and from motives of real good-will towards you, that if I perceived the least relaxation upon your part, it would be my duty to represent it, that steps might be taken to give effect to the efforts which I have been called upon to make." To another he wrote in the same strain: "this is a moment when the exertions of every public officer may be of importance to the service; I trust you will exert yourself, and pay immediate attention to the instructions you receive. I know that I have no right to urge or recommend any thing privately to you or any other public officer; but knowing, as you must, that I can be influenced by none but a good motive, you will, I am persuaded, take what I say in good part, and be better satisfied with my calling your attention to an object of importance in a private letter, than if I had addressed you in my public capacity." Other passages of a similar tendency might be quoted from Mr. Tucker's correspondence with the Revenue Officers in the provinces. "When I inform you," he wrote to them, "that every lakh of rupees, which you remit to the army, probably puts an end to a monthly expense of an equal amount, you will be able to understand my urgency." This, indeed, was not the least distressing of his duties at this time; but he performed it, not only with temper and moderation, but with such kindness, that it does not appear that the performance, uncompromising as it was, entailed much odium upon him. In estimating, however, the difficulties of Mr. Tucker's position, it should be borne in mind that he was a younger man, and younger in the service, than the majority of those whose proceedings he controlled, and whose conduct he commented upon; and that he had just been called from the counting-house of a private mercantile firm to take these responsibilities upon him.

Such energetic and disinterested conduct had its reward. Although Sir George Barlow was removed from the Governor-Generalship, and although the full amount of the difficulties through which he and Mr. Tucker had to struggle, are probably made known to the public for the first time by Mr. Kaye, and though therefore they received but little of that sympathy from the public generally which might have been some compensation for the reproach cast upon them by those whose interests suffered under their impartial reforms—yet they had their reward; even that which proceeds from the consciousness of good work well and faithfully done, of duty resolutely discharged, and blessings conferred through their instrumentality upon multitudes, who might never know the evils from which

they were saved, or the exertions that were necessary to effect their deliverance. This portion of Mr. Kaye's volume is highly interesting, and forms an important chapter in the history of India. Through whatever changes our Indian Empire may be destined to pass, be its Government in the hands of the Company, the Parliament, or the Crown, be its Officials here Europeans or Natives, never can we expect a more critical period to ensue than that of 1805-6; and if such should be destined ever again to befal, we could neither expect nor desire two abler men to steer the vessel of the state into calm waters than Sir George Barlow and Henry Tucker.

In the course of Sir George Barlow's tenure of office, Mr. Tucker was appointed a Member of the Board of Revenue. Here his attention was mainly turned to the settlement of the ceded and conquered provinces, a work well worthy of his now well-proved powers. For the purpose of effecting this settlement, a special Commission was appointed by Sir George Barlow; Mr. Cox and Mr. Tucker were the Members; Mr. Sherer Secretary; Mr. Fortescue Assistant Secretary; and Mr. Butterworth Bayley interpreter. On this service he quitted Calcutta on the 25th of June, 1807. It is probably due to this Commission that the North Western Provinces are free from the incubus of the Permanent Settlement; for although the object of the appointment was to prepare for the imposition of such a settlement, the result did not lead to this consummation; and before the enquiries were completed, it is probable that the experience of the Lower Provinces had damped the ardor of the authorities to permanently settle the country. To say that Tucker wrought hard on this Commission, is altogether unnecessary. We cannot at all enter into the regret which Mr. Kaye evidently feels that the course recommended by the Commissioners, and adopted by the Government, was to *delay* the imposition of the Permanent Settlement in the North West Provinces. We are quite willing to admit that the Permanent Settlement has a mixture of good in it; and it might have been better for a time for the North West Provinces to have got such a settlement then, than to have been so long without any settlement at all; but we believe that they have now got, or are in course of getting, a settlement whose superiority over the Bengal Permanent Settlement will soon far more than compensate the evils that may have arisen from the protracted delay. "It is beyond the scope" of Mr. Kaye's work, and much more beyond the scope of this article, "to enter largely into the 'history of the landed Revenue of India, or even that particu-'lar branch of the subject, which is known as the settlement

'*of* the North Western Provinces." The conclusion of the whole matter is, that the Commissioners recommended delay, but with a distinct view to the imposition of the Permanent Settlement at no distant period. The Government were dissatisfied that it should not be imposed at once; the Court of Directors, however, supported the views of the Commissionors; delay was agreed upon; and ere long the theory of Permanent Settlements fell into disrepute; but Mr. Tucker never ceased to declare that the Government had broken faith with the people, in refusing to fulfil the pledges that had been made to them on this subject. The report containing this recommendation was drawn up early in 1808. Before this Lord Minto had become Governor-General. By this time Mr. Cox was sick, and now Mr. Tucker's health also having failed, he requested leave of absence, with the alternative of being relieved from his appointment. The answer was that the Government were fully aware of the value of Mr. Tucker's services, &c., &c., &c.; that they very much regretted "that any circumstances should be 'in the way to prevent compliance with his request, or that 'anything should have arisen to deprive Government of his 'services in the settlement of the Provinces; but as his re-'quest could not be granted without the most serious incon-'venience, his appointment was cancelled." We presume that Mr. Tucker was quite able to interpret this strain of language.

But although we are not so charitable as not to suppose that Mr. Tucker was refused leave because his report was distasteful to the Government, and because they thought in his case, that a *permanent* removal from the Commission was better than a temporary one, yet it ought to be stated that Lord Minto in all other matters shewed him all possible kindness. We believe that he was glad to have him out of this Commission, and to let the Commission itself quietly expire, as we presume to have been the course adopted; but for all this Lord Minto knew and felt that the services of such a man as Tucker were not to be lightly dispensed with, and accordingly on his return to Calcutta, his Lordship promised to embrace the first opportunity of providing suitable employment for him. Mr. Tucker's own purpose was to go to England; but after his preparations were completed, and his passage actually taken, the opportunity that had been directly contemplated in Lord Minto's promise, actually occurred; the office of chief Secretary became vacant; Mr. Tucker relinquished the idea of leaving India for a time, and entered upon the duties of the Secretariat at the commencement of 1809, continuing to officiate temporarily as a Member of the Board of Revenue. The

system that he had introduced as Accountant-General, was now producing its fruit. The Company had now funds in hand, and were able to borrow money at 6 per cent. In fact the difficulty that now presented itself was one, of which, so far as we remember, there has been scarcely any instance except then and during last year,—the approximation of the rates of interest in England and India inducing men to withdraw their capital from this country, and invest it in England. This led to Mr. Tucker's devoting all his energies to the subject of Home Remittances; and the exertions he made to induce men to export produce instead of specie, doubtless gave a considerable impulse to trade, and to what has been so often called "the developement of the resources of the country."

Now it was that Mr. Tucker began to feel what is really one of the greatest trials of Indian life. It is a mistake altogether to suppose that Indian Residents are generally rendered unhappy by sickness or the fear of death. It is the removal of friends at home, the blasting of their hopes of happy meetings, that had been the motive to exertion and the consolation under trials—it is this that constitutes the main ingredient of bitterness in the cup of the Indian exile. One of Tucker's most fondly cherished hopes was to meet again his venerated father, and to comfort and cheer his declining years. But this was not permitted to him. His father died on the 3rd of February, 1808, in the 66th year of his age: and as if to verify the saying that "afflictions never come singly," the wound was not yet healed in Mr. Tucker's heart, when he learned of the death of his two brothers, Col. George and Capt. Nathanael, who were lost in the *Primrose* sloop of war, a few hours after embarking at Falmouth for service in Spain. For nearly a quarter of a century Mr. Tucker had resided in India, without any breach being made in the large family to which he belonged; and now, all at once, wave after wave of sorrow went over him. This affliction rendered him all the more anxious to return to England, in order to afford what consolation he might to his mother and sister: and his departure was still further hastened by the partial failure of his eye-sight. On the last day of the year, 1810, the members of the Supreme Government attached their signatures to a despatch, announcing to the Court of Directors the departure of Mr. Tucker, commending in warm terms his merits as a public officer, and soliciting their favorable consideration of his claims for pecuniary compensation for his having sacrificed Rs. 1,000 per month, by exchanging, at Lord Wellesley's desire, the office of Revenue Secretary, with a salary of Rs. 50,000 a year, for that of Accountant-General, with a salary

of Rs. 38,000 a year. Whether these claims were ever formally stated, does not appear, but a few months after his arrival in India, the Court presented him with a sum of 50,000 Sicca Rupees, as a token of their approbation of the integrity and ability which he had evinced in their service. In the month of May, 1811,* he arrived in England, and was received with that respect and distinction to which his distinguished services as a public officer, and his extensive acquaintance with the affairs of the country, so well entitled him. It was a happy time when at last he got away from the Indian officials, who were eager to extract from him information on all manner of subjects, and hastened to meet his widowed mother. He had many good and happy days yet before him; but, perhaps, he never felt a purer joy than when, in the full maturity of his manly powers, after being honored and respected more uniformly and constantly than it falls to the lot of any but a very few men to be, he felt on his cheeks the tears of that mother from whom he had been separated just thirty years before. He was a dutiful son and an affectionate brother, and "it was well with him, and he prolonged his days on the earth."

But for *one* cause shall a man leave his father and mother—that he may cleave unto his *wife*—and Mr. Tucker now bethought himself of marriage. He met Miss Jane Boswell, at Caverse, in Roxburghshire; he had often heard of her, and she of him, from her sister Mrs. Egerton, the wife of a brother Civilian. When they met, she had much to ask, and he much to tell about the exiles and their environments. There was "womanly beauty and gentleness" on the one side,—"manly intelligence and kindness" on the other. What need we say more? Miss Boswell became Mrs. Tucker, and subsequent events shewed that *this* marriage at least was made in heaven. His marriage decided his return to India. He had already more than enough for himself; but he did not think that a man of his years had a right to consult his own gratification, when by a little self-sacrifice, he might earn the means of ministering to the comforts of others. His wife was like-minded with himself, and a few months after their marriage, they set out on their return to the City of Palaces. On his arrival here he was immediately sent for by Lord Minto, who created a special office for him; and on the 8th August, 1812, he was appointed Secretary to Government in the Colonial and Financial Departments. Before he left England, he

* The Biography says 1810, by a mis-print, or slip of the pen.

had been spoken of for a seat in Council; but had at once waived his claims in favor of Mr. Edmonstone. Shortly after his arrival in India, Mr. Edmonstone was appointed to the Council; a provisional Member was also nominated. For this latter appointment Mr. Tucker was selected by the Committee of Correspondence; but the Court did not confirm the nomination, and gave the provisional appointment to Mr. Seton. Mr. Kaye assures us that this disappointment did not greatly distress Mr. Tucker; and sooth to say, we cannot think that a man much more disposed to murmur than he ever was, could have gained much sympathy with any lamentations he might have uttered. Mr. Tucker had no reason at all to complain of ill-treatment. It may fairly be said, without disparagement to any one, that Mr. Tucker was the best officer of his time. Well, he had always held the highest appointments that the rules of the service admitted of his holding. Tucker was an invaluable servant to the Company; and the Company was not ungrateful for his services. From the time of his admittance into the service he had always held the highest appointments that the rules of that service allowed, and on one occasion a higher appointment than the rules allowed to be held by a man of his standing. He had left the service in a way that could not be altogether pleasing to his Honorable Masters, and had been solicited to return. Moreover he had just been appointed to an office, which, however useful, had previously been dispensed with, and which had been created confessedly with the distinct view of turning his peculiar talents to the best account. We really cannot see that any special credit is due to a man for being *jolly* in circumstances like these.

But real afflictions were soon to befal him. He had brought out a niece with him to India, the eldest daughter of his only sister. Not long after their arrival she was seized with a fever, and died. Next to the pain of hearing of the death of loved ones in distant lands, is that of announcing to distant loving ones the death of those whom they have committed to our care.

In the course of the year 1813, Mr. Tucker found congenial employment, in providing for a financial difficulty that had occurred, and that threatened to be of serious consequence. The flourishing state of the Company's treasury led, as has been stated, to the lowering of the interest on their loans, and this led to the remittance of large sums of money to England, for investment there. These remittances the holders of Com-

pany's Paper were entitled to make by orders upon the Company's English treasury, and these orders they had no means of meeting. The discussion as to the renewal of the Charter was coming on, which made doubly formidable a state of things, which would have been formidable at any time and in any circumstances. Mr. Tucker set himself earnestly to remedy the evil, and completely succeeded. This fresh service raised Mr. Tucker still higher in the estimation of those who took an intelligent interest in the Company's affairs, and Sir Hugh Inglis, the Chairman of the Court, thought it a favorable opportunity to make another vigorous effort to secure for him the permanent nomination to a seat in Council. But the effort was unsuccessful.

It seemed as if his financial difficulties were never to come to an end. Year after year we find the same tale of distress. Wars and rumours of wars—most just and necessary wars of course—without the means to carry them on. Lord Moira, who was now on the vice-regal throne, was, like Lord Wellesley, a man of large ideas, and Tucker sighed and trembled—

Grave ne rediret
Seculum Pyrrhæ nova monstra questæ.

"It is," says Mr. Kaye, "no insignificant proof of the real 'perplexity of Government at this period, that so practised a 'Financier as Mr. Tucker could think of no better aid, in the 'difficult conjuncture that had arisen, than a loan from a 'native prince." Such a loan was not only proposed, but effected, to the extent of a million sterling, from the Nawab of Oude. Desperate diseases call for desperate remedies; and we are not able at this distance to measure the extent of the disease, and therefore we cannot pronounce on the justifiableness of the measure. But this we may say, that if any other method could have been adopted of meeting the case, it could scarcely have failed to be preferable to that actually put in force. We do not think that Mr. Tucker, in his letter to Lord Moira, recommending this scheme, evinces aught like a full appreciation of the evil effects that might have been expected to arise, and that did actually arise, from this measure.

But the time was now come when Mr. Tucker was to bid a final adieu to India. Mrs. Tucker's constitution could not bear the climate, and Mr. Tucker was a man and a husband as well as a Financier. It was at this time that he lost his mother, and nothing that ever occurred to him so affected him as this. The Psalmist adopts as the type of the deepest grief the mourning of a son for his mother (Ps. xxxv. 14), and Mr. Tucker

realized in his own feelings on this occasion the accuracy of the type.

"But," (says Mr. Kaye, in a paragraph which we must extract at length, for its admirable combination of genial feeling with a deep philosophy), "in the domestic history of most men there are blessed compensations. Henry St. George Tucker was now parentless; but he had become a parent; his mother had lived long enough to congratulate him on the birth of his first-born. It was such congratulation, too, as delights the soul of the recipient. "May the child," she wrote, "in every respect resemble his parents; and be as great a comfort to them, as our beloved Henry has been to us." Alike by father and by mother had this praise been often uttered before; and most merited, indeed, was the laudation. He had been the prop and the solace of their declining years. From the fruits of his toil he had contributed largely to the comforts of their home. His generosity was that true generosity of the heart, which blesses alike the giver and the receiver, and never makes bounty burdensome. It is to be hoped that filial piety is not rare. The gracious privilege of paying back in maturity the care and kindness lavished upon the child, may not be vouchsafed to many; but for the honor of human nature we would fain assume that when vouchsafed it is seldom rejected. It is an error in biography to claim, for each individual quality commented upon, something peculiar to the possessor. If there were not a peculiar combination of qualities, there would be little for the biographer to record. But the peculiarity resides in the combination, not in the individual virtues. Rare qualities are one thing; a rare character is another."

If the son whose birth is here referred to, be, as we presume he is, Henry Carre Tucker, we need not tell our Indian readers, how fully the good wishes of his good grandmother have been realized.

We mentioned that on Mr. Tucker's return from India, a new office had been created, and he appointed to it. This creation was disapproved of by the Court of Directors, who however spoke in the highest terms of Mr. Tucker, and recommended him to particular attention, when any office might fall vacant suitable to his rank and claims in the service. Such a vacancy had occurred before the receipt of the final despatch commanding the abolition of the office, and Mr. Tucker had been promoted to the chief Secretaryship. This new office he held for little more than a month. On the 28th December, 1814, his appointment was made, and on the 10th February, 1815, leave was granted him to proceed to the Cape or St. Helena. It does not appear that on his leaving he had any intention to return, though perhaps he had not quite made up his mind not to do so. But before he reached St. Helena, he had ceased to hesitate; and thence he despatched a formal resignation of his appointment, and proceeded on the voyage to England. He was cordially received by the Indian authorities, by whom he was consulted on many points respecting Indian Politics and Finance. He also learned from Lord Buckinghamshire, that Lord

Moira had received his instructions to appoint Mr. Tucker Governor of Java. But he was content to forego the honors and emoluments of this high appointment, in consideration of the benefit that his wife might expect to derive from her native air, and from association with her friends. The five years that followed his return to England were the only ones during his long life in which Mr. Tucker tasted of the joys of leisure. He took up his abode in Edinburgh, and in the calm pleasures of that city, the most attractive of all in the world to a man of refined and cultivated tastes, with his wife and children by his side, and with a pleasant circle of intelligent and congenial friends at hand, he forgot all the cares of empty treasuries and unpaid armies, and looked not to the East, save with a sigh of kindly remembrance for the warm-hearted friends that he had left in the land of the sun, and with an aspiration that he might renew on the banks of the Forth those friendships that had been formed on the banks of the Ganges. But while Edinburgh was his head-quarters, he went about a good deal, and saw much of Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland. His style of travelling was somewhat different now, boxed up in a small stage-coach, with five others, and "all as fat as himself," from what it was in the old days of the commission for the settlement of the N. W. Provinces, when his very "moderate *cortege*" did not exceed 400 or 500 men! The only circumstance which disturbed the serenity of this period was an investigation of his father's Bermuda accounts, which his sudden death had left in an incomplete state. There was not the slightest suspicion of aught but the strictest integrity, nor the slightest doubt that all seeming discrepancies might have been reconciled. But the means of reconciliation were not available, and Mr. Tucker settled the matter by clearing off a balance of £4,000, a course which would not have been allowed, had any blot attached to the memory of his father. But the next years of his life were marked by harassment and vexation, as much as these years were distinguished by calm and contented repose. In the course of 1820, he came to reside near Barnet; and early in the following year he began to canvass for the Direction. Referring our readers to the work before us, or to our own No. XXXV., Art. 1, for full information as to the process by which Directors of the Honorable East India Company were made, we have only to state that Mr. Tucker went through many years of fagging canvassing, before the process was complete in his case. But there is a point introduced in connexion with his canvass, regarding which we must be permitted to indulge in a few comments. The ques-

tion relates to the asking of candidates to pledge themselves as to the line of policy that they will pursue if elected. Both Mr. Tucker and his biographer shew considerable indignation, because some of the electors took the liberty of asking him certain questions, and intimating that their support of him depended upon the answers that he might give to their questions. With this indignation we have not the slightest sympathy. The electors are clearly entitled, not, indeed, to bind down a man to support their views in every question that may possibly arise, and make himself merely an animated machine to record the votes which are not his, but theirs—this were unreasonable to be asked by them, disgraceful to be submitted to by him—But surely they are entitled to ask what are the general views of the candidate respecting great questions, whose decision must depend upon his vote. Mr. Tucker went to the proprietors and asked their suffrage on the ground of his knowledge of Indian matters, and the services that he had already rendered to the country and to the Company, by his admirable administration of its finance. We can suppose Mr. A. saying to him, "I am very well satisfied with you, 'Mr. Tucker, you are quite a man to my mind; I have watched your Indian career carefully, and I am sure that you will 'always act, to the best of your judgment, for the good of the 'country and the interests of the Company." But we can suppose Mr. B. taking a different ground, and saying, "Oh 'yes! it is all right about finance. I have perfect confidence 'in Mr. Tucker's financial abilities and financial honesty—and 'I know that the financial interests of the Company and of 'India are safe in his hands. But so constantly has Mr. Tucker's 'attention been devoted to financial matters, that he has never 'given the public the means of knowing his sentiments on 'other subjects, so that I am really quite ignorant of his views 'respecting many matters on which the well-being of the 'people of India depends, quite as much as upon revenue 'and settlement regulations. If my vote has any meaning at 'all, I must be responsible for doing what I can to elect a man 'whose views in these matters I consider sound—and it is 'impossible for me to judge as to Mr. Tucker's qualifications, 'unless he will vouchsafe to enlighten me as to his views of 'the general principles on which the Government of India 'ought to be conducted." In the estimation of Mr. Tucker, and of Mr. Kaye, the former of these electors would be considered as exhibiting a generous confidence, and the latter a crotchetty scrupulousness; we think otherwise. We would not have *pledges* in the proper sense of that term, either asked

or given, but if we possessed a vote, we should regard it as a sacred trust, which we were by no means at liberty to use in such a way as might issue in the suppression of what we regarded as good, and in the perpetration of what we considered iniquitous. To ask a candidate to pledge himself, is to transfer from his hand into our own, the right of voting, which should be his if he be elected; to ask a statement of his views and sentiments as to the principles of the great questions on which he will be called to deliberate, is merely to take means to qualify ourselves for the reasonable exercise of our own appropriate function.

The question on which Mr Tucker was opposed was, what was not perhaps very correctly called the "Missionary question" Although he strenuously refused to pledge himself on this, or on any other question, yet he did, in 1824, draw up a paper on the subject, of which the following is an extract.—

I am of opinion that the Government should never identify itself with the Missionary and other Societies which have been instituted for the propagation of the Christian religion in the East. In the minds of the people of India, Government is habitually associated with the idea of power or force, and I am persuaded that the slightest demonstration of an intention to use force, for the conversion of this people, would alarm their fears in a degree to produce immediate and serious danger. Our Government is established in the spirit of toleration, and a sort of tacit compact, or understanding, exists, that we shall not interfere with the religion of our native subjects Our Government stands in the situation of a powerful umpire, whose duty is to afford equal protection to all, and to maintain in the free exercise of all civil rights (and among them, liberty of conscience) its subjects, of whatever description, with strict impartiality I consider, then, that the Government could not take part in the proceedings of the Missionary Societies with the slightest prospect of advancing the interests of religion, nor without departing from the principles, upon a strict adherance to which its own existence essentially depends

Now if we were sure that in this profession of faith nothing was meant other than the proper and literal meaning of the terms expressed, we should have little or no fault to find with it. But when we know what interpretation was put upon the terms *toleration*, *impartiality*, and *neutrality* by the acts of the various Governments of which Mr. Tucker had been the favourite servant, and particularly by that of Lord Minto, we think those proprietors who regarded the success of the Missionary Societies as an object which they were bound by the most sacred obligations to promote by all legitimate and judicious means, might well hesitate before they contributed their influence towards the perpetuation of a system, which, under the guise of neutrality, did in reality all that could be done to foster Hinduism and crush Christianity. We know not in rea-

lity what were Mr. Tucker's notions as to the meaning of that neutrality and impartiality which he advocated; but considering the school in which he had been trained, and considering that he makes use of precisely the same language that was continually in the mouths of the Governments of those days, we think it not improbable that he used the language in the sense in which they were in the habit of using it—a sense which was unquestionably the greatest perversion ever perpetrated by men, who ever, from the beginning of the world, used language for the purpose of concealing or disguising their thoughts. Nothing is further from our intention than to cast any doubt on the sincerity of Mr. Tucker's Christian profession. The fault was that of the time, and was shared in by many regarding whom we can only wonder that they should have fallen into such a snare.

After a close run, Mr. Tucker came in winner at the April election of 1826. "It seemed at one time that the election was going against him, and the friendly scrutineer trembled for his success. But when the last glass, containing the letters R to Z, was being counted out, the aspect of affairs brightened. A large number of Mr. Tucker's supporters were to be found under these initials. The lost ground was regained; and at the end of the scrutiny it was found that he was in a majority of twenty-three." It appears then that the Browns and the Joneses and the Johnsons were against him, and that he walked in on the shoulders of the Robertsons and the Smiths and the Thomsons.

Between the period of Mr. Tucker's election in 1826, and the discussion of the renewal of the Charter in 1833, no questions of very great moment came before the Court; if we except that on the "Resumption Act," upon which we cannot now enter. The consideration of the Charter began early in 1830, and from that time until its actual renewal in 1833, the Court of Directors were in constant correspondence, (Mr. Kaye says *controversy*, but we do not suppose that *all* their correspondence was of a controversial character) with the Government. In this correspondence Mr. Tucker, as might have been expected, took a distinguished part. We may fairly assume that all our readers are aware of the main facts respecting the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833. They are aware, for example, that the new Charter was prepared by Charles Grant, and that the main changes that it effected, were, the abolition of the Company's monopoly of the trade with China, and the permission of Europeans to settle and acquire land in India, independently of the will of the Government. Mr. Tucker seems to

have been the champion of the Court of Directors; and to have fought their battle with manliness and energy, in which he was not seconded by some of his colleagues, so cordially as he might reasonably have expected; still his exertions and those of some of his colleagues did wrest from the Government a much more favorable measure than was generally expected. Mutual compromises were made, and indeed it is generally by mutual compromises that good measures are carried. Yet although he had been the most strenuous advocate of the Company's interests, while any hope remained of advancing these interests, he advocated the acceptance of the Bill on the part of the proprietors of India stock, not as being the best that was desirable, but certainly the best that was obtainable.

About the same time that the controversy respecting the renewal of the Charter was being carried on, there was another war being waged, on the subject of what is familiarly spoken of in India as the "Hyderabad claim" of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. This contest is memorable in itself, as an episode in Indian history, and as giving a glimpse into the condition of the native princes, and their relations towards our Government and towards private speculators. But in the present connexion, it is mainly interesting on account of the collision to which it led between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. Much has been said in our pages from time to time as to the relations that subsisted between these two bodies, and it is not our purpose to repeat here the statements and the argumentations that have been already more than once laid before our readers. We shall only say, in a single sentence, that the relation between the Board and the Court was founded upon a lie, and that no good could be expected to come of it. The Court was obliged to issue, in its own name, the orders of the Board, although the sentiments of all the Members of the Court might be diametrically opposite to those which they were required to express as their own. Whether the Board or the Court ought to have ruled India, was one question, and a question on which honest and earnest men might entertain different opinions; but the question whether one set of men should rule the country, and another be held responsible for its rule, while the actual rulers were free from all responsibility,—whether the responsible body should have been a mere piece of mechanism, wound up and put in motion by the irresponsible—this is a question which, we should think, admits of but one answer. That such a system should ever have been introduced, that it should have been perpetuated and submitted to for so long a time,

and that, without a single argument being attempted to show that it ought ever to have existed, it should have been kept in being so long for no better reason than that it was in being, —all this is not consolatory to human vanity. So far as we know, it was on the subject of Messrs. William Palmer and Co.'s claims on the Nizam of Hyderabad, that the two contending parties first tried their strength. A writ of mandamus was granted by the Court of King's Bench, to compel the Court of Directors to sign and transmit a despatch on the subject, containing statements and sentiments, and a final order, directly the reverse of those contained in the draft submitted by the Court, for which this had been substituted by the Board. The Directors being advised that an appeal to the King in Council would not probably be attended by any advantageous result, met to consider what they ought to do in these unprecedented circumstances. A motion was made that the transmission should be effected. The "previous question" was moved and put to the vote. The suffrages were equally divided, and thus, according to the rules of the Court, the amendment was considered to be lost, and the original motion to be carried.

On the next Court-day a protest, signed by ten Directors, among whom was Mr. Tucker, was delivered in and read to the Court. This protest Mr. Kaye characterizes as an able and dignified remonstrance—closely argued—clearly written—carrying conviction with it at every stage. To our thinking it would have been both more dignified and more logical if it had taken higher ground, and without entering at all into the merits of the question as between the Palmers and the Nizam, had confined itself entirely to the question as between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The former question was a not unimportant one of detail, the latter was a vital one of principle. From Mr. Kaye's statement it appears that in regard to the particular question of the Hyderabad debts, the Court was in the right, and the Board in the wrong; but this might have been otherwise. In regard to the general question of the Board's usurpation, the Court could not be otherwise than in the right. Paradoxical as it may appear, we hate such a usurpation when it is used on the side of good, scarcely less than when it is put forth on the side of evil. The difference is as that which unhappily is recognized amongst children, and which, more unhappily still, is sometimes allowed to pass the bounds of the nursery, between "white lies," and "black lies,"—or as that vain and shallow conceit which Lord Bacon countenanced in his extremity, of the guilt of a judge

who is bribed to do justice, being less than that of him who is bribed to do injustice.

A similar case occurred in 1834, while Mr. Tucker was Deputy Chairman. The Court was required to adopt and transmit a despatch prepared by the Board respecting the claims of certain bankers on the Nawab of Oude. The Court resolved, without a dissentient voice, (though one Director not present at the meeting, afterwards signified that he did not sympathize with his colleagues) that they could not consent, even ministerially, to act upon the orders of the Board, until compelled by law to do so. In consequence of this resolution, a writ of mandamus was moved for; and as the case was precisely similar to the Hyderabad case of the previous year, there was little or no doubt of its being granted. But although the Deputy Chairman had agreed to the resolution of his colleagues not to sign the despatch *without* compulsion, he had never said that he would sign it *under* compulsion: and now that the writ was applied for, he addressed a letter to his colleagues, in which he distinctly declared his intention to refuse compliance with what he regarded as an iniquitous order. "He was as inflexible as adamant in defence of the right. The law had no terror for him. The Court of King's Bench might rule what it pleased; he was not to be driven from his allegiance. He could go to prison, but he could not violate the principles which he had made the rule of his life; he could not be untrue to himself." We are no advocates for resistance, be it active or passive, to the law of the land as expounded by the constituted judicatories. But circumstances may arise, and from time to time have arisen, in which the still small voice of conscience should overbear the thunders of the law-courts—times when the most loyal subject and the warmest lover of constitutional obedience must be constrained to utter the appeal, "We ought to obey God rather 'than man; whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken 'unto you more than unto God, judge ye." No written law can abrogate the law of God and nature, and make it right for a man to affix his signature to a document containing statements which he believes to be untrue, and expositions of principles which he regards as iniquitous. Many things contributed to make a contest, necessarily painful, doubly so to Mr. Tucker. To his ultra-conservative mind it must have been torture to find himself in a position of defiance to the law. His respect personally for Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, must have made it peculiarly unpleasant to maintain an attitude of defiant antagonism towards him; and then, as is always the

case on such occasions, many of his friends, both in the direction and out of it, by no means sympathized with the spirit which actuated him in his resistance. While they agreed that the despatch was a bad one, they considered that the order of the Court cancelled the responsibility of those who might have signed it under such compulsion, and rendered them merely irresponsible instruments in the hands of others. Cordially, however, was he supported by six of his colleagues, Messrs. Astell, Majoribanks, Wigram, Russel Ellice, Mills and Thornhill, who, with Tucker, were quite prepared to carry their resistance to the extreme point, and either to resign their appointments, or go to prison. But this consummation was averted. The proceedings against the Court were stayed. Mr. Tucker's firmness had saved to the Court a certain measure of independence.

During Mr. Tucker's Chairmanship, in 1834, the Governorship of Bombay became vacant by the resignation of Lord Clare, and the Chairman of the Court, on his own responsibility, proposed that Mr. Robert Grant should be appointed to the office. It might have been expected that the manner in which he had so recently withstood to the face the President of the Board of Control, would have been received as a guarantee that it was no "truckling" spirit, or desire to conciliate favor by unworthy concessions, that induced him now to nominate that President's brother to this appointment. But it was not so. It was first whispered, and then openly asserted, that Mr. Tucker had compromised the independence of the Court. His vindication is manly and triumphant. If there were any one, within or without the Court, that it did not convince, even he must have soon seen that Mr. Tucker would not yield to the President of the Board a single iota of what he regarded to be for the interests of the nation and the people of India. On Lord William Bentinck's resignation of the Governor-Generalship, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had previously been provisionally nominated to the office, in the event of a vacancy, had of course stepped into the vice-regal chair. It was deemed of essential moment, that, when the new Charter was to be introduced, a man thoroughly conversant with Indian affairs should be at the head of the Government; and Mr. Tucker resolved that whatever he could do, should be done to effect the appointment of Mountstuart Elphinstone, or the rendering of Sir Charles Metcalfe *pucka*. Mr. Elphinstone declined the honorable office, and Mr. Tucker set about steps for securing the confirmation of Sir Charles. Mr. Grant refused to ratify the choice, and once more the Board and the Court were in collision. Mr. Tucker drew up a

remonstrance, of which we cordially endorse Mr. Kaye's commendation, as "an admirable specimen of official correspondence—temperate and dignified in tone; clear and forcible in diction." It was insinuated at the time that the game of the Government was to delay the appointment to the end of two months, after which the appointment would have fallen into their own hands *jure devoluto*; it is now no secret that Charles Grant himself had an eye to the Governor-Generalship. We have seldom met with a finer specimen of candid and manly honesty, couched in dignified and elegant language, than is exhibited in the following extract from Mr. Tucker's letter to him on the subject.

With respect to yourself, I hope that it is unnecessary for me to repeat that I entertain the highest opinion of your talents, your various acquirements, and your intimate acquaintance with the affairs of India; and if I were called upon to point out an objection to you, it would have reference to qualities of the mind and disposition, which in private life, are justly esteemed virtues. But in India there is much rugged work, calling sometimes for the most determined austerity of purpose. Your having held your present office so long, and your long and familiar acquaintance with the public transactions in India, would unquestionably give you a very great advantage in undertaking duties of extreme difficulty; but there are on the other hand, objections to the arrangement, to which the Court would, I am persuaded, attach the greatest weight. Among them, your position relatively with your brother, and the unreasonableness of committing to one family nearly the whole power and patronage of India, would immediately be insisted upon. I must candidly own that they would operate with me; but even if I were prepared (which I confess I am not) to propose the appointment, I feel persuaded that I could not carry with me a majority of the Court.

If the insinuation alluded to above had any foundation, it is satisfactory to know that the Government out-witted themselves, and that the result of their "waiting-game" was a check-mate. They were themselves dismissed from office before any appointment to the Governor-Generalship was made, and the Tory Government that succeeded them had the prize which they had been so eager to gain. Sir Robert Peel's Ministry would have consented to the appointment of Mountstuart Elphinstone, though "totally unconnected with them in party politics"; but it would seem that they demurred to the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe. We confess we should have liked to have been assured that Mr. Tucker exerted himself as strenuously to obtain the appointment of Sir Charles from the Tory ministry, as he had formerly done to obtain it from the Whigs, and that he had carried out in the altered circumstances the spirit of his admirable letter of the 8th of October. But this he does not seem to have done, and it is not improbable that there may have been circumstances that justified

what at present seems to us an inconsistency in the conduct of a man who, during a long public life, was singularly distinguished by consistency. Be this as it may, the Government would have consented to the nomination of Mr. Elphinstone, but he would not accept the high office, and it was therefore conferred upon Lord Heytesbury. But his Lordship was not destined to sway the vice-regal sceptre o'er the realms of India. The Tory Ministry could not stand, and the Whigs were recalled to office, with Sir John Cam Hobhouse at the head of the Board of Control. One of their first acts was to cancel the appointment of Lord Heytesbury, and to insist on the appointment of Lord Auckland in his stead. This matter was the subject of much hot discussion at the time, and it involves a principle which is of permanent application, and of vital importance to the welfare of India. On this ground we quote Mr. Kaye's statement of the arguments. It was probably of little moment whether Lord Heytesbury or Lord Auckland should be privileged to build snow castles at Simla; but it was of infinite consequence that it should be determined whether the office of Governor-General was to be regarded in future as a strictly political one, and the destinies of the 150,000,000 of India were to be made to hinge upon the petty accidents that lead to a change of Ministry in England.

Lord Auckland went out to India; but the revocation of Lord Heytesbury's appointment is a historical fact, the character of which has been painted in its true colours [in Mr. Tucker's letter to the Court of Directors.] Of the soundness of the arguments adduced in the papers to which I have referred, it is difficult to entertain a doubt. It may, of course, be urged, that it is at all times desirable that the Governor-General of India should enjoy the entire confidence of the Crown Ministers. But as to enjoy the confidence of the ministry means, in ordinary official language, to belong to the same party, if this consideration were paramount, it would be necessary to change the Governor-General of India as often as the President of the Board of Control; and the Government of India would then become, to all intents and purposes, the Government of a party. If a Tory Government can have no confidence in a Whig Statesman, or a Whig Government no confidence in a Tory, it may be, and we believe it *is*, desirable that the Governor-General of India should not be closely connected either with one party or the other—that men like Elphinstone and Metcalfe, whom neither faction would mistrust on account of their party views or political antecedents, should be appointed to this high office; but it certainly is not desirable that the Governor-General of India should occupy a seat from which he may any day be driven by a gust of Parliamentary caprice at St. Stephen's, or the impetus of a Downing-street fracas.

It is true that in this instance Lord Heytesbury was only a Governor-General elect—that he had only been appointed to fill the office—that he had only received as much of the Company's money as was supposed to be

sufficient to provide his outfit, and that his performances in the service of the Company had been limited to the consumption of the initiatory turtle, and the delivery of the inaugural address at the Albion. But in principle at least, it was as much a recall of a Governor-General—and a recall for party purposes—as if Lord Heytesbury had actually inhaled the dust of Calcutta, and gazed at the snows of the eternal Himalaya. It was known throughout India that this nobleman had been appointed Governor-General of India, and in the presence of His Majesty's Minister and the authorities of the India House, had been publicly congratulated on his accession to office. Therefore, although the mischief of his precipitate recall might not have been so disastrous as if any great political measures had been suddenly arrested by his removal from office, doubtless, much mischief was done.

Of this we think there can be no doubt. If our empire in India be, as we have been so often told that it is, an Empire of opinion, nothing will more interfere with its prosperity than the giving countenance to the idea that India is to be treated as a shuttlecock, to be knocked to and fro by the battledores of party-politics.

Of Lord Auckland's administration it is unnecessary to speak; no man was fitter to do justice to the difficult subject than the historian of the War in Affghanistan. No history can be more summarily stated. The British Government, in the person of Sir John Cam Hobhouse, perpetrated an unjust and unnecessary war; the Court of Directors, with Mr. Tucker at their head, began at the beginning and went on to the end, to protest alike against the iniquity and the impolicy of the proceeding; and when the result ensued which could not but ensue,—disgrace and ruin,—the same Court of Directors had not only to bear the whole expense, but to suffer all the obloquy and the reproach. It is a fact that ought to be kept in perpetual remembrance by the people of India, that the Court of Directors were as guiltless as they themselves of the Affghan war. "It was I," said Sir John Cam Hobhouse, and he said truly—"that did it."

It was not because Lord Auckland was a Whig, and Mr. Tucker a Tory, that he protested so indignantly against the foul wrong that was perpetrated in the name of the Government of India. His voice was as indignantly raised against the invasion, conquest and annexation of Sindh, though the invader, and conqueror, and annexer, was his personal friend, the Tory Lord Ellenborough. It is now shewn, for the first time, so far as we know, that the recall of Lord Ellenborough, which was so assiduously enveloped in a cloud of mystery, originated in Mr. Tucker's hatred of the policy of Lord Ellenborough in regard to Sindh, and that he lost his office, not because he removed the sons of Directors from secretarial

appointments in Calcutta, and sent them to kutcheries in the remote jungles, but because he broke the British faith with a race of allied sovereigns, and let loose the dogs of war on an unhappy, indeed, but not to us an unfriendly, land.

This was the last public matter of difficulty in which Mr. Tucker took a leading part: although in April, 1846, when in his 76th year, he was elected Deputy Chairman, and the following year Chairman, of the Court of Directors. During this second Chairmanship, as during the first, it fell to his lot to nominate a Governor-General. But this time it was a plain matter. The nomination of Lord Dalhousie was equally satisfactory to the Court, the Government, and the people of England; and now that he has spent nearly seven years among us, the wisdom of the choice is fully evinced. There was something very fine in the old veteran of 1771, selecting the energetic statesman of 1812, as the fittest man to whom to commit the weightiest trust that can be reposed in man. Dalhousie visiting Tucker at the India House, treasuring up for future consideration, and for his future guidance, the lessons of his experienced wisdom, would have been a subject worthy of the pencil of any artist.

This was the weightiest public act that marked his second Chairmanship; but both during that year, and during the subsequent years of his life, he went through an amount of labor as a Director of the East India Company which would have taxed the energies of younger men. There is something that strikes us as exceedingly beautiful in the paternal style that he naturally adopts, when, in his correspondence with Indian officials, he speaks of the people of this land. Never patriarch at the head of his tribe, never chieftain in the middle of his clan, felt more sensibly the sacredness of the tie that binds together the governor and the governed. If some of his views appear to us faulty or defective, we can at once perceive to what peculiarity of the time when his principles were formed, the defect or the fault is traceable. We have already, in the course of this article, alluded to his views relating to the "Missionary question," as it has been called, but, as it ought rather to be called, the question as to the permission or toleration of Missionaries in India. We see evident indications that he retained to the last some remnants of those fears which were at one time universal amongst Indian officials, but which experience has shewn to have been utterly groundless, that even the permission of Christian Missionaries would endanger the stability of the British power in India. And a similar

fondness for early-formed theories in regard to matters of comparatively far less, but still not little, moment, must undoubtedly have cleaved to him. While on this subject, we may as well advert to a point of some interest in connexion with the relation of the Hon'ble Company's servants towards the people of India. Probably most of our readers are aware that, in 1847, a despatch was sent to India from the Court of Directors, relating to the countenance that the Company's servants might be permitted to give, in their private capacities, to the efforts made for the spread of Christian truth among the people of the land. This despatch Lord Hardinge and his Council determined, on their own responsibility, to withhold from publication, and, so far as we know, it has never been given to the public. But it was currently reported that it went so far as to ordain that no servant of the East India Company was to be permitted to countenance or aid, by contributions, or by attendance at meetings, or in any other way, any Society which aimed, directly or indirectly, at the conversion of the natives. It was also currently reported, and generally believed, that many distinguished officers in both services announced their determination to resist this order, if it should be attempted to enforce it, and whilst they rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, to terminate their connexion with the Company, rather than be prevented from rendering to God the things that are God's. In particular, it was reported that one of the most distinguished members of the Civil Service, whose loss India will not soon cease to mourn, expressed his determination in terms somewhat like these, "I hold an office in the Bible Society, and an office 'in the service of the Company; the former office I am deter-'mined to retain It is for the Court of Directors to determine 'whether I shall retain the latter." Now the reason why we introduce this subject here, is this, that the authorship of this despatch was generally imputed to Mr. Tucker. But the volume before us gives unquestionable evidence that this imputation is erroneous. He approved of the order when it was laid before the Court, but he did not write it, and when the feelings that it excited in India were made known to him, he cordially approved of its suppression by the Council.

We return from this digression merely to state that Mr. Tucker resigned his seat in the Direction immediately after his formal re-election in April, 1851, and that on the 14th of June of that year he closed his useful and honorable life.

Thus have we run through the main events in the life of a remarkable man: and those of our readers who have accom-

panied us thus far, will have no difficulty in understanding on what grounds we apply this epithet to Mr. Tucker. He was not remarkable for the flashings of genius, or for the abnormal developement of any single faculty of his mind; but rather for the manly strength and admirable proportion of all his powers. There might be more brilliant minds to flash and dazzle, but few brighter to cast light on a complicated subject. There might be men capable of more profound investigation in mathematics, and there might be men capable of more brilliant achievements in poetry; but there were few men who united the capacity of being so good a mathematician with so keen an apprehension of the poetical element. It was doubtless the admirable balance of his mind that preserved it so long in strength. His biographer truly remarks that he was a statesman at eighteen, and a statesman at eighty. His powers were early developed, which is all the more remarkable on account of the deficiency of his education; and they continued unimpaired at four score years. But while Mr. Tucker was intellectually a great man, it was the geniality of his nature, the largeness of his soul, the comprehensiveness of his charity, and the steadiness and constancy of his friendship and his love, that must have given the main charm to his society, and rendered him an object at once of admiration and affection. We know not that we ever heard of any man in whom the qualities of the intellect and those of the heart were more harmoniously blended, and in whose case external circumstances combined more happily with natural dispositions to form a character singularly attractive.

Mr. Kaye has well pourtrayed this character, and has conferred a boon upon the public generally, and especially upon the members of the Indian services, by the publication of the *Life*, and the companion volume of *Memorials*. Of this latter volume we have said nothing; but it is well worthy of being carefully studied by all who desire to form a judgment on the great questions relating to Indian Government. With many of Mr. Tucker's sentiments we perfectly accord, with others we agree in part and disagree in part, and with others we disagree altogether. But whether we agree with him in whole, in part, or in no part, we never fail to recognize the sentiments of a man of high honor and admirable benevolence. And when, as in the case of the toleration question to which we have alluded already, we think that this benevolence is misdirected, we never for a moment doubt its sincerity, but are constrained to impute the mis-direction to the age and the times,

rather than to the man. In fact, we must say (and we hope we may say it without wounding the feelings of any), that the prevalent tone of religious sentiment in England, during the greater part of the time through which Mr. Tucker lived, was cold and defective. Mr. Tucker was a religious man; and his letters and papers indicate not only that he was regular in religious observances, but that he habitually cherished feelings of gratitude towards that God by whose goodness his cup was made so plenteously to run over. But we do desiderate in almost all the men of that time a clearer apprehension of the relation that subsists between men and their Creator, between sinners and their Saviour. The religion of most seems to have been rather a quiescent adjunct of the character, than an active principle, pervading the whole man, and regulating the whole character.

While these two volumes ought to be the hand-book of the young civilian, they ought to be studied with intense application by the ingenuous youth of India. They will see how earnestly and how constantly the interests of their country were watched over by the stranger and the foreigner, and they will learn a lesson of patriotism from the son of the alien.

ART. V.—*Comparative Tables of the District Establishments in the North Western Provinces. By A. Shakespear, Esq. 8vo. Agra*, 1853.

ON the first of May, 1854, the guns of Fort William proclaimed the installation of Mr. Frederic James Halliday as Lieut.-Governor of Bengal. This is *prima facie* one of the judicious measures of the present Charter, inasmuch as the affairs of Lower Bengal will be administered by an individual wholly and solely devoted to its interests, instead of one saddled with the multifarious duties of the whole Empire. The creation of this new and important office, and the appointment to it, of such an able and experienced civilian as Mr. Halliday, will necessarily excite in the public mind no ordinary expectation, as to the prosecution of continued improvements in the internal administration of Bengal; and we shall watch with anxiety the vigor and judgment which may characterize them.

We confess we cannot think that improvement in Bengal is far distant, when we reflect on the measures under concoction. There is a Commission sitting in England, to digest the Reports of the Law Commissioners. A Commission has also been sitting in Calcutta, to simplify the law of procedure. The Draft of an Act for the establishment of "Small Cause Courts" in the Mofussil, has made its appearance, and we earnestly hope that powers for trying all *huftum* and *punjum* cases will be given to this tribunal. The Sale Law is to be so modified that the rights of the holders of under-tenures may be protected. The Supreme and Sudder Courts are to be amalgamated, it is said, after the completion of the labors of the Commission in England. Reforms of a very substantial nature have already been effected in the Supreme Court, and we have now a Legislative Council on a wider basis, though, no doubt, wanting still in essential elements. Railroads and Electric Telegraphs are progressing, commerce is being less and less fettered—the education of the people is under revision; and though the schedule of desiderata is still long, yet the prospect before us is nevertheless cheering.

It is time that we should lay bare the evils that poison the vital interests of Bengal. Talk of Mofussil justice, and the universal complaint is the venality of the amlas. The charge laid at their door is quite true; but have any proper means been employed to prevent the evil? We say *no*. It is well known how corrupt the covenanted officers of the East India Com-

pany were in the early part of their administration. What is it, that has so effectually cured this evil, and made bribery a thing unknown? Larger emolument and increased confidence. It is also notorious that native officers in the first instance were no less corrupt, and the present high character which they bear, is owing to the pursuit of the same sound policy.

It is to be regretted that with respect to the raising of the ministerial officers, the Government has been quite apathetic, and while it keeps them down on short allowances, it expects that they should rise above temptation, and show extraordinary virtues. Far be it from us to maintain, that honesty and poverty are incompatible. On the contrary, we believe that there is a large amount of virtue in the humbler classes, and, for aught we know, some of the poorer amlas may be exemplary in their conduct. But this does not affect the main question, viz., that every responsible office should have adequate emolument attached to it, and that the reverse is generally attended with bad effects to the officer as well as to society. It is evident that the contrary course would not only be unjust but unnatural. It is somewhat like depriving an organized being of physical nutriment, and counting at the same time upon its developement. The mind, as well as the body, are open to influences, and that justice and promotion have a healthy action upon the former, is a point which is beyond doubt. They develope a sense of honor, and preserve a moral tone, which is so accordant with the principles of human nature and the result of human experience.

In 1830, the Calcutta Civil Finance Committee, composed of Messrs. David Hill, Holt Mackenzie and John Bax, recommended that "the Sheristadars might be divided into three classes," viz., first class to receive Rs. 500, second Rs. 350 and third Rs. 200, a month. They say, "it appears to us, indeed, 'that one of the most essential of the reforms in the revenue 'establishments at this Presidency, is to place the head native 'officers of collectorships on a respectable footing in regard to 'salary."

In 1832 the Hon'ble F. J. Shore (*Vol. I., p.* 54) made some excellent observations on the subject. He says, "the third 'cause (of corruption), the smallness of the salaries of those offi-'ces which are open to natives of the country, has been a very 'efficient one in promoting the evil complained of. The amount 'of their pay is generally a mere pittance. Ten to thirty Rupees 'per month is, with the exception of the Sheristadar, who receives 'fifty, the usual amount in the Judge's, Magistrate's and Collec-

'tor's offices. In the Commissioners' and Appeal Courts it is 'something higher. * * * Yet the whole of these people 'are required to maintain a respectable appearance."

We do not find that any great change has since been made or even thought of. The amusing advertisement of many a Collector—"wanted a khajanjee— security Rs. 30,000 and salary thirty Rupees per month," has often met our eyes. And the principle is still carried out in many departments.

The petition of the Native Meeting held at the Town Hall in Calcutta, on the 29th July, 1853, states as follows :—

Your petitioners also beg to bring to the notice of your Hon'ble House, the want of some remedial measure with reference to the remuneration and emoluments of natives, who are employed in offices of trust or importance: such for example are all judicial offices, from that of the Moonsiff upwards, and such also are the chief executive offices, under the native and other Judges forming the heads of departments in judicial establishments; for example, there is the Sheristadar, who in every Court, from the lowest to the highest, may be said to be the right hand of the Court, dispensing (as it were) the justice which the Judge pronounces. Also in the revenue and other departments natives hold equally important offices, and to all or nearly all of them, the same remark applies, that the just claims of these classes themselves have never been fairly considered, and their remuneration and emoluments never have been, and still are not, of an amount at all consonant with their proper station in native society, or the importance of their duties. For example, the Moonsiff's Sheristadar (an officer above referred to) has only the pay of a menial servant; the Sheristadar (same officer) in the Civil and Sessions Courts, has Rs. 100 or £10 per mensem, while the Judge enjoys a salary of Rs. 2,500 or £250 monthly. Inequalities of this kind pervade the whole of the East India Company's establishments. Representation after representation has been made on this subject, but with little success or none; injustice towards native officials being (as it were) stereotyped in the Company's system. And be it remarked, it is not merely for the sake of the officers that your petitioners complain: abuses without number are the necessary fruits of this system. Your Hon'ble House has probably heard much of native bribery and corruption: behold here a sufficient cause, if the fact be so, in the miserable pay of large classes of native public servants. It is undoubtedly true, that those parts of Bengal which have been longest under the East India Company, are most obnoxious to charges of this kind; and therefore your petitioners ascribe the fact, so far as it is true, to the influence of an established system. From speeches made in Parliament, and evidence given before your Committees, it would almost be supposed that natives prefer to go naked, and that wanting little they like to be starved; but your petitioners beg to represent that not inclination but poverty makes nakedness, and poverty with opportunity makes corruption, and so far as your petitioners and the great body of their countrymen are concerned, this is their reply to charges of corruption, and they implore your Hon'ble House to put at least one check to it, namely, by securing to natives in important offices proper remuneration.

We will now proceed to subjoin tabular statements of the establishments of the different Courts, Civil, Criminal and Fiscal.

Truly it is too much to expect "every virtue for twenty pounds a year."

CIVIL COURTS.

JUDGE'S COURT.

The Judge tries all original suits to any amount, and Appeals up to 5,000 Rupees.

Office.	Salary per month.			Duties.
Sheristadar	100	0	0	Sees to the due execution of the orders of the Court; takes the depositions of witnesses in miscellaneous cases; examines all rubukaries and processes; signs all the copies of documents, &c.; passes the usual orders on all rubukaries from the Courts of the same or other districts, as well as on petitions for obtaining office copies, and receiving back documents, and superintends all duties of the Court. In most districts he has charge of the record office under recent arrangements.
Peshkar	30 to 50	0	0	Writes all proceedings and reads papers before the judge; generally assists and acts for the Sheristadar.
Translater	80	0	0	This officer is being created where the establishment can be curtailed. He translates all pleadings and decrees from vernacular into English.
Meer Moonshee ...	20 to 25	0	0	Reads papers in Court; takes memorandum of the work to be done, as also of the orders passed daily; writes rubukaries in all regular and miscellaneous cases, as well as those sent to other Courts; copies the translations of the English proceedings of all regular suits; reads reports; keeps an account of the value of stamps, &c.
Decree Novis.. ...	15 to 25	0	0	Has charge of decrees in regular suits, fair copies them, &c.
Return Novis ...	16 to 20	0	0	Has charge of decrees and other orders of the Sudder Court, as well as of the Courts of other districts.
2 Muhurrers of original suits & appeals from the decisions of *Moonsiffs*, &c...	each 15	0	0	Do all the work relating to original suits, as well as to appeals from the decisions of Moonsiffs, &c.; write rubukaries; prepare cases, &c.
Lawaris Muhurrer	10 to 15	0	0	Keeps a register of all Lawaris cases, and does every thing connected therewith.

Muhureer of ezroy decrees or decreejarry, and of miscellaneous cases	12 to	15	0	0	Writes rubukaries for the *nutty* of cases appealed against, and does the needful as to the execution of the decrees of Moonsiffs, &c.
Mutfarukka Muhureer	10 to	15		0	Prepare cases under Acts 19 and 20 of 1841; take depositions of witnesses in appeals, prepare all pauper and insolvent cases, as also those of pauper appeals; get ready for hearing all cases regarding the appointment of guardians and other miscellaneous matters; write replies to the reports of Cauzies, Moofties, Moonsiffs, &c., despatch gazettes, &c.
Ditto ditto.....	6 to	10		0	
Four Muhureers of records	13, 15, 15 & 10 respectively.				Take charge of all papers relating to cases decided by Moonsiffs, Sudder Ameens, Principal Sudder Ameens or the Judge; keep a book of their contents; make out copies of the same for parties; dispatch them when sent for to the subordinate Courts; separate the useless papers and destroy them; keep a register of the petitions and distribute them to the different officers; prepare monthly and annual statements.
The number varies in different districts.					
Muhureer.....	10 to	12	0	0	Keeps a register of papers in each case.
Muhureer		10	0	0	Makes abstracts of all rubukaries received from different districts; distributes them to the different departments of the office; keeps a register of mooktyarnamahs or powers of attorney.
Head Muhureer (Mohafiz)		9	0	0	Takes the deposition of witnesses; writes rubukaries of cases pending, &c.
Jumanbundy Novis.....		9	0	0	Takes the deposition of witnesses, writes rubukaries of cases decided, as well as pending.
Muhureer		9	0	0	Writes the orders of other Courts; and explanations relating thereto, writes purwannahs for the distress of property under the orders of the Small Cause Court, keeps a register of the attendance and dismissal of witnesses; prepares a statement of the same.
Nazir.....		25	0	0	Does the business of Sheriff.

Besides meerun or one-fourth of the tulubanah received by his peons, which averages 10 to 20 Rs. per month. He is required to give security to the extent of 5,000 Rs.

Naeb Nazeer		10	0	Assists the Nazeer.

There are generally two English writers, one at 50 Rupees, the other at 25 Rupees, per month, but in the 24-Purgunnahs and a few adjacent districts the number of writers and their emoluments are a little larger.

PRINCIPAL SUDDER AMEEN'S COURT.

The Principal Sudder Ameen tries original suits above 1,000 *Rupees to an unlimited amount, and appeals up to* 1,000 *Rupees.*

Office.	Salary.			
Sheristadar	20 to 32	0	0	
Peshkar	12 to 17	0	0	
Mohafez	8 to 10	0	0	
Naeb Mohafez	7 to 8	0	0	
Decreejary Muhureer	6 to 11	0	0	See Judges' Court.
2 Assist. Muhureers,	5 to 9			
Decree Novis	10			
Purwannah Novis	6	0	0	Writes out notices, advertisements and summonses; executes the orders of the Supreme Court; arranges the papers of the file while in the record office, and when ready, presents the same for hearing.
Nazir	4 to 5	0	0	Sheriff.

Besides meerun, which averages 10 to 12 Rs. per month; he is required to give security to the extent of 5,000 Rs.

SUDDER AMEENS AND SUDDER MOONSIFF'S COURT.

The Sudder Ameen tries suits from 301 *to* 1,000 *Rupees.*

Sheristadar	10 to 16	0	0	See Judges' and Principal Sudder Ameens' Courts.
Peshkar	5 to 7	0	0	
Decree Novis	4 to 6	0	0	
Decreejary Muhureer ...	4	0	0	
Ditto	3	8	0	
Muhureer (Mohafez) ...	4	0	0	
Purwannah Novis	4	0	0	
Nazir	2 to 4	0	0	

Besides meerun, which averages 5 Rs. per month; he is required to give security to the extent of 1,000 Rs.

All Sudder Ameens have also to perform the duties of Moonsiffs, and they are therefore called Sudder Ameens and Sudder Moonsiffs. This is done with the view of saving the expense of a Moonsiffship in the Sudder station.

MOONSIFF'S COURT.

The Moonsiff tries suits up to 300 *Rupees.*

Office.	Salary per month.				Duties.
Sheristadar	7 to 9	0	0		
Peshkar	4 to 6	0	0		
Mohafez	3 to 5	0	0		See the Courts of the Judge, Principal Sudder Ameen, and Sudder Ameen.
Decreejary Muhureer	4 to 5	0	0		
Purwannah Novis...	2 to 4	0	0		
Nazeer	no salary.				

The Nazir only receives merun, which averages from 8 to 12 Rs. He is required to give security to the extent of 1,000 Rupees.

Decree Novis	3 to 5 0 0	Makes out triplicate copies of all decisions in regular cases disposed of monthly	
MutfurrukkaMuhureer	2 to 5 0 0	Writes all original rubukaries in miscellaneous cases, and prepares copies in triplicate of all cases disposed of in the miscellaneous department	
Ezhar Novis . .	..... 3 8 0	Writes the deposition of witnesses, and keeps a roll of their description that they may be easily identified	

The first grade Moonsiffs have, under the orders of Government, dated 24th April, 1854, been invested with the powers of taking cognizance of petty criminal cases, and awarding sentences up to fifty Rupees fine, and fifteen days imprisonment But no addition to the establishment of the Moonsiffs has been allowed in consequence of this increase of business

The Sudder Ameens and Principal Sudder Ameens are generally invested with special powers, viz, awarding sentences for six months imprisonment and 200 rupees fine, commutable to a further period of six months imprisonment in cases referred to them by the Magistrates, and some of the Principal Sudder Ameens are invested with the full powers of the Magistrate, viz, two years imprisonment, and a further period of one year in lieu of corporal punishment

They are allowed no extra establishment for trying criminal cases

The district Judges hear appeals from the decisions of the Magistrates, Deputy Magistrates, Principal Sudder Ameens, in which the fine exceeds fifty Rupees and the period of imprisonment fifteen days

They hold criminal sessions as soon as commitments are made

They are generally allowed one or two muhureers at 10 to 25 rupees per month, for doing all the business connected with the criminal appeals and sessions

CRIMINAL COURTS

MAGISTRATE'S COURT

Amlahs	Salary.	Duties.
Sheristadar .	60 0 0	The Sheristadar is the head ministerial officer He is responsible for the proper conduct of every branch of the duties of the establishment He is often permitted to attend the Magistrate in the ejlash to read papers, and write, and sometimes dictate, orders.
Peshkar	25 0 0	The Peshkar is the second ministerial officer He generally attends the magistrate during office hours and reads *musls leases* and writes afterwards the rubukaries in serious cases
Mohafez	30 0 0	The Mohafez superintends the Mohafez khana or Record Department He is required to keep registers of papers and preserve them

				from the ravages of insects or damp. He is to produce all old cases when called for by the Magistrate or superior authorities
Meer Moonshee	20	0	0	The duties of this officer are similar to those of the Peshkar
Head Muhureer.....	15	0	0	The head Muhureer is in some offices in charge of the *sungin sherista* or serious cases like murder, dacoity and theft He attends like the Peshkar and the Meer Moonshee at the ejlash, and reads papers In other offices the "sungin sherista" is superintended by the Peshkar, and the head Muhureer is in charge of the *kuffef* sherista or petty cases, such as assault, abuse, and other misdemeanours.
Return Novis	15	0	0	The Return Novis is in charge of the Report Sherista, and is responsible for the proper and prompt execution of the Magistrate's orders on the daily reports and returns of the police officers
Mashkabai Novis	12	0	0	This officer writes the monthly statements, and gets them translated by the head writer
Gairzilla Muhureer	10	0	0	This Muhureer is in charge of the "gairzilla sherista" In his Sherista all rubukaries, &c, received from the Magistrates, &c, of other districts, are kept, and replies to them are prepared by him.
Purwannah Novis . . .	10	0	0	This Muhureer writes the perwanahs
Nukle Novis . . .	10	0	0	This Muhurcer simply copies the perwanahs
Nazir	20	0	0	He has two or three bukshees, a chaprassee, and about fifty peadahs. The peadahs receive no fixed salary, but are paid tulubanas by those at whose instance they are employed. The subpœnas, summons, itlanamahs, and other processes, are executed through the Nazir

Besides the amlah above mentioned, there are two or three Muhureers employed on twelve or ten Rupees per mensem, in taking depositions and assisting the Sheristadar and other principal officers.

DEPUTY MAGISTRATE'S COURT.

Amlahs.	Salary			Duties
Sheristadar	30	0	0	The duties of the Sheristadar or Meer Moonshee, as the head officer of the Deputy Magistrate's office is often called, are similar to those of the Magistrate's Sheristadar

Head Muhureer	15	0	0	The head Muhureer is in charge of the "sungim sherista"
Second Muhureer	10	0	0	The second Muhureer is in charge of the "khuteel sherista"
Third Muhureer	10	0	0	The third Muhureer performs the duties of the "Return Novis" Though the Sheristadar or other Amlahs may read the reports, yet this officer is responsible for the due execution of the orders passed by the Deputy Magistrates on the reports, &c., of the Darogahs and other police officers
Nazir	10	0	0	The duties of this officer are the same as those of the Magistrate's Nazir

The sum of eighty-three Rupees is allowed for the establishment of the Deputy or Joint-Magistrates in charge of sub-divisions, viz, fifty Rupees for the Sheristadar, fifteen Rupees for the head Muhureer, ten Rupees for the second Muhureer, and eight Rupees for the orderly peons, but the Deputy and Joint-Magistrates are empowered, with the sanction and approval of the superintendent of police, to employ a larger number of Amlahs, if they do not exceed eighty-three Rupees

The establishment of the Deputy Magistrates being very inadequate, one or two additional Muhureers from the Magistrate's office are often deputed to the sub-divisions It is in contemplation to invest the Deputy Magistrates with fiscal powers

THANNAH

Officers.	Salary			Duties
Darogah. . . .	100 Rs of 1st grade 75 „ of 2d grade 50 „ of 3d grade			This officer is to preserve the peace within the limits of his thannah, to prevent, as far as possible, the perpetration of all criminal offences, and to discover and apprehend offenders, as well to trace out stolen property He is to conform to all instructions he may receive from the Magistrate or Joint or Deputy Magistrate, to whom he may be subordinate
Muhureer	8	0	0	The Muhureer is the second officer at the thannah, and in the absence of the Darogah in the Mofussil, exercises the powers vested in that officer by Regulation XX. of 1817. He is to preserve the records of the thannah and to write the reports, &c, under the direction of the Darogah. In some districts the Muhureer submits the reports on cases investigated by him directly to the Magistrate, in others through the Darogah The Muhureer is in charge of the district Dak Sherista

Jemadar.	8	0	0	The Jemadar is considered the third officer of the thannah. In the absence of the Darogah and the Muhureer from the thannah, he exercises the powers of the Darogah. It is the special duty of the Jemadar to see that the thannah burkundazes are in attendance at their posts, and that their arms and accoutrements are cleaned, and otherwise kept in a state of efficiency.

REVENUE COURTS.

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.

Amlahs.	Salary.			Duties.
				English Department.
Assistant.	300	0	0	Drafts letters and reports; examines settlements, checks accounts and statements, examines, attests copies, &c., &c., and has the superintendence of the office.
Head Clerk	100	0	0	Translates from Bengali into English; endorses and dockets letters received; keeps the Register of settlements, and translates resumptions from Bengalli into English (besides a copy of the Bengallee Register kept by the Sheristadar) writes letters. Indexes letters sent, &c.
2nd Ditto	60	0	0	Assists the above officers.
3rd and 4th Writer .	25	0	0	Is employed in copying, and occasionally enters letters in books.
9th Ditto	20	0	0	Writes usual letters; despatches and gives references; indexes letters sent out.
				Native Department.
Sherishtadar	100	0	0	Keeps the Register of current resumptions and the resumptions by Special Commissioner under circular order, dated 17th June, 1834. Examines settlements and Butwarahs and reports on civil suits and other matters; writes rubukaries and petitions of appeal, examines copies and makes *Missilkhani.*
Peshkar	40	0	0	Keeps the register of settlements and other registers; draws out quarterly statement of settlements, writes usual rubukaries, and examines copies and assists in Missilkhani.
Mohafez	40	0	0	Keeps records.
Head Muhureer	20	0	0	Despatches and copies.
Muhureer	20	0	0	Keeps the register of amdany papers, gives references and copies occasionally.

One or two Assistant Muhureer	15	0	0	To assist the head muhureer.

In consequence of the abolition of the office of Superintendent of Police, its duties have been divided among the local Commissioners. The functions of the Abkari Commissioners have also been transferred to them. In some Zillahs where the Judge is overburthened with business they perform criminal duties also.

COLLECTOR'S OFFICE.

Amlahs.	Salary.			Duties.
Moonshee Dufter.				
1 Sheristadar.....	50	0	0	Superintends the Bengallee office.
1 Meer Moonshee.....	40	0	0	Reads reports and papers to the Collector, and draws up rubukaries.
1 Naeb Moonshee	20	0	0	Keeps papers of all pending cases, and lays them before the Collector.
1 Account Sale Novis ...	15	0	0	Has charge of all papers connected with sales.
1 Muhureer	10	0	0	Assists the Naieb Moonshee.
1 Ditto	10	0	0	Keeps diary of all orders, and registers all papers received.
1 Ditto	10	0	0	Draws up perwannahs and copies papers.
Hisab Dufter.				
1 Head Muhureer	19	0	0	In charge of all accounts.
2 Muhureers at 15 Rs. each.....	30	0	0	Assist the head Muhureer.
1 Muhureer	10	0	0	Prepares warrants, &c.
1 Towjee Novis	19	0	0	Keeps the towjee or register of estates, and their accounts.
2 Assts. Ditto at 10 Rs.	20	0	0	Assist the above.
1 Siha Novis.....	17	0	0	Keeps register of invoices.
Treasury.				
1 Treasurer	60	0	0	Keeps the treasure, and superintends accounts connected with it.
1 Dakhila Novis	8	0	0	Keeps register of dhakhilahs or receipts, and other accounts of the treasury.
1 Assistant ditto	6	0	0	Assists the above.
1 Muhureer	8	0	0	Keeps accounts of Stamps and Company's Papers.
1 Ditto	8	0	0	Registers Bank Notes, &c.
2 Poddars or Shroffs ...	14	0	0	Examine Rupees.
Nazir Dufter.				
1 Nazir	10	0	0	Executes all orders and processes.
1 Naeb Ditto	7	0	0	Assists the above.
Sursuree Dufter.				
1 Head Muhureer..	40	0	0	Has the charge of all summary suits.
2 Muhureers at 10 Rs...	20	0	0	Assist the above.

Record Room.				
2 Record Keepers, 30 Rs.	60	0	0	In charge of the records.
2 Muhureers at 10 Rs....	20	0	0	Assist the above.
2 Ditto, at 7½ Rs.....	15	0	0	Assist the above.
English Office.				
1 Head Writer	62	11	5	Superintends the English office.
1 Writer	41	12	9	Keeps the treasury accounts and those of drafts, &c.
1 Ditto	35	0	0	Dockets letters and keeps accounts of deposits.
1 Ditto	30		0	Despatches letters, &c.
2 Ditto, at 20 Rs..	40		0	Copy letters, &c.

DEPUTY COLLECTOR'S OFFICE.

Amlahs.	Salary.			Duties.
1 Sheristadar	10	0	0	Exercises supervision over the office, also has charge of summary suits, dakhilkharij cases, and revision of securities.
1 Head Muhureer	7	0	0	Is employed in settlement duties and local enquiries, also has charge of cases under Sec. 30, Regulation II. of 1819, and referred cases.
1 Muhureer	6	0	0	Keeps papers of miscellaneous cases, and registers papers, &c.
2 Ditto at 5 Rupees each	10			Copy papers.
1 Rubukar Novis	5			Draws up rubukaries and other papers.
1 Mohafez.....	8			Keeps the records.
1 Nazir	4			Executes all orders.

The above statements are substantially correct. In particular districts the number of subordinate amlas may be larger or smaller, according to the state of business; and the salaries vary also, but the difference cannot be much.

The statistics we have given speak for themselves. Any one who chooses to go through them, will see that the salary which many of the amlas, especially of subordinate courts, receive, is less than what is allowed to our "*bhistees* and *maturs*," or earned by a *coolie*. The amlas are required to possess, in addition to their own language, a knowledge of the laws and practice of the Courts. They are generally known to be intelligent, useful and hard working. The amount of business they have to go through is immense, and is such as keeps them busily engaged in the Court and often at home. The higher grade amlas are not unfrequently called upon to perform a great portion of the duties of their covenanted superiors. And if for so much "toil and trouble," they are wretchedly remunerated, the *wonder is not that they are corrupt, but that they are not more*

so. Before cases are heard, documents are produced, which are always in their custody. The abstraction of a document, or a single interlineation in any of them, may enable an amla to make his fortune, and it is no little wonder that such delinquencies are rarely heard of. The amlas are obliged to maintain a certain position in society, besides supporting themselves and their families, and as the salary which many of them receive, hardly covers the expense of their *living in the station*, are they not driven by Government to be dishonest? In allowing such a state of things to continue, the Government is not only doing great INJUSTICE to the ministerial officers, by perverting the principle "every labourer is worthy of his hire," but is clogging the way to JUSTICE. The purification of the Mofussil Courts depends upon three requisites, viz., 1, the efficiency and honesty of the Judges; 2, the simplicity of the substantive and adjective laws, and their speedy and cheap administration; 3, the competency and uprightness of the ministerial officers. The first two subjects have engaged the attention of the Government, and we may say this has been attended with some good. We wish now to see the emolument of the native judges raised, and the code of procedure simplified, that justice may no longer be a dear commodity. We hope the stamp duty, which has been admitted to be the great incubus upon justice, will be done away with at the same time. The Courts of Munsiffs, which are really the Courts for the people, are scarcely habitable, and if an English squire were to visit them, he would never think of allowing his dogs to be kept there. This is well known to the Government, but the Deputy Governor could not vote any money for their improvement, without the sanction of the Government of India. —There were wheels under wheels and here the blame lay. We will now see how the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal disposes of such questions. We have said already that two subjects mentioned above have received some attention The third question, viz., the improvement of the amlas, has been utterly neglected. We are not surprised that this did not form a part of the late parliamentary enquiry; which is another proof of the hurried manner in which it was instituted and closed. If the enquiry had been more searching and minute on the different questions connected with the internal administration of this country, the subject under notice would necessarily have suggested itself. It is, however, a matter on which no imperial legislation is required. The reform is in the hands of the Bengal Government, and we trust that the question will at once be taken up in right earnest by the

appointment of a Commission, that the Mofussil Court Establishments may be properly revised.

The reform required has reference not only to the augmentation of the emolument of the Amlas and the gradation of their rank, but to the increase of their numerical strength. It is notorious that in many Courts each Amla has at least two apprentices to assist him, which shows that he has a larger amount of business than he can possibly go through.

The remarks we have made on the Judicial Courts are also applicable to Criminal and Fiscal Courts, wherever the amlas are inadequately remunerated—and therefore the question must not be considered with reference to one *description* of Courts; but to Courts of all *descriptions.*

It appears to us that the remedy is easily obtainable. There is overwhelming testimony in favor of the employment of educated native agency in different departments of the service. Would the result have been similar, if the constitution of the service had remained as it was in the days of Cornwallis, and had not been remodelled by Lord William Bentinck? It is admitted that the native judges have particularly distinguished themselves, and it may be asked to what is this owing? We say to the incentive to exertion supplied by the principle of promotion, on which the uncovenanted judicial service is based. The Government acknowledges this truth, as it is extending this principle to the criminal department, and bestowing greater care on the selection of darogahs, that the most meritorious may eventually be promoted to the office of Deputy Magistrate. This is a sound and judicious arrangement. Why should not the same principle be infused into the ministerial service, after affixing to it emoluments commensurate with the duties? No service can be improved without the application of the means calculated to preserve its efficiency and purity, nor can it be placed on a more unerring and surer basis than that of *adequate remuneration and promotion according to merit, thereby rendering it an object of an ambition.*

ART. VI.—1. *Life in the Mission, the Camp and the Zenana; or Six Years in India. By Mrs. Colin Mackenzie.* 3 *Vols. London,* 1853.

2. *Oakfield; or Fellowship in the East. By Punjabee.* 2 *Vols. London,* 1853.

3. *The Wetherbys: Father and Son; or Sundry Chapters of Indian Experience. By John Lang. Re-printed from Fraser's Magazine. London,* 1853.

4. *Too Clever by Half; or the Harroways. By the Mofussilite. London,* 1853.

IN many important respects, the first two of these works are singularly unlike each other; and yet, there is a sort of likeness between them. The first is merely a collection of Journal-letters, often hastily written, and published, we have reason to believe, with the slightest possible alteration. The second is avowedly a work of fiction, carefully written and much considered in manuscript; and seemingly, though, as the writer says, not altered in form and substance, much polished and refined in its outward tegument of verbal expression. The first is gossipping and anecdotical—a running commentary, as it were, *de omnibus rebus;* the second is a grave, thoughtful, sustained work, like a strain of solemn music. But they are both the works of earnest writers and good Christians—and both tend, though by very different ways, to the same great end—an exposition of what is evil in Anglo-Indian Society.

We suspect greatly that the writers resemble each other much more closely than do their works. Mrs. Mackenzie, in the volumes before us, has not done herself full justice. Her book is always amusing; often suggestive and instructive. It is a record of first impressions, conveyed with much liveliness of manner and *piquancy* of illustration; and the reader must never lose sight of the fact, that it is honestly and conscientiously, nothing more than a collection of "Letters to Friends at Home." Whether it was prudent in Mrs. Mackenzie to make her first appeal to the Public in such a guise, is another matter. She must settle that question with "Prince Posterity," who, probably, will refuse to honor drafts upon him in any such shape as this. It is our business only to deal with the work, as it *is;* we have no right to *complain* that it is not something else. But knowing what the lady is capable of doing—nay, what she has done under the *purdah* of the anonymous—we

cannot help feeling some *regret* that she comes before us, for the first time, in her present motley costume.

Of *Oakfield* it may be briefly said, in this place, that we are afraid it will not obtain as many readers as it deserves. It is said to be the work of one who has a grand hereditary claim to the respectful attentions, alike of the inner circle of critics, and the outer world of an enlightened Public. We believe that we are not wrong in attributing* it to the pen of a son of one of the most accomplished scholars of the age, and a maker of accomplished scholars, whose influence upon the present generation—an influence exercised not merely through the medium of his printed works, admirable as they are—is greater, perhaps, than that of any man who has recently passed away from amongst us—one, who was, in the widest and most exalted significance, as in the most literal sense of the words, a great teacher, whose teachings will work mightily among Christian Englishmen, long after the present generation, who have seen him face to face and listened to his utterances with their fleshly ears, have returned to the dust from which they sprung.

There is something in the present work that reminds us of the wisdom and benevolence of the venerated philosopher of whom we speak. It is, altogether, an earnest and a sincere book. It is true that there is much in it, which appears to us to be the growth of insufficient experience; and there is altogether a sombre hue about the picture of humanity presented by it, which is not altogether life-like. Once admitting the premises, there is no doubt about the conclusions. But we are often inclined to question the correctness of these premises. Still, there is such a deep conviction of truthfulness apparent in every page, there is so much sadness in the expositions, and so much solemnity in the warnings it contains—that we cannot doubt that the book is, in some sort, the result of actual experience; at all events, that the writer believes, in his inmost soul, that he speaks of what he has actually seen. His experiences, however, must have been singularly unfortunate. We have seen something of military life in the Bengal Presidency; and we think that it is much better than it appears to be in the pages of "Punjabee."

It is only fair, however, to admit at once, that in Mrs. Colin Mackenzie's pages it does not appear in much brighter colors. The lady and the gentleman are both against us. Both give

* This is now removed beyond the region of conjecture. The second edition of *Oakfield* is announced with the name of its author, Mr. Arnold.—Ed.

a very lamentable account of military society in India. We do not advance further than the second chapter of the *Mission, the Camp, and the Zenana*, before we alight upon the following picture—*Katputli* nautch :—

This being little Ewen's birthday, we had a katputli nach, *i. e.*, a dance of Marionettes, in the dining-room. It was a most picturesque scene; there was a band of three or four musicians, who played on a kind of guitar, drum, and other instruments, and sang discordantly. The chief man showed some sleight-of-hand tricks, such as making four or five pigeons come from under an empty cover, and afterwards a little Marionette danced as a nach girl; some sepoys and other figures came on, to the great delight of the children, of whom there were many present. It was very pretty to see all these little ones, quite specimens of "Mammas' darlings," with long hair, velvet dresses, ornamented pinafores, cashmeres and velvet to wrap them up in. The ayahs, in their white draperies, sitting with some on the floor; a Chinese woman waiting on another; moustachioed bearers attending on most of them, with divers little native and half-caste children, and the servants in scarlet and gold, glossy silk or white garments, and a crowd of tailors, gardeners, and hangers-on of all kinds, filling up the background.

After tiffin, C. peeped in again, and found the audacious tamasha-wallah (literally play-fellow) had dressed himself up as an officer, with a white mask, and was (the ladies having departed) showing how a young Ensign treats his bearer. I immediately went to see, and never was more diverted. He did it admirably, and showed such a perception of European follies, as to prove an effectual warning to all present not in any way to commit themselves before these quiet quick-witted natives. He had laid hold of one of Julia's bearers, and was making him walk backwards and forwards for his amusement, bestowing a kick every now and then to quicken his movements. He then sent him for a bottle of brandy, stamped and rampauged about, and finally began to dance, exactly like an awkward Englishman attempting a hornpipe. He then forced his supposed servant to dance, looked at him through an eye-glass, and finally, "saving your presence" (as the little Irishwoman said to me, when speaking of washing her face), "took a sight" at him, and taught him to do the same. He then brought in one of his companions dressed as a lady, dragged her about by way of taking a walk, and then danced with her in imitation of a quadrille and waltz. I cannot understand any one venturing to waltz before a native, after seeing this apt caricature of the performance!—It was very droll, and only too true.

When Mrs. Mackenzie wrote this, she had not been a month in India—and her few weeks' experience had been gained in the house of a member of Council living in Chowringhee. She had seen nothing of Indian military life; and yet she pronounced the insolent tamasha-walla's performance of a drunken Ensign "admirable" and "only too true."

Time did not seem to weaken Mrs. Mackenzie's unfavorable opinion, not only of Military society, but of European society generally in India. She travelled from Calcutta to the North Western Frontier, and writing from Loodhiana, says :—

The conduct of the Europeans, in many instances, is such as to make

the natives despise and abhor them; for although worse themselves, yet they expect those above them to be better than they; and they know full well that our law requires a life of purity and holiness. Besides which, the usual haughty and domineering manners of the English make them as unpopular here as on the Continent of Europe, and as they are almost all in stations of some influence or authority in this country, evil conduct on their part is the cause of injustice and suffering to those beneath them. When a man in office is under the power of a native woman, she invariably takes bribes, and he gets the credit of doing so; for she of course gives out that the Sahib shares in her extortions. Thus, whether the wretched man does or not, he loses his character for common honesty. Now, putting the principles of morality out of the question, it is evident that an officer who thus places himself into the hands of a Heathen woman, is wholly unfit for any situation of authority.

Now this is a very delicate and a very difficult subject to handle. Of the morality of the matter, we need not say that there is no doubt. But looking at the question merely in its *official* aspect, we cannot help entertaining some very grave doubts of the soundness of the writer's conclusions. Giving full weight to the obvious objection which she has started, we still cannot shut our eyes against the notorious fact that some of the very best administrators, civil and military, who have held "situations of authority" in India, have been trammeled by the connexions of which Mrs. Mackenzie speaks. Whether they have been "*under the power* of a native woman," is another matter; but we presume that the reference in the above passage is to all such illicit connexions. We do not intend to enlarge upon what we cannot bring ourselves to call the "advantages" of such connexions. There is something revolting in the association of such a word with such a subject. But there is no subject upon which the accomplished high-minded lady, whose work we are now noticing, more frequently discourses, and that, too, in language of becoming indignation, than the insolent and overbearing demeanour of Europeans towards natives of all classes. That the complaint has solid foundation we do not doubt. We do not doubt that the evil is a great one. But it did not always exist. There was formerly more sympathy between Europeans and natives than there is in these days. The former were not only courteous in their demeanour to the latter, but took pleasure in conversing with them. There was something more even than the formal amenities of official intercourse. The *sahib-logue* were regarded often as the fathers and friends of the natives, especially in the old sepoy-regiments; and attachments were formed which often lasted a life. The tendency of that improved domestic life, which is to be regarded on all accounts with so much satisfaction, is certainly not to strengthen the bonds be-

tween the European and the native. We need hardly say that we here express no opinion, and draw no inference; we merely record a fact.

Mrs. Mackenzie does not deal in general accusations; she cites individual instances in proof of her assertions. Of the truth of these instances we have no doubt. We are certain, at least, that the writer entirely believes them to be true. But we hope that they are to be regarded as *exceptional* cases. We have no hesitation, indeed, in pronouncing the following to be no illustration of the general state of military morality amongst us:—

An instance has just occured here which will give you a specimen of some Indian ladies. Major MacDonald has a headman who has superintended everything for him for many years; a most respectable, quiet Brahman. Captain Q. has a most disreputable Adjutant, a Mr. W., who was formerly in the Navy, and, I believe, obliged to leave it, and whom Captain Q. said he could have broke over and over again; whereupon C. told him he was to blame for not having done so. This person borrowed money of Major MacDonald's headman, and a short time since Mrs. W. sent for the latter (unknown to Major M.) and tried to get some more money from him, but finding there was no hope of repayment, he declined; whereupon Mrs. W.'s European female servant flew upon him, tore the note of hand from him, and destroyed it before his face, and then turned him out of the house. The supposition is that she and her mistress then incited her husband, a Bombadier, to assault the poor man; certain it is that he did so, and cruelly maltreated him, put out one finger and broke another, and injured him so much that he was brought home, nearly insensible, on a charpai. The thing was so glaring that the Bombadier was brought to a Court Martial, whereat the Adjutant of Artillery, Mr. G., instead of acting as prosecutor, as he was bound to do, acted as Counsel for the prisoner, brow-beat the Native witnesses on behalf of the complainant, and at length, by false swearing, it was asserted to the satisfaction of the Court, that this quiet, elderly Native had *assaulted* the huge, stout European soldier, who was acquitted.

Major MacDonald, instead of reporting the behaviour of the Adjutant's wife to the Commander-in-Chief, paid the money himself, which I think a very great pity, as such shameful conduct ought to be exposed. It appears to me that *esprit de corps* would lead honourable men to clear themselves and their regiment from any participation in such deeds, by vigorously punishing instead of screening the guilty. This feeling makes me always desire that a gentleman who has disgraced himself should be doubly punished.

We believe that such a case as this is no more an illustration of the general conduct of officers and officers' wives, than the brutality of the Sloanes towards their unhappy serving girl, which produced so great a sensation in England, is to be adduced as a proof of the degradation of the legal profession at home.

Mrs. Mackenzie comments, as the author of *Oakfield* also comments, upon the want of principle in money matters, so

apparent amongst us, especially in military circles But she writes of it charitably, indeed, almost apologetically, and there is much truth in what she says :—

I have mentioned the wonderful way in which every one's character, habits, and circumstances are known and canvassed from one end of India to the other It is truly astonishing ! A shameful want of principle in money transactions is but too common here, and, I am sorry to say, more general among military men than among civilians At the same time there is less excuse for a civilian, for his pay is higher, he is more stationary, and is not liable to be moved every year, often to stations where he has to build a house, which is no sooner completed than he is marched away. Civilians have also less idle time on their hands, which is a great blessing to them Sir Charles Napier has been doing great good by rejecting all applications for mercy to officers who have been found guilty of dishonourable conduct in money matters Everybody in India is in debt, and everybody avows it, and seems to look on it as a matter of course

This is true enough in some cases, where officers having been obliged to buy or to build houses, and suddenly ordered to a fresh station The frequent and unnecessary removes of regiments are the most frequent causes of debt to military men , the expense of marching is enormous, to say nothing of the loss incurred in selling and purchasing furniture , and whenever they have to buy or to build a house, they are generally obliged to borrow money from some one of the banks, which, nominally charging 10 per cent , contrives in reality, to exact *at the least* 15 That true soldier's friend, Sir Charles Napier, saw the hardship of these incessant removes, and intended, if possible, to leave every regiment at least three years in one place Another cause, which often cripples an officer, is the necessity of taking sick leave for himself, or of sending home his wife or children There are two boons which the army might justly claim from a paternal Government one is, that sick leave should be reckoned in the period of service, and furlough to England as furlough to the Cape, and the other, that when a station is abolished, a certain fixed sum, according to his rank, should be paid to each officer as compensation for his house If to this were added loans from Government of a certain amount, to be repaid by monthly instalments, deducted from the pay (with or without interest at 5 per cent), to officers obliged to build on the formation of new cantonments, there would have been an end of half the unavoidable debts which oppress the army. As the formation and abolition of stations are purely acts of Government, it is but fair that officers should not be ruined by them The purchase of steps, and expensive messes, are two other fertile sources of debt to young officers

In what follows, we see something of the lights and shades of Anglo-Indian life —

The extravagant profusion in which the British in India formerly lived, is now almost unknown An officer told me, that when he entered the service as cornet, he thought it necessary to have a set of silver dishes, covers, and wall-shades ! I really think the ladies in India much less extravagant than their husbands , and often the best thing a man can do to get out of debt, is to take unto himself a wife I have been quite touched by the self-denial and exertions of women (accustomed before their marriage to every comfort), in order to avoid incurring debt, or from an honourable desire to liquidate those already incurred by their

husbands. When they are extravagant, it is generally in cases where their husbands can afford it. Another wonderful fact in Indian life is, that women of undeniably bad character are received by those whose own lives are unblemished. As several of the officers' wives here were quite unvisitable according to home ideas, by C.'s advice I called on all those I intended to become acquainted with, without waiting till they called on me; thus showing that I did not mean to know the others. One of them came to our house; but the "door was shut."

We hope that there were not at one Mofussil station "several" unvisitable ladies "according to home ideas." Those "home ideas," we may perhaps not unfitly observe, are not always to be advantageously transplanted to foreign climes. According to home ideas, "plate" may not "sin" where "gold" may, and many ladies, who would be absolutely unvisitable without their rank and their wealth, are, by reason of this rank and wealth received into good society. The question of the extent to which, in such cases, our charity may be advantageously extended, is a very delicate and a very important one. It is one into which we cannot afford to enter in this place. We would only observe that a strong line of demarcation should always be drawn between the offence committed and repented of—it may be, forgiven—and that which is still in actual course of perpetration. We believe that a very great mistake—even on the score of Christian ethics—is committed by those who would close their door against all in whose antecedents there are passages of womanly frailty. Are we to cast out those whom God has not cast out? If the solemn but kindly mandate, "Go and sin no more," has not been uttered in vain, why should not God's creatures be satisfied with the reformation. But, "according to home ideas," once a sinner always a sinner.*

And every woe a tear can claim,
Except an erring sister's shame.

* There are some remarks upon this subject in a little thoughtful book, entitled *Companions of my Solitude*, by the author of *Friends in Council*, so much to the point, that we cannot forbear from quoting them here.—"In the New Testament we have such matters treated in a truly divine manner. There is no palliation of crime. Sometimes our charity is mixed up with such a mash of sentiment, and sickly feeling, that we do not know where we are, and what is vice, and what is virtue. But here are the brief stern words, 'Go, and sin no more,' but at the same time, there is an infinite consideration for the criminal, not, however, as criminal, but as a human being; I mean not in respect of her criminality, but of her humanity.

Now an instance of our want of obedience to these Christian precepts has often struck me in the not visiting married women, whose previous lives will not bear inspection. Whose will? Not merely all Christian people, but all civilized people, ought to set their faces against this exclusive retrospection.

But if ever there were an occasion on which men (I say men, but I mean more especially women) should be careful of scattering abroad unjust and severe sayings, it is in speaking of the frailties and delinquencies of women. For it is one of those things where an unjust judgment, or the fear of one, breaks down the bridge behind the repentant, and has often made an error into a crime, and a single crime into a life of crime."

But reading on, we come now to a passage of some length and much importance, in which the authoress sums up her views of Anglo Indian Society. They are entitled to much consideration, as the opinions of a highly educated Christian lady —

My impression of Indian society is, that, in ability and uprightness, both the military and civil services are unsurpassed by any other body The average amount of talent appears to me decidedly above that of English society at home, and the reason is evident—in India a man has opportunities of developing whatever faculties nature has given him, which would not be afforded in Europe until they began to decay A military man, by the time he is thirty years of age, has often acted as Quarter-master to a division, or been left in sole charge of a detachment, perhaps of a regiment, in an enemy's country, he may have been sole magistrate of a large cantonment, and has probably acted as Post Master, Pay Master, Brigade Major, and Commissariat Officer, or has commanded a regiment in action, perhaps has been transferred from an infantry corps to one of irregular cavalry, acted as Political Assistant, made treaties with hostile tribes, settled questions of revenue or tribute, besides having to build his own house and his wife's carriage

A young civilian, with less variety of work, is even more uncontrolled, and has often greater responsibility thrown upon him He is probably put in charge of a district half as large as England with the combined duties of Magistrate and Revenue Commissioner, he may be called on to defend his district as he best can, to suppress an outbreak, to seize conspirators, to trace gang robberies and wholesale murders, and is advanced to high judicial, financial or political functions, while still in the full possession of all the faculties of vigorous manhood. No wonder that a clever young civilian, who returned to England four years after he entered the service, when my husband asked him if he were not sensible of a great difference between himself and the young men of his own age with whom he had renewed acquaintance, replied, "To tell you the truth, I find they are boys, and I feel myself a man"

The isolated life civilians so often lead, and the large amount of authority and responsibility committed to them at so early an age, probably accounts for the fact, that you scarcely meet a young civilian whose manner has not far too much confidence and pretension to be that of good society—where modesty, if not genuine, is at least feigned As they grow older, this generally wears off, and as, *en masse*, they are more highly educated than military men, you meet very gentlemanly as well as accomplished and agreeable civilians Young officers, though not often so well-informed as young civilians, have generally much better manners, and would be better received at home, for nothing corrects conceit and presumption so much as constant intercourse with equals and superiors, as in a regiment One hears of jealousy between the two services, but I have never seen anything of it The recent improvement in the religious and moral standard at home causes a marked difference between the majority of men under fifty and those above it.

But if the gentlemen in India are above the home average, the ladies are certainly below it. Young men constantly make inferior marriages; and girls, after having been deprived of a mother's care half their lives, are brought out and married far too young—before their education (if they have had any) is finished, or their minds formed, and before they have enjoyed what, in the present deficient system, is often the best part

of a girl's training—the advantage of intercourse with really good society. They have thus no standard of manners or taste, by which to test the manners of those among whom they are thrown; they probably marry under eighteen, often under sixteen, and adopt the strangest phraseology from their husbands and their husbands' friends. It is common to hear ladies speaking not only of their husbands by their surnames (a thing unpardonable, except of a peer), but of other gentlemen in the same manner; talking of "our kit," and using such terms as "jolly," "pluck," "a cool thing," "lots," "rows," and "no end of things!" I think the wives of military men are worse in this respect than those of civilians.

The families of civilians intermarry very much among themselves. The great precedency given to the Civil Service, is a curious feature in Indian society. A civilian of four years' standing ranks with a Captain, one of eight years with a Major, one of twenty years with a Colonel.

Loss of rank and importance, as well as of their ample allowances, is doubtless a great reason why civilians, and especially their wives, so often dislike England on their first return to it. Precedence is so much attended to in India, that it is the custom for no one to leave a party before the great lady of the evening takes her departure, and a lady whose right to be led to table by her host had been overlooked, has been known to refuse going to the dining room until the delinquent returned to conduct her thither. After being the recognized Bara Bibi, or great lady of a station, or perhaps of a Presidency, for a number of years, to return home and find that a civilian is considered by most people as something between a merchant and a police magistrate (they do not exactly know which), and that his wife is placed after any Captain's wife she may happen to meet, is a sad downfall!

There is certainly a great amount of domestic happiness in India. Married people are in many cases so entirely thrown upon each other, not only for sympathy, but for conversation and amusement, that they become knit much more closely than when each has a thousand distractions, and separate ways of spending the day.

The lady cannot spend her mornings in shopping or visiting, nor the gentleman at his club. They generally drive or ride together every evening, and many married people, when separated, write to each other every day.

Circumstances which tend to promote such a high degree of conjugal union and sympathy, surely cannot be considered merely as hardships.

There is a great deal of truth in this; and we doubt not that it is to be regarded as an expression of the deliberate convictions of the writer; whilst the scattered passages, which seem here and there to convey a different idea of Mrs. Mackenzie's estimate of Anglo-Indian Society, are to be taken only as incidental allusions to particular circumstances, which, judged by themselves, might warrant an opposite conclusion. And there is really, when we come to consider the machinery of the work before us, no inconsistency in this. Mrs. Mackenzie has written down, from day to day, the impressions of the moment; and if there had been a complete concordance between the views of to-day and the views of to-morrow, as influenced by passing events, the book would not have been the same genuine truthful book that it is. It is in the very nature of

this *kind of* epistolary writing, that hasty impressions should be jotted down. There are few amongst us who do not, from time to time, leap somewhat precipitately from particular cases to general conclusions, and treat the exception as though it were the rule. Nothing, indeed, is more common than at first to mistake the exception for the rule, and to write, "You may 'judge what the natives of India are, when I tell you that the 'other day, &c., &c."—or, "Only think what sort of people our 'Indian ladies are—I learnt to-day that Mrs. —— &c., &c." When a person sits down deliberately to write a book, he is bound to give us the result of his latest experience. We have a right to expect that all his first hasty impressions should be corrected, and all erroneous conclusions discarded. But the publication of a journal, or a series of journal-letters, is altogether a different matter, if they be published for what they are, and no more. One looks to such a work, not so much for the expression of settled convictions, as for the passing impressions and fluctuating opinions of the day. These impressions and opinions are to be considered historically, each one with reference to circumstances of time and place, and through the whole, it is the business of the critic to trace not verbal inconsistencies and contrarieties, which are almost inseparable from such a work, but the progressive growth of truth in the writer's mind. There would be no inconvenience in this kind of writing, if people would only read books as they are intended to be read—but as very few take the trouble to consider either the character of the work before them, or the intentions of the writer, it not unfrequently happens that mischief is done by the citation of individual passages, which do not convey the mature opinions of the writer, as indications of a state of things which has no existence in actual life.

Indeed, as we remarked at the out-set, and as we are here not unwilling to repeat, the general impression left on the reader's mind, after a perusal of Mrs. Mackenzie's volumes, is, in spite of this general confession of faith, that her views of military society in India are not by any means *couleur de rose*. Her experiences, however, do not seem to have been so unfortunate as those of the author of *Oakfield*. We hope that the following description of the society to be found in a Native Infantry regiment, is not to be taken as a specimen of the morals and manners of that important branch of the service.

Where is the energy by which British India has been conquered? Not in the army—at least in the officers. These are really, in nine cases out of ten, so far as I have seen, mere animals, with no single idea on any subject in the world beyond their carcasses. We have all been accustomed to hear the officers of the Queen's army spoken of as models of gentleman-

liness at any rate, and the good world has almost confessedly excused their notorious immorality, as a professional failing, to be regretted indeed, but still quite atoned for by their intense polish, which things I had transferred to the Company's army, and was really quite astounded to find that even this quality was wanting. I do not mean only that the higher elements of the gentlemanly character are wanting, courtesy to inferiors, (Heaven save the mark in this country! fancy talking to an officer of county to a native!) honesty in money transactions, and so on, but there is not even a refinement of outward manners, so far from being above, they seem infinitely below par in this respect. I had always thought of a mess as the abode of luxurious refinement, even it might be to effeminacy. I find it a bad tavern, without the comfort of even such an establishment I had not expected to hear literary conversation at a mess table, but still less such appalling ribaldry as I did hear in the fortnight during which I belonged to the mess. I am not likely to be prudish in these matters, I have spent all my life at Winchester and Oxford, and at both places have been in company with boys and men who were noted for this style of conversation, but am quite certain that among gentlemen, at private parties, such things are not common. At the 81st mess would have been kicked out of the room as a gross offender, I do not say against morality but gentlemanly taste. They pride themselves, indeed, on a very subtle distinction between dinner and after dinner. A man is supposed to be reasonably decent while the cloth is on the table, but may compensate himself by the utmost licence of blackguardism directly it is off. I stayed in the mess for a fortnight, but could not stand it any longer, so now I live alone, and see very little of the officers in consequence. Another source of astonishment to my misophistocated mind is the utter absence not only of gentlemanly but military feeling. There are more exceptions here than in the other case, I own. There are more *officers* than *gentlemen* and there are two men in the regiment who appear to be both, but, for the rest, they talk about as much soldiers as they are Christians, and their worst enemy could not reproach them with the latter title. I suppose they would fight in action, but as to the duties of a soldier in time of peace, they entirely ignore them. How on earth a corps holds together with such an utter absence of discipline and *esprit de corps* on the part of its officers, I cannot imagine, I suppose it is that the adjutant is a good officer, and does the work of the whole regiment himself. The rest are nonentities, but I pity poor John Company, who must find them terribly expensive ones. As to the commanding officer, there is one I know, for I called on him, and saw the poor old man on parade at muster, but otherwise might be in happy ignorance of his existence, it would be hard to blame him for doing nothing, and being a complete cipher in the regiment which he is paid for commanding, because he is, I believe, physically incapable, half blind, quite lame, and almost imbecile. Whether the command of a regiment should be entrusted to such a man, is quite another question. I can only say that Jack Sepoy must be a very docile animal, and require very little commanding.

This, it should be said, is part of a letter written by Oakfield to a friend, an artillery officer of longer standing in the service. It must be accepted, therefore, to a certain extent in a dramatic sense, but writing in his own person, the author says "however harsh the judgment pronounced, perhaps too 'hastily, in the beginning of this letter, it is hardly more so than 'that passed by most thinking men in the first shock they

encounter from Anglo-Indian Society. In many cases, the strong sense of indignation and disgust becomes blighted by habit; or redeeming points appear, which have been lost sight of in the first dismayed glance. But certainly the first experiences of Indian Society are, to most, disappointing and often shocking; and often lead for a time to that complete seclusion which Oakfield at first adopted. This, though written with immediate reference to military life, is of general application." But a little further on, the writer says, "It is idle to say that the Civilians are not, on the whole, better companions than the common run of regimental officers; they come out on an average three years later, mix more in women's society, and what brains they have are not allowed to lie utterly unemployed." But there is a class of officers, who are neither civilians nor regimental attachés—that is military officers in civil employ, and Mrs. Mackenzie seems to think that, take them for all in all, these are the *élites* of the two services. And we are not sure that she is wrong. They are picked men —men, who have risen, by the force of their own exertions and their own character, to eminence, and many of whom would have distinguished themselves in any career of life. Interest is not all-cogent in the Indian services. The most distinguished men have been the architects of their own fortunes. And even in cases where interest has given the first forward movement, men have proved themselves worthy of their good fortune, by turning circumstances to good account, and becoming all that it was needful for them to be. Doubtless, they have great opportunities, in the positions of which Mrs. Mackenzie speaks. Do they abuse or neglect these opportunities? The author of *Oakfield* thinks that they do. "It seems to me," he writes, still speaking through his hero, "that my object in life must be, not so much to get an appointment, or to get on in the world, as to do work; and the obvious work of every European in India seems to me to be to justify his title to his position, in a country not his own, by helping to civilise it. And do the people who hold your appointments do this? Is this the main purpose of the Indian Governments which make appointments? Because I think it depends a good deal upon this, whether the appointments are such good things to get."

It appears to us that the logic halts a little in this place. The question as to whether it is a good thing to get an appointment, depends not for its solution upon the object of the Government in making appointments, but upon the *opportunities* of doing good afforded to the incumbent. Surely so clear-headed a gen-

tleman as Oakfield might have seen that he had nothing to do either with the conduct of other men or the motives of Government. If better opportunities of doing good were afforded to him, when holding an appointment, than when serving with his regiment, it was clearly his duty to endeavour to "get an appointment." That "the obvious work of every 'European in India is to justify his title to his position in a 'country not his own, by helping to civilise it," is a fact not to be gainsaid. But is it not equally a fact that this work is to be done more effectively by those who have the charge of whole districts, than by those who command only a Company of sepoys? As to the question whether those who hold appointments in this country do help to civilise it; we think it may be very satisfactorily answered. A large proportion of them *do*. Only to speak of our own cotemporaries, what great things have been done by Sleeman, by Hall, by Dixon, by Ludlow, by Ovans, by Outram, by Lawrence, by Macpherson, by Campbell, and others whom it would be easy to mention—military men in civil employ. Is not the opportunity of emulating such examples as these sufficient inducement to seek to obtain an appointment?

But we must come to the two other works whose titles we have prefixed to this article. There is internal evidence palpable even to a stranger, of their having been issued from the same intellectual mint. The former was first published in a London periodical; the latter, we believe, in one of our own Up-country papers. They are written in the same tone and the same style; and there is some similarity of character and of incident. For example, the Courts-Martial in the two stories are vastly too much alike. We think the former story is much the better of the two; as being the most recently written, we are glad to think that it ought to be. Our remarks will be principally confined to the *Sundry Chapters of Indian Experience* contained in the more recent story.

The Wetherbys is not a big book; but there is more stuff in it, than in many a bulkier work. We cannot speak of it with unmixed laudation, but thus much at least may be said, that it fulfils some of the most important conditions of a work of fiction. It supplies plentiful amusement, and there is no lack of instruction in it—more, perhaps, than was intended by the author. The teaching, indeed, is very much of that practical character which distinguished the moral lessons of the Spartan fathers, who are said to have demonstrated to their sons the abomination of drunkenness, by sending into their presence a drunken Helot, reeling and staggering, all the diviner part of man driven out of him, and nothing but the brute

boast left. Better was this, perhaps, than any verbal admonition; but there was one essential condition of its success, which, we doubt not, was never wanting. It need not be said that the impressiveness of such a lesson would have been lost, if the elder spectators had not betrayed their disgust and abhorrence at the unseemly spectacle. To have given a jocular turn to the exhibition, would have been to have rendered it worse than useless. Now, Mr. Lang, in the story before us, shows us the unseemliness of drunkenness and of other kindred immoralities; but there is an apparent want of gravity and earnestness in his tone, which, in respect of the influence of his teaching upon the younger and more unreflecting portion of his readers, may greatly weaken its effect. We do not, for a moment, suppose that Mr. Lang may not hold these things in the same detestation as ourselves. We rather assume that in an over-anxiety to abstain from prosing, he has fallen into the opposite extreme of levity, and disguised his real sentiments under a cloak of jeering Mephistophelian insincerity. In this most important respect, no two works can be more dissimilar than *Oakfield* and *The Wetherbys*. The two books treat of the same subjects. Both are illustrations of military society —of life, indeed, in the Bengal army. Both exhibit in action the same grave social defects. But there is an earnestness, a solemnity, an impressiveness in the utterances of the one; and a carelessness, an indifference, we had almost said a flippancy in the tone of the other writer, which is rendered the more striking by the contrast. And yet, as we shall presently show, the author of *The Wetherbys* is capable of writing earnestly and impressively, when he will allow himself to do so, and with a simple, natural pathos that goes straight to the heart.

The picture of the Bengal army contained in *Oakfield* is painted, as we have already said, in gloomy colors. But in the *Wetherbys* the tints are still darker. When two writers, so dissimilar to each other—regarding the matter from such different points of view—come to the same conclusions in their own, and leave the same impressions on their reader's minds, it is difficult not to believe that the coloring is true. But we are very unwilling to believe it; we mean that we are unwilling to believe that what in these volumes appears to be the rule, is anything more than the exception. That officers may be found in the Indian Army, who are destroying themselves by hard drinking, is, we fear, something more than probable. But in all ranks and conditions of life men are to be found degraded by this species of intemperance. That in Great Britain such examples are becoming

every year less and less frequent "among gentlemen," is an admitted fact; and in India we have ourselves seen an improvement no less striking. Still unhappy exceptions will present themselves; and we should be over-sanguine if we were to expect to see this, or any other vice, extinguished by time. All we maintain is, that the prevalence of such habits is not sufficiently general to give a character to the Indian Army. The men who are destroying themselves with brandy-and-water and cheroots are, we hope, only the few black sheep in a very multitudinous flock.

On this account it seems to us that *The Wetherbys*, although it be truthful in many of its parts, is not truthful as a whole. Even to the accuracy of some of the details we must incontinently demur. For example, Wetherby *fils*—or Robert Wetherby, who tells his own story—goes out to join the Cavalry, on board of one of our crack passenger ships. He is engaged to be married to a young lady in England; and embarks, as young gentlemen in his predicament commonly do, in a very forlorn and inconsolable condition. After a while, and here again we must write, "as young gentlemen in his predicament commonly do," he solaces himself by flirting with a pretty girl on board, and is soon as careless and light-hearted as ever. The scene in the steerage, described at pages 36 and 37, is a genuine bit of nature. The *eclaircissement* in the two following pages is amusing and not untrue. It turns out that Miss Ellen Fletcher, like Mr. Robert Wetherby, is "engaged to be married;" and that each is making a fool of the other. Such things, doubtless, have happened, and will happen again. But there is something beyond this. Ellen is engaged to a rich Calcutta merchant, named Manson. The vessel enters the river. A steamer comes to meet her; and then—we give the denouement in Mr. Robert Wetherby's words:—

"The next day a steamer came close to our vessel. The Captain exclaimed.

"Why, it's Manson."

"That's my merchant," said Ellen in a whisper to me. "Oh, give me the spy-glass and let me look at him"

After arranging the focus and bringing the glass to bear for her on the gentleman who was pointed out as Manson, Ellen remarked to me with a nudge of her elbow.

"Is he not rather stout?"

"You have never seen him?" said I.

"No," said Ellen, "he wrote home for a pretty wife, and *I* am that romantic victim.

After this there is nothing surprising in the announcement that Manson carried off the young lady to his own batchelor establishment, and married her from his own house.

Now we seriously protest against this. If this had appeared half-a-century ago; or if the *Wetherbys* had been written either to gall the British Public or to ridicule, in the Munchausen manner, the nonsense that has been written, from time to time, about Anglo-Indian life, it would have been at least intelligible. But it is not intelligible how Mr. John Lang, in his *Chapters of Indian Experience*, could have inserted an incident which his own experience must have taught him to regard as something without a counterpart in the social history of the present times. Marriages are hastily made in this country; sometimes, indeed, with an indecorous haste, but men do not "write home for pretty wives," and if they did, they would have decency and self-respect enough to get some female friend to receive the consignment on its arrival.

Hospitality, too, we are happy to say, is not extinct in this city, certainly it was not when Mr. Robert Wetherby arrived in Calcutta, about the period of the Ellenborough dynasty; but even then Calcutta Merchants did not carry off strangers from the decks of ships to live with them, nor did they keep open house, as Manson is said to have done. It may be conceded, too, that some latitude of speech and of conduct may sometimes be observed at "a mess in the Fort;" but officers and gentlemen do not invite themselves wholesale to champaign breakfasts with inexperienced boys who are merely guests in other men's houses; so we conceive that Robert Wetherby's great breakfast at Manson's expense and in Manson's absence, is an incident as far removed from the Indian experience of most men as Manson's marriage to Ellen Fletcher. We have our doubts, too, about the story of the staff appointment. Pretty women have an influence even in vice-regal palaces—but cornets of a few months' standing in the army do not get staff-appointments in Calcutta after such a fashion as this.

We have anticipated the narrative in this last remark. It should have been said that after a brief sojourn in Calcutta, Robert Wetherby goes Up-the-country to join his regiment. He is attached to his father's old corps; and is naturally very much provoked when he finds that the senior officers, who had known him as a child, can hardly bring themselves to treat him as anything but as one of the *baba logue* still. This is a bit of truth very felicitously rendered, and a bit of experience that may be advantageously taken account of by young heroes of the second generation. This circumstance does not help "Bobby" to appreciate the charms of regimental duty, and he longs to be emancipated from it. Mrs. Manson promises to help him, and she soon obtains him a staff appointment in

Calcutta What is thought of the job in the regiment, may be gathered from the following expressive passage. It must be premised that Mrs Brill is the Eurasian wife of a brother officer—a low-minded, coarse woman —

When I went to take my leave of Brill and his wife, the latter crossed her legs and folded her arms, and looked at me as savagely as though I had stolen her big of rupees, and in reply to a question which I put to her, touching her health, she replied,—

"Don't you think the Governor-General ought to be ashamed of himself?"

"For what?" I asked

"Why, for giving you a staff appointment," said Mrs Brill

"No," said I, "I don't think he ought to be ashamed of himself for that"

"Oh, don't you?" said Mrs Brill "Then you are as bad as he is, or the person who recommended you "A pretty Governor-General!" she continued, scornfully, "Doesn't know how to make use of his patterminidge!" This last remark was made a good deal in Mrs Cradle's tone—when she rates Cradle for losing his umbrella "Here's Brill," she went on, pointing to her husband, who sat as quiet as a mouse, not daring to interrupt her. "Just look at Brill There is a man who has made himself *fit* for the staff Everybody knows that He applies to Government for every thing that becomes vacant And what reply does he get from Government? Why, that there are already too many officers absent from the corps, but that his claims shall not be forgotten when the number of officers doing regimental duty will admit of his being withdrawn Well, a vacancy occurs, Brill applies for it, expects to get it, but you—his junior by ten years—you—who have not passed—you—who have no more idea of figures and accounts than a Turkey-cock—you are taken, and Brill is left—in the lurch!"

"I am very sorry for Brill," said I, "but you know, Mrs Brill, in this country—*every man for himself* is the motto"

"Man!" ejaculated Mrs Brill, contemptuously "Man, indeed! Do you call yourself a man? Why, you are only a mere boy If it wasn't for your uniform, no one would know you belonged to the cavalry, for you cannot call that down upon your upper lip a moustache Man!" she screeched "You a man! I suppose you are connected with some Director That makes a man of any trumpery boy, no matter how stupid or dissipated he may be I suppose your goings-on have got you into debt, and you wrote home for money, and instead of sending you out an order on some house for the amount, they sent you out an order on the Governor-General for a staff appointment, which would answer the purpose, and save their pockets I know how these things are managed How came young Grillby to get the adjutancy of that irregular regiment? Why, by living too fast, and getting over head and ears in debt And how was it that Lucius Jones got into the Commissariat Department? Why, by going security for another man, and being called upon to pay the money. His father did not like to send it out, so he made the Government pay for his son's indiscretion, and what's more, he burthened Government with a man who is such a fool that he allows Government to be robbed of lacs and lacs of Rupees every year. Jones's head-clerk lives in a fine house, beautifully furnished, drives his carriage and pair, and his horse and buggy, keeps riding horses for himself and his wife, and a pony a-piece for his children, and buys shares in all the banks, on a salary of seventy-five rupees (7*l.* 10*s*) a

month. Under such men as Jones—and there are a good many of 'em in Staff employ—Government, when it wants elephants and camels,—know not when it wants 'em, but when the subordinates make out that Government wants 'em—buys its own property!"

There was too much truth in Mrs. Brill's remarks to render them palatable, and I rose to take my departure. I heard her, after I left the room, wishing the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, the Governor-General, and myself, every species of ill-fortune. Brill came out to see me into my buggy, and begged me, in a whisper, not to be annoyed at anything his wife had said.

"You know, Wetherby," said Brill, "it *is* rather a hard case. You must confess it is—a very hard case, to have a junior taken out of your regiment to fill the very berth you had set your heart upon. It's quite enough to make a man take to drink. Many fellows do, when they see that all the time they have spent in study has been to no purpose; and that without powerful interest, passing in the languages is all rot, and hoping for employ on the staff next door to madness; and the worst part of the business," continued poor Brill, "is this—whenever we meet with one of these disappointments,—I get rowed as much as if I had had a hand in rejecting my own application. I come in for it as though I had no business to be without the interest which other people happen to have. Don't you see, Wetherby?"

I *did* see, and bade poor Brill good-bye.

Robert Wetherby set out for Calcutta to join his Staff appointment; but being a young gentleman of a rather impulsive character, addicted to billiard-playing, horse-racing, and the use of his fists, he soon contrives to lose his situation, and would probably have lost his Commission also, by reason of an outrage, arising out of a turf transaction, which he committed at the Calcutta Races, but for the influence of Mrs. Manson's bright eyes. So Robert returns to his regiment and takes to hard drinking. "It would be impossible," he says, "to 'depict the disgust with which I once more entered on my regi-'mental duties." At first he took to the study of the languages; "but I soon," he continues, "grew weary of this, and joined in 'all the dissipation which was unfortunately then so common, '*not only in my own corps, but in almost every regiment in* '*the service.* Funerals became so frequent that death lost its 'terrors among the survivors. Many fell victims to disease 'and the climate; *but more than two-thirds were carried off* '*by hard drinking. The day was turned into night and the* '*night into day. Most of us used to go from the billiard-room* '*to the parade-ground, and from the parade-ground to our beds.* '*I had 'immense luck' (so it was spoken of) in the shape* '*of promotion.* Four men, who were above me, when I rejoined 'my regiment, had drunk themselves out, and I got my lieute-'nancy before I had been three years a cornet."

Now this, it would seem, is intended to represent a state of things existing not in one particular regiment, "but in almost

every regiment in the service." How comes it then that promotion is so slow—especially in the Cavalry? If the officers of the Indian Army are killing themselves whole-sale by hard-drinking, at least the survivors ought to derive some benefit from the excessive mortality. But we believe that the complaint generally is that steps are so few and promotion so tardy, that men grow grey in the service before they are out of these regimental subalternships.

But let us follow the career of Robert Wetherby. "At 'last my health," he says, "began to give way; but brandy-'and-water and cheroots were the only medicines I could be 'prevailed upon to take. This ended in a fit of *delirium* '*tremens;* and I was looked upon by the cornets as 'a cer-'tain stop.' One of them used jocularly to measure me as I 'lay upon my bed, and remark what an awful long 'box' I 'should require. But the friends of my father and mother 'were determined that I should not die for want of care. 'Mrs. Baxter and Mrs. Green and another lady, watched me 'by hours, and tended me through a long and tedious illness '(during which I used to rave about Sophy) with maternal kind-'ness and patience." Some good therefore came at last of the fact that "Bobby" had been known as a *baba* in the regiment. It saved the wretched boy's life.

So Robert Wetherby goes home on sick certificate. There is something in the following which reads like truth, painful as it is—and there is a quiet vigour about it which impresses us with a very favorable opinion of Mr. Lang's powers as a writer of fiction :—

In time, I recovered from my fever and bodily pains; but my intellect had suffered severely, and I was childish and imbecile, and frequently did not know my most intimate acquaintances who came to visit me. The doctor of the regiment recommended that I should be sent home on sick certificate for a couple of years. The means were advanced by my brother-officers, and bills drawn upon my father to cover them. I was sent down the country, as helpless as an infant, in the custody of an European servant, who had instructions never to lose sight of me until the ship, in which my passage had been taken, was about to sail. Mrs. Manson, I was told, took great care of me while I was at Calcutta, previous to my embarkation; but of this I had no recollection. It was not until we had arrived at St. Helena, and I went on shore, with a large party, to visit Napoleon's tomb, that my faculties were completely restored to me. I there began to feel that a long link in my existence was wanting. The last of myself—that is, of my former self—that I could remember with distinctness, was dining at the mess of a dragoon regiment on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. How ashamed did I feel of myself! With what remorse did I look back upon the past! I borrowed an Army List from one of the passengers, and there found the names of two lieutenants of my regiment, senior to myself, scratched out. I had no idea that they were

dead. I knew that they must have died of hard drinking; and that brandy was at the bottom of this additional promotion. I interrogated one or two officers on board, as to my conduct on the passage, and, to my great joy, was informed that I had scarcely spoken a word since we left Calcutta, and had been guilty of nothing extravagant in my manners. My dressing-case and my desk, containing my letters, papers, and sufficient money to defray my current expenses, were (they said) deposited with the captain, who was requested to restore them to me when he conceived I was in a fit state to receive them. Oh! the sense of humility I experienced—it stung me to the very soul—when I went into the captain's cabin to demand these things—to stand before him, and acknowledge that I had been insane! On opening my desk I found all my private letters in a packet, sealed with the seal of Colonel Baxter. He was a very curious person, and I doubted not he had read them, and made himself acquainted with a great deal more than I wished him to know, for he was an inveterate old gossip. There were Mrs. Manson's letters, and amongst them one in which she explained how she had managed to obtain for me the staff appointment. And there, too, were letters from Sophy and her father, Mr. Revelle.

In England, Robert, who is coldly received by his parents, (—Is this truth?) marries his old fiancée Sophy, and speedily returns to India. There he is received by Mrs. Manson, whose husband is a bankrupt rusticating at Serampore, and the lady herself, thanks to a good settlement, in all her glory. His sojourn in Calcutta, however, is brief, and he joins his corps only to find that its morals are not greatly improved. Here is a melancholy scene from the great tragedy of the bottle:—

One night—it was in the cold month of December—Sophy and myself were sitting over the fire, discussing that constant theme, the state of our affairs, when an officer of my regiment, a young Cornet, named Walsingham, broke in upon us, sword in hand. Walsingham had been, and was then, suffering from a fit of *del. trem.* (delirium tremens). His head was shaved, and he was dressed in only a shirt and a pair of regulation (full-dress) trousers, and he had only one boot on.

"I say, Wetherby," said he, "I have at last fleshed my maiden sword." And he held up the blade, which was covered with blood. "There were five of them, but I have only killed one—the rest ran away. They were all Seiks—*pacha* Seiks—Wetherby!"

I motioned my wife to leave the room; but she was too much alarmed for my safety to admit of her being obedient.

"Don't you hear them, Wetherby?" said Walsingham. "They are surrounding the house. Arm! arm! They will be down upon us in another moment!"

My servants had fled in all directions. Not a soul answered to my call. "Go—bring me my sword," I said to my wife. "Don't you hear the Seiks are down upon us? Quick! There is not a moment to be lost," But my wife would not leave me.

"Halloa, Walsingham!" cried I, "in killing your Seik you have broken the point of your sword. See here!"

I took the weapon from his hand, and then ordered my wife to leave the room. This order she obeyed, and summoned the servants, who, when they knew that Walsingham was disarmed, were ready enough to render assistance.

After great difficulty I calmed our visitor. Scarcely had I succeeded, when my bungalow was besieged by several officers in quest of him. Walsingham had awakened from a short sleep, which had been induced by opiates; had found a brandy bottle, and then armed himself. He had cut down his bearer, or personal attendant, and had slightly wounded a *syce* (groom). He was so violent that we were compelled to strap him down to a bed in my dressing-room, and then it required all the strength of myself and three other officers to hold him. During the whole night he continued to rave violently, and at dawn of day he suddenly expired.

That afternoon, at four o'clock, we saw Walsingham placed beneath the turf, or rather the sandy soil of the churchyard of Umballah, which was then a frontier station. He was a fine, handsome, promising youth, of about twenty-two years of age; and he was clever, and of a good disposition. A few days afterwards his shirts, and socks, his uniform, and razors—all that he possessed—were put up to sale by public auction, and were bought by those officers who stood in need of such things, at "a figure considerably below that of prime cost." A speculative clergyman, who was never ashamed of turning an honest penny by quiet trade, had "a lot of odds and ends (thus the quarter-master serjeant described them) including a nail-brush, half a pot of pomatum, a broken corkscrew, and some blacking-brushes," knocked down to him for one rupee, four annas (2*s.* 6*d.* sterling.) A copy of Ovid, which Walsingham had gained as a prize at school, was sold for two annas (3*d.*); and I bought a sketch in pencil of his mother and sisters, for a shilling, which my wife kept in memory of the poor lad, for whom she had a very great liking before he became so outrageously dissipated.

Mrs. Brill told Sophy that I, "Robert Wetherby, had been just as bad as Mr. Walsingham was;" and much as I despised Mrs. Brill for wounding my wife's feelings, still I was not in a condition to deny the truth of her statement.

After Walsingham's death, I endeavoured to reform my young brother-officers; but to no purpose. Some-how or other my lectures generally ended in my taking a glass of brandy-and-water myself, lighting a cheroot and going home from the mess billiard-room with what Sophy used to speak of as, "Oh! *such* a breath!"

Of course, when there is so much drinking going on, there is a good deal of duelling. And as there is duelling, there are Courts Martial. This topic is treated in the *Wetherbys* in a style very different from that which characterizes the handling of the same subject in *Oakfield*. There is, to be sure, but little comment, for Robert Wetherby seems resolute not to "prose;" but the following which is given between brackets, and may be accepted either as a soliloquy of Robert, or a remark of the author's, is not exactly in the right strain:—

Oh! that young men of hot blood, who hold Commissions in the army, and who ought to remember that every person who wears an uniform is, in the eye of the articles of war, "an officer and a gentleman," should ever allow their fists to spoil the faces of their fellow-creatures amongst whom they are thrown! Why cannot they, when they find a person unfit for the position to which fate or corruption has exalted him, do as older hands do? Why cannot they bide their time, and watch an opportunity for "smashing" their victims by the legitimate process of a general court-martial?

But we turn now from this subject to another, not less painful. There are better and truer things than these in Mr. Lang's little book. In the first volume of this journal, ten years ago, we devoted a page to the subject of separation. Discoursing of Anglo-Indian domestic life, we said that in this country people are in reality more domestic than they are at home; and we then went on to say:—

There is little, except business, to take us away from our homes; and a considerable number of business-men have their offices in their own houses. Men spend more time beneath their own roofs; and have fewer temptations to quit the family circle, even if they were not, as they almost invariably are, tied down to the circumference of a few miles as imperatively as though they were restrained by a tether. A man cannot, if he would, play the gad-about. He has no convenient bachelor cousin in the country; no affectionate old aunt dying to see him at a smart watering place; no opportune client, whom he can suddenly find it necessary to visit in Scotland, about the third week of August; no neglectful or fraudulent commercial correspondent, who renders it advisable, in fine weather, to make a trip to Frankfort or the Hague; no obsequious medical friend to recommend a little sea air, just as an old college chum, who has come into his fortune, is about to start on a pleasant little yacht-cruise in the blue waters of the Mediterranean. Separation, when it comes, is enforced separation. Stern necessity brings it about. The wife is compelled by ill health to seek a more congenial climate; or the husband is ordered off, on active service. These separations are often painful in themselves; still more painful in their results. Did our limits suffer us, and did the nature of this article admit of such narrative digressions, we could produce many sad examples—not less painfully interesting than the most skilfully elaborated tales of fictitious adventure, which the ingenious novelist creates—of the misery resulting from this one great evil of enforced separation. Many a household wreck have the hills of Simlah and Musoorie looked down upon, within these last few years; many the record of misery and guilt which might be inscribed in the huge dark volume of the Annals of Separation. And yet, deploring as we do the many sad cases of conjugal infidelity, which have occurred within our own recollection, we cannot admit that they are sufficiently numerous—or that the contagion is sufficiently widespread—to detract from the general character of Indian domestic life. Let the English reader, who may have heard some vague stories of the immorality of our northern hill stations, picture to himself a number of young married women, whose husbands are absent, perhaps, among the mountains of Affghanistan, perhaps on the sandy plains of Sindh—gathered together in a cool, invigorating climate, with nothing in the world to do but to enjoy themselves. Then imagine a number of idle bachelors, let loose "between musters" or perhaps on leave for several months at a stretch, from Loodhianah, Kurnaul, Meerut, &c.—gay, young military men, with no more urgent, and certainly no more pleasant occupation, than to dangle after the young married women—"grass widows" as they are called—in the absence of their husbands; to amuse the fair creatures, to assist them in the great work of killing time, and finally to win their affections. Is it possible to conceive a state of things more surely calculated to result in guilt and misery?—High moral principle has ere now fallen before temptation and opportunity; and many is the fair frail creature, possessing no high principle, who would, but for these temptations, these opportuni-

ties, have retained her character as a faithful and affectionate wife, and in after years been a bright example to her children. The immorality to which we are now alluding, has been the result of a peculiar combination of circumstances; and must not be regarded as a proof of anything ricketty and rotten in the entire fabric of Indian Society. We maintain, that that fabric is at least as sound as that of society in England; that the domestic and social virtues are as diligently cultivated, whilst, perhaps, there is proportionably even more piety and more charity, than exists among our brethren at home—but we do not say that there are no occasional plague-spots to be seen on the face of Society in India.

There is nothing in our after-growth of Indian experience to induce us to cancel a line of this.* We admit the fact; and it is a deplorable one. But at the same time it is most intelligible. Whether the author of the *Wetherbys* has helped to render it more intelligible, may not unreasonably be doubted. But it is not to be questioned that the illustration which he has adduced exhibits, in a very favorable point of view, the power and the pathos of the writer. We are inclined, indeed, to think that the episode of Jack Fifeleigh and his offending wife is the best thing in the whole story. Captain Fifeleigh, an officer in Robert Wetherby's corps, is cursed with a handsome wife, to whom he is devotedly attached. They lived very happily together, till one day "some demon whispered," that the lady's health required a visit to the hills to restore it. So Mrs. Fifeleigh goes to Mussoorie, and with her goes little Mrs. Wetherby, who was "beginning to suffer from the climate of India." The two ladies take a house and live together—but they have not been long domesticated, before Mrs. Wetherby writes to her husband that she wishes to return to the plains. Upon this, Robert obtains a month's leave, and runs up to see his wife. There was "something mysterious," he thought, about the communication. He "could not understand it." Nor could he much better understand the matter, when Sophy said to him, "Oh! Robert—you must take me out of this house immediately." This does not make the matter much clearer—but it is not long before there comes an explanation, and we are told that, "Sophy proceeded as follows:"—

"Shortly after we came to the hills, Mrs. Fifeleigh, at a ball, made the acquaintance of a gentleman who has of late been so intimate that he spends nearly all his time in this house. He comes to breakfast—stays till tiffin—tiffs—remains till it is time to go upon the Mall—returns to dinner—and then stays till long after I have retired to my room. I have several times hinted to her that I thought she was imprudent, but she only laughed at me."

"Well?" said I.

* In a subsequent article we recommended this subject of separation, as one worthy of the best powers of the novelist. The writer of fiction, cognizant of Anglo-Indian Society, could hardly have a better theme.

"Well, all those affectionate letters which she writes to her husband are dictated by her friend, who walks about the room, roaring with laughter, while she is writing them."

I confess I could not help smiling when I heard this, for I had seen Fifeleigh read those endearing letters, and, with tears in his eyes, passionately kiss them.

"Is the woman mad?" I inquired.

"She must be," said my wife, "for of all the ugly, miserable-looking, little men in the world, I believe this friend of hers——" (My wife did not finish the sentence.)

"What is his name?"

"Wintle—Captain Wintle. They have gone to-day to the waterfalls; but he will dine here. There are two bottles of champagne in the hall which fell the other day. They enjoy themselves, I assure you."

"Who finds the wine?

"She does. The hundred Rupees which Fifeleigh sent her to buy the pony she said she wanted, bought two dozens of Todd and James's, for Captain Wintle cannot—says he cannot—drink anything below that famous brand."

"Has she not got the pony, then?"

"Oh, yes, Wintle gave her one."

"Then they are drinking the pony?"

"How can you laugh, Robert? How would you like *me* to go on in that way, while you were broiling in the plains?"

This, doubtless, is an unanswerable woman's-question; or rather one of these questions, which admits but of one answer. This, however, is not the matter for us now to consider. Sophy Wetherby is a good little woman; and had not a thought of so abusing the confidence of her husband. How Mrs. Fifeleigh came to do so, under *such* circumstances, it is hard to say, for "her husband, Jack Fifeleigh," we are told "was a gallant, generous fellow, who loved her to devotion." We cannot help thinking, indeed, that the author has weakened his case, by making it an extreme one. Here we see that Mrs. Fifeleigh is going astray, after a few week's absence from home, with a man, in every way inferior to her husband—one, indeed, who had nothing attractive about him. A woman of this kind must have been naturally of a depraved nature, and under any circumstances, would have gone to perdition. She needed but the slightest spark of opportunity to set her in a blaze. Now, this is not precisely the sort of illustration that we wanted. It would have been more serviceable to have shown how women, *not* naturally depraved, sometimes err under the force of very strong temptation. But in the case of Mrs. Fifeleigh, as we have intimated, there was really no temptation at all. Even time was not left to do its work upon the old affection or the old habit. It is almost incredible, indeed, that a woman should have become so very bad in so very short a space of time. When we say "so very bad," we mean this. The

flirtation—even assuming it to have reached the grosser stages of practical infidelity—we might understand—but that matter of the home letters is, we admit, beyond our comprehension. It has been said that a depraved and heartless woman is more depraved and heartless than a depraved and heartless man. But we are certain that it can only be in the very worst stages of heartlessness and depravity, that either man or woman acts as is here supposed. Men, who ridicule their wives after this fashion, in concert with their paramours, are very far gone indeed. There is generally a tacit avoidance of the subject. Either, there are some better feelings left, which make them shrink from all allusion to the injured one; or there is an hypocrisy in the matter, which may be truly called the "homage which vice pays to virtue." We very much doubt, indeed, whether a certain amount of self-forgetfulness is not necessary to the growth of this description of crime. At all events, the last thing that either men or women, in such cases, are likely to do, is voluntarily to thrust before themselves that which constitutes the very essence of their wickedness. They are more prone to shut their eyes—not to look back, not to look forward, but to say that either way "madness lies," and to live wholly in the present.

But, to pursue the narrative—Robert Wetherby determines to remove his wife from so contagious a neighbourhood, and he does so, after victimizing Wintle (who makes a revenue of gambling) at the billiard table, to the extent of more than twelve thousand Rupees. The Wetherbys return to the plains, and at a dawk bungalow on the way, they come across Captain Wintle and Mrs. Fifeleigh, who are eloping together. Wetherby makes his presence known to the wretched woman, and then the following agonizing scene ensues:—

How shall I describe the scene which ensued? Mrs. Fifeleigh rushed into our room, in an agony of grief; she threw herself at my feet, and implored me to have mercy upon her. Until that visit to Mussoorie she had never been separated from her manly husband, who loved her—ay, worshipped her. To see her a fallen, degraded creature, linked to a contemptible thing like Wintle, who was already weary of her—to think she could have been so wicked, so insane—I could not help shedding tears, notwithstanding I said to her, "You must not remain in this room. I will speak to you outside. You have forfeited the right to be in the same room with a virtuous woman."

I led the unhappy being out of the room, and gave her the only advice that under such painful circumstances I could think of. It was—to make the best of her way to England, and seek an asylum amongst the members of her own family. She was well connected, and had several relatives who could afford to support her. She now began to rave about "Jack," her husband, and dwelt on his past kindness, to which I had so often been a witness. She even drew from her pocket his last letter. She begged of me

to tell him a variety of things, and made me promise that I would announce the awful news to him in the most delicate manner, so that his big heart might not be broken. At this moment Wintle, winding up his watch, made his appearance, and showed a disposition to approach us. But I cautioned him against doing so, and he retired to his room.

* * * * *

When the men were about to lift my wife's palankeen, the wretched Mrs. Fifeleigh came to the door of it, and supplicated a last "farewell"—"once more a shake of the hand," she said, while the tears were rolling down her cheeks. There was no answer to her entreaty given from within the palankeen; but my wife called out to the men, *Outhké chello* ! (Lift, and go on !)

"Then let me kiss the child, Mrs. Wetherby !"

Mrs. Fifeleigh was the boy's god-mother; and the socks then upon his feet, and the cap upon his head, had been knitted by her hands.

Outhké chello ! screamed my wife to the men.

"They shall not go on !' cried Mrs. Fifeleigh; and she called to the men—*Jou ! jou* ! (Begone ! begone !) *Palkee mut-outhou !* (Do not lift the plankeen !)

I went round to the other door of the palankeen.

"Sophy, dearest," said I, in the tenderest tone that my voice could command, "say farewell to her ! "

"Are you drunk or mad?" was the reply; and my wife plucked passionately from the head and the feet of the child (who was old enough to think we were quarrelling, and who called out "papa" to me, and then looked in his mother's face) the worsted garments, which she suddenly remembered were the presents of the wretched "Mary Jane."

I snatched from her hand these little things which she was about to fling away, and put them into the pocket of my shooting-coat; and I said,—

"Sophy, dearest, bid her good-bye. Let her kiss the child. Let us not be delayed any longer."

"Mrs. Wetherby !" cried the unhappy woman, from the other door of the palankeen, which my wife had bolted, "Mrs. Wetherby ! say one word to me !"

Outhou chello ! screamed my wife; and my boy taking his mother's part, sat up and screamed out the same words, *Outhou chello !* His likeness to my pragmatical brother, Charles, was at that moment so striking, that I was almost tempted to pull his little pug-nose; but I curbed my feelings, and addressed my discourse to his mother, who had thrown her head on the pillow, seemingly exhausted by the repetition of the words which she had so often repeated in reply to Mrs. Fifeleigh's piteous supplication.

"*Dear* Mrs. Wetherby !—oh, only one word ! Say good-bye to me."

"Is it true, Sophy," I asked—

> "That every woe a tear can claim,
> Except an erring sister's shame ?"

"Yes," she responded; and again called to the men, *Outhou chello !*—a mandate which my indignant child echoed, while he waved me off.

The men lifted the palankeen, and proceeded on their way. Mrs. Fifeleigh threw her white and beautifully moulded arms round my neck, bit her lips in an ecstasy of despair, and cried aloud,—

"For God's sake, Robert Wetherby, save me ! Sophy despises me; but don't *you* do so."

It was useless to attempt to solace the distracted woman; and after again advising her to go home to her friends in England—I tore myself away from her.

It is Robert Wetherby's most distressing task to announce to poor Jack Fifeleigh the fact of his wife's infidelity. How he does so will be best narrated in Mr. Lang's words—the passage is one of considerable merit:—

Fifeleigh and I dined together. We were alone. The cloth was removed. I had told him "all the particulars" which he desired with reference to my "punishing" Wintle at billiards. Fifeleigh took out of his jacket-pocket a letter from his wife, Mary Jane, a letter which she had written only the night previous to her leaving Mussoorie with Wintle. He threw this letter across the table, and told me to read it. I obeyed him.

"My own dearest Jack,—The weather is charming. I wish I could persuade you to come up here for a month, for I am very dull without you. You will be glad to hear that the Cornet has won enough to pay nearly all his debts from that miserable little wretch, Captain Wintle. Everybody here is delighted, and I think Sophy is not half so vexed at Robby's gambling as she pretends to be. What a shame of the Commander-in-Chief to send Robby down to his regiment! A thousand thanks, my dear Hubby, for your long and affectionate letters. I often cry over them, Jack, dearest. So poor Brill is to get a staff appointment at last! People say that the Seiks are sure to cross the river, and that our regiment will be ordered to march to Ferozepore without delay. I hope this is not true, for it would break my heart if you had to go to the wars. Ever your affectionate and faithful

"Mary Jane."

I folded up the letter, and returned it to Fifeleigh. He again reverted to Colonel Baxter's folly, and laughed immoderately.

It was now twelve o'clock.

"Fifeleigh," said I, "are you aware that there have been some differences between your wife and mine?"

"I was," he replied; "at least, Mary Jane hinted as much; but I hope they are not enemies."

"It was your wife's fault."

"That's *your* idea, I suppose."

"Yes; she was very imprudent."

"What did she do?"

"Why, she laughed and flirted, and made herself conspicuous."

"Pooh! She's a handsome woman, and fond of admiration; and she has high spirits; and she says a great many things that she does not mean; but there's no harm in her. I love to see her enjoying herself. I have too good an opinion of myself to be jealous, Cornet."

"Ah! but she went too far, Jack."

"What do you mean, Wetherby?"

"We have been friends for a very long time——"

"I know we have; but what do you mean?"

"Why, that Mary Jane went too far."

"But how do you mean?" Fifeleigh's anger was now stamped upon his features. "Listen to me. Wetherby!" he continued. "We *have* been friends for a long time; but understand this—that if my wife and yours quarrel, and if your wife chooses to quarrel with you, and make you unhappy, and you then think proper to come here and try to set me

against my wife and make me as miserable as yourself—listen to me, Wetherby!" (he was now in a towering passion) "I'll resent it, sir!"

"There is no virtue in womankind, Fifeleigh."

"You lie, sir; and if you repeat that sentiment, I'll put my fingers between your cravat and your throat. Explain yourself, Lieutenant Wetherby!"

Fifeleigh now became deadly pale; his lips quivered; he clenched his fist, and stared me full in the face.

I encountered his gaze steadily for a few moments, but at length I buried my face in the palms of my hands.

Fifeleigh became calmer. He placed his hand upon my shoulder, and said, tenderly, "Forgive me, Wetherby. I know you are my friend. Tell me, Robby—tell me, is it possible that I am dishonored?"

At that moment a buggy was driven up to the door, and, to my intense satisfaction, Colonel Baxter and Major Green walked into the room.

"Colonel! Major!" cried Fifeleigh, taking a hand of each officer whom he addressed,—"Lieutenant Wetherby has driven me mad. He has insinuated that all I love and prize upon earth is worthless—that Mary Jane is false to me! If he cannot justify what he has said, I'll take his life. If he can, I'll take hers——No!" he added—"no; I would not hurt *her*, even if she were false to me. Wetherby, tell me the worst. Is there a shadow of proof against her?"

"You will never see her again," said I. "Ere this she has passed through Meerut with that miserable little wretch Captain Wintle, of whom she spoke in her last letter to you. I saw her upon the road, and——"

Fifeleigh sank into an easy chair, extended his long legs, and closed his eyes. I fancied I could hear the beating of his heart. Ere long he sprang up, called for brandy-and-water, helped himself, and invited us to follow his example.

Fifeleigh had a very fine voice, and he began to pour forth one of his favourite songs.

"And we are going to the wars, Colonel!" cried Fifeleigh. "The Seiks are going to cross the river! The Seiks, Colonel! The Seiks are crossing the river!"

There is a touch of nature, in what follows, not far removed from real pathos:—

The next day, when I paid Fifeleigh a visit, I found him packing up a variety of things in boxes and trunks.

"You see, Wetherby," said Fifeleigh, "that I am not a revengeful fellow, after all. These belonged to that poor unfortunate woman—poor Mary Jane! These are her boots and shoes, and these gowns are hers, and these silver dishes are hers; and this desk, Wetherby, and this writing-case, and these books, and these ornaments from the mantel-piece, and these small pictures, and this basket, and the wools, and this frame,—I thought of making a bonfire of them in the compound; but then it struck me that they might be of some use to her, poor creature! And see, Wetherby,—here is a short letter I have written to her. Read it, and if I have said anything wrong, point it out, and I will alter it."

The letter was this:—

"MARY JANE,—I have sent to you all that I can find belonging to you in the bungalow. Do not acknowledge the receipt of them. I will take it for granted that they will reach you by the bullock-train. If ever you are in real distress and friendless, let me know, and I will afford you pecu-

niary assistance. Do not write to me, but make known your wants through some friend in the regiment.

"JOHN FIFELEIGH."

"It will do very well, Jack," said I.

From out of the mass of things which were lying in the verandah ready for packing, Fifeleigh selected a net, made of blue silk, in which Mary Jane used to bind her long brown hair; an old pair of shoes long worn as slippers, and a pair of black kid gloves. He tied these things up in a lawn pocket-handkerchief, which had Mary Jane's initials worked in the corner, and he carried them into his bed-room. Fifeleigh was absent for about a quarter of an hour. When he returned his eyes were swollen, and very red. He had evidently been weeping bitterly over these relics, which he desired to keep in memory of the most ardent love for a handsome woman that ever warmed the generous heart of a brave, high-minded man.

The Sikhs cross the river. Then come the battles of Moodkhee and Ferozshah—Fifeleigh's regiment is in the thick of it; and he meets the soldier's death, which he had so much desired; and dies with Mary Jane's old shoes pressing against his heart. Robert Wetherby thus tells the story:—

At that moment two men on horseback came up. They halted close to the little fire I had made. One of them called out, "Who's that?"

I knew the voice. It was that of a man who was a great friend of mine. I mentioned that I was looking for Fifeleigh.

"You will find him," said my friend, "about a hundred yards from this, mortally wounded. But I would advise you not to go near him, for you can do him no sort of good, and he won't allow you to touch him or remove him. He is lying in a line with one of the enemy's guns, and the grape and round shot are flying about him in all directions."

"Whereabouts is he?" I inquired.

"Stop a moment, and I'll show you," said my friend; and he waited for the flash of a heavy gun which was being fired from one of the Seik batteries. "There! he is lying within range of that. About a hundred yards from this; to the left of us."

I crawled upon my hands and knees as soon as I felt that I was within the gun's range—the round shot "pinging," "ping!" "ping!" past me, as I proceeded. I came upon several bodies—black and white—and looked in their faces, but I could see nothing of Fifeleigh. I placed my ear close to the earth, listened, and heard the groans of a man not far distant. I went up to him, and found, not Fifeleigh, but another officer whom I knew, a gallant fellow, who was just breathing his last. Kneeling by his side, I spoke to him; but he could give me no answer, although I could see that he recognised me. I left him, and resumed my search, and shortly after I discovered Fifeleigh, lying with his head upon his right arm.

"Jack," said I, taking his hand in mine, "what is the matter?"

"What! Bobby!" said Fifeleigh.

"Let me move you, Jack; there's a safe place, out of fire, not far from this."

"Then that's the place I do not wish to go to. Get out of this, Cornet; don't you hear the shot coming over us?"

"Can I do anything for you, Jack?"

"Nothing, my dear fellow: I am past cure. Leave me, and let me talk to the stars about dear Mary Jane. Oh, how I loved that woman,

Wetherby! These wounds are nothing to other wounds that the eye cannot see."

"Where are you hit, Jack?"

"Oh, man, a round shot has broken my ribs and torn away my side. and my right thigh is broken. Don't touch me."

Suddenly Fifeleigh seized my hands and held them tightly. He attempted to rise, and screamed with the spasmodic pain he was suffering. I then saw his wound. How he survived a moment after receiving it was a perfect miracle. Literally, his right side was carried away. He still grasped my hands, gave another shriek, and relinquished his hold of me. It was all over. Poor Jack Fifeleigh was a corpse! I placed my hand over his heart, to feel if it were still throbbing, and there were Mary Jane's old shoes, and the net in which she used to bind her hair; and her kerchief and gloves. I left Fifeleigh as soon as he was dead, and crawled back to the ground where my corps was bivouacking, threading my way through the dead and the dying, and feeling that, since it was impossible to render assistance to all, it was not cruel in me to neglect a few, and think solely of my own safety.

Mary Jane is of course deserted. She sinks into a lower abyss of degradation, from which she is ultimately rescued by her friends in England, and reformed. The story of her sin and her suffering, and of the fate of poor Jack Fifeleigh is, as we think our readers will agree with us, who judge of it by the specimens we have given, told with much power and some pathos. The writer of a romance containing such passages, is capable of much better things, and we hope that ere long he will afford us an opportunity of noticing a work of higher pretensions than the *Wetherbys*. There is a great field before him. But really to turn his powers to good account, he must look at human life, and at something of a graver and more solemn character, than it appears in these pages, and write of it more earnestly and impressively. We are far from saying that Mr. Lang does not look upon drinking, gaming, duelling, and other kindred vices, with as much abhorrence as his severer neighbours; but every public writer is a public teacher, and his teachings should "give us no uncertain sound." His detestation of what is detestable, should be strongly marked. There should be no mistake about it. Banter is, perhaps, amusing; and to be didactic is sometimes to be dull But great moral lessons are to be conveyed, through the medium of fiction, without either dogmatism or dullness. The morallist may wield the wand of the romancer; and, without once pausing to lecture his readers, may convey the most important lessons that it is possible to inculcate, in a manner at once amusing and impressive. The story will not be the less attractive for a little more decision of tone.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs and Correspondence of Major General Nott, G. C. B., Commander of the Army of Candahar, and Envoy at the Court of the King of Oude. Edited, at the request of Sir William Nott's daughters, Letitia Nott and Charlotte Bower, from documents in their exclusive possession. By J. H. Stocqueler, Esquire, Author of the 'Life of the Duke of Wellington,' the 'Hand-book of British India,' &c.* 2 *Vols. London.* 1854.

WE opened these volumes with lively anticipations of the pleasure to be derived from their perusal. Having abundant faith in the literary expertness of the author, and feeling therefore a full assurance, that in his hands a good subject would be turned to good account, we had no fear of the result. And, in the main, we have not been disappointed. Mr. Stocqueler has performed his task with considerable ability. He has produced a very interesting book—a book not without some claim to be held in permanent esteem, as a valuable contribution to the later history of Indian warfare. He has given us a full length portrait of a distinguished Company's officer, which will, doubtless, be read with avidity by soldiers of both services, and not be disregarded by civilians. And he has interspersed his narrative with letters and documents, many of them of considerable interest and importance, illustrative of the history of the War in Affghanistan.

The merits of these volumes are Mr. Stocqueler's own; the defects are the accidents of his position. The very announcement, on the title page, of the names of Sir William Nott's daughters, pre-supposes the absence of independent authorship. The Preface more fully reveals the circumstances which induced the publication of the work. "For some time," says Mr. Stocqueler, "the daughters of Sir William Nott, the 'depositaries of his most secret thoughts and confidence, hesi-'tated to give to the world what might, in a measure, wound 'the feelings or compromise the characters of some of the 'public functionaries of the time. But knowing, as they did, 'that the General had, during his last illness, made a selec-'tion from his correspondence, with the intention of publish-'ing it, and feeling that certain passages of Mr. Kaye's *War* '*in Affghanistan* had placed the motives and actions of Sir 'William, in several particulars, in an unfavourable and un-'just point of view, and that that work, although in a general 'way so excellent, graphic, and truthful, had embraced fewer 'records of the operations in the south of Affghanistan in

'1839—42, than their intrinsic importance seemed to demand, the trustees of Sir William's correspondence deemed it a pious duty to waive all scruples, and bring the documents before the public eye. With this view the MS. was confined to the Editor, leaving to his judgement the suppression or publication of certain portions of the collection, and the 'incorporation of the epistolary communications with a Me-'moir of the deceased General."

We do not for a moment doubt Mr. Stocqueler, when he says, that it was left to his judgment to suppress or to publish "certain portions of the collection" of material confided to him. Nay, we will go further, and suppose that Mr. Stocqueler was authorised to publish or to suppress, not merely certain portions,* but any portions of the collection—that, in fact, his discretionary powers extended over the whole collection. No author, with any regard for his literary character, would undertake to write a book under any other conditions. But palpable, recognised restraint is one thing; imperceptible, unavowed restraint is another. Family interference, not claimed as a right, is often conceded as a favor. A biographer, who can resist the solicitations of the near relatives of his subject, especially when they stand in the hallowed relationship of wife or daughter, must be "made of sterner stuff" than we believe Mr. Stocqueler to be. Our own impression, indeed, is, that these volumes have been written, not under avowed restraint, but under certain family influences, equally restraining and embarrassing; and that if Mr. Stocqueler had been left more to himself, he would have produced not only a better book, but a more agreeable picture of Major-General William Nott.

For affection, like ambition, not seldom "over-leaps itself, and falls on the other side." The eye of love does not always scan our proportions aright, or see our qualities in their true colors. Nay, it often throws a rosy tint over our very defects, and causes our failings to be regarded as virtues. It happens, therefore, sometimes, that those very manifestations of character, which a discreet friend or judicious biographer would most desire to obscure, or at least to soften down, in any portrait to be given to the world, are openly, perhaps offensively, paraded by the too partial hand of family affection. This seems to have been the case with the Memoir before us. If General Nott had been "preserved from his friends," it would have been better for his reputation.

* Mr. Stocqueler's words might justify a construction of the passage quoted to the effect that he had not discretionary power over the entire collection.

Our meaning. The following is the substance of one of Nott's letters written to his family in the year 1842:—

We are all quiet here at present, and rebellion hath disappeared; yet there are some Chiefs abroad, but they have no followers, and they have offered to come in; but they did dip their hands in my soldiers' blood, and therefore I will never receive them. I last evening received a letter from Pollock, across the mountains. Had not the Governor-General bound me hand and foot, I should now have been in Caubul, without asking for the aid of Pollock. The game was in our hands, and we would not take it. Pollock ought to have marched sharply upon Caubul; had he done so, not a shot would have been fired. Mark me, my children, had I been in his place, with that beautiful army, I would have struck such a blow that the whole world should have rung with it. I am ordered not to do anything. Well, our nation is disgraced. How strange that Englishmen should be so paralyzed!

Pollock's army was not necessary. The troops under my command would have taken Ghuzni, and destroyed the Bala Hissar at Caubul. I told Lord Auckland so in December last; but what is the good of talking of it? I begin to be ashamed of looking an Affghan in the face. I am ordered to *sneak* away, though with my beautiful regiments I could plant the British banner on the banks of the Caspian. I have been unwell, and am still weak; enough to make me, I think, when I see Old England so disgraced. Well, I will bring my army safe off, and then farewell to a red coat. They have behaved most shamefully to me, in not publishing any of my despatches, especially that of the 12th of January, wherein I told them that my noble regiments had defeated 20,000 men. Mark me, the army at Candahar has defeated the enemy in some *sixteen* actions, tranquillized the whole country, made every Affghan bend the knee, never met with reverse, however out-numbered by the enemy—and *no* notice has been taken of it.

We have read this passage over again and again, and at each perusal it has astonished and bewildered us more and more. General Nott says, that had he not been restrained by the Governor-General, he would have done certain great things—or, in other words, that he did not these great things because he *was* restrained by the Governor-General. He says, too, that he would have done great things if he had been in Pollock's place. But Pollock, also, was restrained by the orders of the Governor-General. If then Nott, in *Pollock's place*, would have transgressed the orders of the Governor-General, and done great things, why did he not transgress them and do these great things—*in his own*? It is very easy to make "ducks and drakes" of other men's responsibilities. All credit is due to General Nott for having earnestly desired to advance on Caubul, and having advanced gallantly and successfully as soon as the permission of Government was obtained. But why should he not have given his brother General credit for the same soldierly aspirations as stirred within his own breast? To say in effect, "I would have done so-and-so had I been Ge-

neral Pollock, which, being General Nott, I never thought of doing," is to insult the understandings of men.

But setting aside altogether the question of responsibility, and ignoring the instructions of Government, there were other weighty impediments to the performance of the great deeds which Nott says ought to have been done. "Pollock ought to have marched sharply on Caubul." Nott would have marched sharply on Caubul. Would he—without supplies, without carriage, without money? When Pollock arrived at Jellalabad, he had only about six days' supplies, and had not carriage for half his force. Yet, says Nott, "mark me, my children, had I been in his place, *with that beautiful army*, I would have struck such a blow that the whole world should have rung with it." But he was too able a soldier not to know that an army without carriage and without supplies is not a "beautiful army," and too cautious a general to attempt to strike world-astounding blows with a force thus destitute of the very means of movement. The letter is one—we will not say which ought not to have been *written*, for men writing hurriedly and unreflectingly to their daughters, *may* sometimes perhaps write things which they would not repeat in cooler moments to another audience, but it certainly ought not to have been published.

Equally to be deplored is the publication of other letters written after the arrival of the two armies at Caubul; but before we speak of them, we must allude to the very important subject—the *most* important perhaps of all connected with the later history of General Nott's career—the subject of the non-despatch of a brigade in the direction of Bameean for the release of Akbar Khan's prisoners. It is known that immediately on the arrival of the two armies at Caubul, General Pollock despatched Lieutenant Mayne with a letter to General Nott, desiring him to send a brigade in the direction of Bameean, for the support of the Kuzzilbash force under Sir Richmond Shakespear, which had gone out for the rescue of the prisoners. This letter is not given, we believe, in Kaye's history; we therefore quote it from Stocqueler's Memoir:—

17th September.

My Dear General,—We have sent 700 Kuzzilbashes to Bameean, and Sir R. Shakespear accompanies them. It is known that Mahomed Akbar has gone towards Kohistan; he cannot have any very great force, one or two thousand horse, and may possibly attempt to get the prisoners; will you, therefore, send, in the direction of Bameean, a brigade. Instruct the officer that the object is merely to make a demonstration in favour of the party already gone. I therefore wish that the party you send should get into no difficulty, and risk nothing. I feel pretty certain that after what

has happened Mahommed Akbar will be very unwilling to advance if he hears that a force is on its way to rescue the prisoners.

Your's very truly,
GEO. POLLOCK.

To Major-General Nott.

This letter was not so much intended to convey a mandate as to offer a compliment. The two great objects of the advance of the armies were the re-occupation of Caubul, and the rescue of the prisoners. As Pollock's force had achieved the former, he, with self-denying generosity, put it in the power of his brother General to accomplish the other great end, by despatching a brigade towards Bameean. But careful of Nott's troops, now become a part of his own army, he added, "I wish you to get into no difficulty, and to risk nothing." Possessed of imperfect information, and not sympathizing with Pollock's strong desire to rescue the captives, Nott declared that the danger of the movement would be great, and protested against being called upon to make it. The letter which he wrote has been for some time before the world. We now give Mr. Stocqueler's commentary upon it:—

It is due to the character and the memory of the worthy and gallant Nott, that the contents of the foregoing letter should be pondered, for it has been alleged that his refusal to send a brigade was the result of an indifference to the fate of the prisoners. He was urged, it was said, by Rawlinson and the officers of his own force, to despatch a brigade to the rescue, and he continued inflexible, "declaring* that he had only one object in view, that of marching his force to India, viâ Caubul, without turning to the right or left; and that he considered, from the tenor of all Lord Ellenborough's despatches, the recovery of the prisoners to be a matter of indifference to the Government." How far these representations in Major Rawlinson's letter conveyed an exact impression of what Nott said, we have no means of determining; but Kaye certainly gives them, by his own remarks, much greater force than his MS. correspondence warrants.

To any one who has marked the power which "humanity" exercised over the actions of General Nott, under all circumstances, it will seem monstrous that the faintest suspicion should ever have been harboured of his supineness when the lives of his own countrymen were at stake. When other Generals would have rushed headlong into expeditions with inadequate means, Nott, with all his well-grounded confidence in his troops, invariably put aside every consideration of professional aggrandizement in the presence of insufficiency of carriage, paucity of supplies, and the state of his hospitals. Not merely the human beings, but the very animals in his charge, were, with him, objects of solicitude. Look back upon his fierce denunciation and severe chastisement of the plunderers of the innocent and helpless—recall his anxious care for the safety of his troops in all difficult marches—recollect the readiness with which, in the depths of winter, he endeavoured to rescue the garrison of Ghuzni by the despatch of M'Laren's brigade—observe the promptitude with which Wymer was sent, now to relieve Khelat-i-Ghilzie, then to aid England in the Kojuck—

* Kaye's Affghan War, Vol. II., p. 615, note.

and finally cast a glance at Candahar, and behold the people, relying habitually on his justice, his gentleness, his uniform kindness, approaching him familiarly, seeking his counsel and support, and tendering such humble offerings of their good-will as he could accept without a compromise of his independent position. Let all these points be allowed due weight, and the imputation of want of feeling will be dismissed with indignation.

But judge the case on its own military merits; without giving General Nott the advantage of a character for humanity, his conduct is still perfectly defensible. His troops were worn and harassed—on the 17th of September he reached the vicinity of Caubul—and *on that very day* he was called upon by the only authority he was justified in recognizing, to divide his army. His answer was just what any General, mindful of the thousands under his command, would have returned. He had seen quite enough of the folly and wickedness of sending comparatively small detachments against an *unknown* number of enemies in a difficult position. The fate of England at Hykulzye, of Wild in the Khyber, of Clibborn in the Nuffoosk, and several more, was quite sufficient to make him recoil from such headlong enterprises. Nothing was *positively* known of the strength of the Affghans between Bameean and Caubul. If they were scattered, the handful of horse under Shakespear would suffice for the rescue—if they were in force, all Nott's army would have been required to wrest the captives from their sanguinary hands. And, as the result proved, there was no necessity for sending any troops at all, for the prisoners had effected their own liberation, in the manner stated by Pottinger. Shakespear met them on their way to join Pollock's army.

It would have been more candid if Mr. Stocqueler had said, "the result proved" that General Pollock was right and that General Nott was wrong. Pollock said in effect, that he believed that there was no danger; and that the advance of a brigade would deter Akbar Khan from attempting to intercept Shakespear's movements. As Nott would not send a brigade from his division, Pollock sent one, under Sale, from his own. "The result proved" that Nott might have sent one without difficulty and without danger. It does *not* prove that there was no need to send a force at all; for, as Pollock surmised, the very advance of the force might have been sufficient in itself to secure the safety of the prisoners.

"After all, however," adds Mr. Stocqueler, "Nott did not refuse to despatch a brigade to Bameean:—

He simply remonstrated against what he considered to be a dangerous and unprofitable measure. General Pollock was his senior, and could have commanded him to perform the duty. But how did Pollock determine the matter? Read his note of the 17th September, after receiving Nott's remonstrances—

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I will pay you a visit to-morrow morning, leaving this at an early hour, and will return again in the evening. *I left it entirely at your discretion to detach a brigade, and as you seem to think it unadvisable, is need not be done.* Shakespear will reach the prisoners to-morrow morning. Till we meet, adieu.

Your's very sincerely,

17th September. GEO. POLLOCK.

The Italics in General Pollock's letter are, we conclude, Mr. Stocqueler's. They are not ours. But we are glad to see them there. The meaning of the passage was that General Pollock had offered the compliment to his brother General, and that as he was not pleased to accept it, there was an end of the matter. There was another officer at Caubul only too glad to take what Nott refused. Sir Robert Sale marched out a brigade in support of Shakespear, and shared in the honor of rescuing the prisoners.

Of Mr. Stocqueler's explanation of Nott's refusal, much need not be said. Without questioning that General's humanity, we may, however, observe that what the biographer adduces as proofs of it are rather proofs of the care which he took of his troops, and the good means which he adopted to secure the success of his military operations, than of what is generally understood as "humanity." Perhaps, exception might be taken to some of the examples adduced—such for instance, as "the readiness with which, in the depths of winter, he endeavored to rescue the garrison of Ghuznee by the despatch of Maclaren's brigade;" the fact being that he was not at all *ready* to despatch the brigade, (Mr. Stocqueler himself speaks of his "reluctance,") but that, as he said, "General Elphinstone's orders left him no discretion." (*See Nott's Correspondence—Stocqueler, Vol. I., page* 364). That he did not wish it to reach Ghuznee—that it never reached Ghuznee—and that, as Mr. Stocqueler says (*Vol. I., page* 365) he "hailed its return with undisguised pleasure." Mr. Kaye has related an incident which leads us to suppose that General Nott intimated very distinctly, before the brigade marched, that although he was compelled to despatch it, he did not wish it to proceed far. We do not speak censoriously of this. We merely state the fact. It is an instance of Nott's cautious Generalship, which we may perhaps not unfairly put beside the non-despatch of the brigade to Bameean. But we would ask how we are to reconcile this with the declaration that if he had been in Pollock's place, he would have marched on Caubul without carriage, without supplies, and without instructions, and struck such a blow as would have made the world ring with the renown of the achievement?

It appears to us, indeed, that the matter of the non-despatch of the brigade towards Bameean is left by the biographer precisely where he found it. No one fact stated by Mr. Kaye has been disproved or even questioned. Mr. Stocqueler's inferences we have allowed to speak for themselves. We do not know that want of humanity has been assigned as the

cause of Nott's disinclination to send out a brigade; and we are glad that the General's memory should have any benefit derivable from what is in reality mere *skiomachy*. We pass on now to another point of some importance—the halt at Caubul. After the forces of General Pollock and General Nott had met at the Affghan capital, the main body of the troops remained encamped there for three or four weeks. This did not please General Nott, who thus expressed himself on the subject:—

Caubul, 26th September, 1842.

Why we are remaining here, I know not. In fact, I know nothing, and am not admitted into the State secrets of a set of boys, by whom General P——— seems to be surrounded. I only know that my army marched thus far, through the very heart of Affghanistan, *victorious*, and had I not been superseded, I would have blown up the Caubul Bala Hissar, asserted our national honour, and the reputation of the British arms, and at this moment should have been five marches on my road to Jellalabad—but I have no voice in present proceedings, and only know that as usual, instead of boldly and nobly representing, and upholding the character of our country, we are hourly suffering disgrace. I do not think that any disaster can possibly occur to such an army, but this I *do* know, that if it were possible, the people in power here would accomplish it; whether their want of energy and decision will bring it upon us, a few days will show. Recollect *I* have *nothing* to do with affairs here. How I do long to hear of your health, and to be with you. Fancy how I feel this unnecessary delay.

Caubul, 7th October, 1842.

What we are staying for I am utterly at a loss to know, unless it be, to be laughed at by the Affghans, and the whole world. I cannot bear to witness such scenes, but recollect, from the moment I arrived at Caubul, I had nothing to do with public affairs. Had I commanded, I would have blown up the famed Bala Hissar, and at this moment should have had my little veteran army at Peshawur. This horrid delay is truly annoying. Fortunately the season, as yet, has been unusually mild, or our own men would have suffered greatly; but what man of sense would have run the risk, for the sake of following at the heels, and dancing attendance on a set of Affghans, whose hands are still red with the blood of our murdered countrymen! Shame, shame!

This is strong language—the "scorching vehemence," we presume, of which Mr. Stocqueler writes. But let us enquire a little into its justice. It is true that General Pollock did not consult General Nott. After the junction of the two forces, the responsibility was his, and he acted upon his judgment. He was not "surrounded by a set of boys." The boys to whom Nott refers must have been Richmond Shakespear, George MacGregor and Henry Lawrence. They were men in the full vigour of mature life, between thirty and forty years of age, and from fifteen to twenty year's service. They were, as after events have abundantly shown, among the ablest officers in the whole range of the Indian army. That Pollock may have

derived, as every wise man in his position would derive, benefit from their local knowledge and experience, is probable—but we believe that, beyond this, he did not rely upon his political staff, capable as such men may have been of offering sound opinions As to the "delay" at Caubul, the "unnecessary delay" of which Nott speaks, the General must have known full well that it was of the highest importance to strike a final blow in the direction of Istaliff, where Ameenoollah Khan—the "infamous Ameenoollah," the most bitter and the most resolute of our enemies, had collected an army of 12,000, the inconvenience of not breaking and dispersing which, Nott, who commanded the rear division of the army would have discovered, on his march to Jellalabad, if he had pushed on with the rapidity of which he speaks in the above letters Nor was the dispersion of Ameenoollah's levies the only cause of the halt at Cabul Pollock had much to do to prepare for the return-march to the British provinces He had to borrow money and to collect supplies, which could not be done in a day Apart, moreover, from these considerations, we are extremely doubtful whether a rapid movement from Caubul would have had so good a moral effect as our occupation of the Affghan capital for three or four weeks Had we hastened off, it would have been said that though we had marched to Caubul, we were afraid to remain there, that the most we could venture to do was to run through the country as fast as we could

In the next place, a few words may be said about the retributory marks which were set upon the capital Mr Stocqueler observes —

The manner in which the retributory visit of the armies to Caubul was to be marked, had for some time been a subject of grave consideration with General Pollock Mr Kaye says in his history, that had General Nott been in supreme authority at Caubul, he would have destroyed the Bala Hissar, and the city, and marched on with the least possible delay, to Jellalabad As regards the Bala Hissar and the onward movement, Mr Kaye is right in his surmise But Nott would have spared the city

The Bala Hissar was untouched by General Pollock, because, forsooth, the Chiefs had pleaded that a Suddozye Prince should maintain the appearance of royalty in the palace of his fathers, and that the people resident in that citadel, had in time of peril, been *faithful to Futteh Jung!* "So," naively adds Mr Kaye, "Pollock determined to destroy the great Bazaar," for no other reason than that the mutilated remains of the murdered Envoy had been exhibited there to the insolent gaze of the Affghans Nott would have spared the Bazaar He deemed it cruel, unnecessary, and unworthy of the British character, to destroy the marts of the working population The citadels and ramparts of the Chiefs, are the proper objects of warlike retribution Public opinion will surely award to General Nott, the palm of humanity and rationality in this view of the case

In the above passage the only new fact stated is, that Nott would not have destroyed the city of Caubul. Of this Mr. Stocqueler furnishes no sort of proof. As the case stands, therefore, at present, there is merely the assertion of one writer against the assertion of another. What is there to support either? Did Nott destroy the city of Ghuznee? We have his own authority for the fact that he did. "I directed," he says, in his despatch of September 8, 1842, "*the city of Ghuznee*, with its citadel and the whole of its works, to be destroyed." Now, we do not see why, if Nott destroyed the city of Ghuznee, he should not have destroyed the city of Caubul. Ghuznee was not more guilty of the massacre of Palmer's detachment than Caubul was of the annihilation of Elphinstone's army. But,—say General Nott and his supporters,—Pollock should have destroyed the Balla Hissar, because "the citadel and ramparts of the Chiefs are proper objects of warlike retribution." So they are, but the Balla Hissar was the home of the royal family of Caubul, in which they had held out against the chiefs. The Balla Hissar was not stained with British blood. It had been held by the Suddizye Princes—held against Akbar Khan and his followers—and, to use an allowable figure, had been *truer* to us than any other part of the Capital. Whether the reason given for the destruction of the Great Bazaar was a sufficient one, is, of course, a matter of opinion. Our own belief is that it was all-sufficient—for it was identified with the most brutal insults offered to the Majesty of Great Britain in the person of her representative. The city of Caubul, indeed, was more guilty than the Balla Hissar.

We have thought it right to comment upon these points, because it has been our conviction, that the passages which we have quoted are far more unjust to General Pollock than the alleged injustice to General Nott, which has called forth the volumes before us.

Such volumes, we repeat, needed no apology; but if their publication is to be attributed to any statements or inferences in Mr. Kaye's History of the War in Affghanistan, we must acknowledge our thanks to that gentleman, for having evoked so interesting a contribution to the annals of recent Indian warfare. It is a source to us of no inconsiderable regret, that the Memoir has reached us, though at as early a period as it could possibly reach us, too late to enable us to do justice to its contents. But we may quote a few more extracts before we conclude our hurried notice of the work. The first which occurs to us, compels us again to differ in opinion from the biographer.

It would appear from the passage, which we have quoted from Mr. Stocqueler's Preface, that the Memoir of General Nott was written mainly because the General's family were of opinion that Mr. Kaye, in his *History of the War in Affghanistan*, had not done justice to the motives and actions of the Commander of the Candahar Army. But upon our minds—and, as we know, upon the minds of others—Mr. Kaye's History has in reality left a more favorable impression, than has Mr. Stocqueler's Memoir (written at the request of Letitia Nott and Charlotte Bower) of the character and conduct of General Nott. On turning to the former work to see what Mr. Kaye has said of General Nott, we find the following portrait of the Candahar Commander :—

The command of the troops at Candahar was in the hands of Major-General Nott. He was an an old sepoy-officer of good repute; a man of some talents, but blunt address, an honest, plain-spoken soldier, not always right, but always believing himself to be right—hearty, genuine, and sincere. His faults were chiefly those of temper. Sir Henry Fane had recognized his merits; but Sir John Keane, who was accused of fostering a narrow-minded prejudice against the Company's service, had superseded him, in a manner which had greatly incensed the General himself, and the army to which he belonged. Laboring under a strong sense of the injustice which had been done him; feeling that his worth had not been duly appreciated or his services duly rewarded; seeing much in the general management of the affairs of the distracted country in which his lot had been cast, to excite his unqualified disapprobation; and being moreover constitutionally of an irritable temperament, he sometimes said and wrote what was calculated to offend others; and as the political officers were the especial objects of his dislike, he was in no favor at the Residency. Macnaghten declared that the General's conduct frequently embarrassed him, and recommended, therefore, his recall; but it was felt that Nott was a fine soldier; and though the Government eventually listened to the Envoy's counsel, they were slow to remove him from a sphere in which his energy and decision were likely to be so serviceable to the state.

Again, a little further on, Mr. Kaye, speaking of General Elphinstone's command of the Affghanistan army says, "When Sir Willoughby Cotton intimated his desire, on the plea of ill health, to be relieved from the command of the troops in Affghanistan, there was an officer already in the country to whom their charge might have been safely delegated. But he was not in favor either at the mission or at the Calcutta Government House. Sir Jasper Nicolls would have placed Nott in command; but there were obstacles to his appointment, at which I have already hinted; and it was deemed expedient to send to Caubul a man of a more ductile nature, with as few opinions of his own as possible to clash with those of the political chief."

Surely such language as this is not "unfavorable," and Gene-

ral Nott's family will hardly consider it "unjust." It is true that certain faults of temper are attributed to General Nott, and that he is said to have been of an "irritable" disposition. But it was left for Mr. Stocqueler—or for the General's family, to show the full extent of his irritability. If Mr. Kaye, who is perhaps rather over-fond of substantiating all his assertions, by quoting passages from letters, journals, and other authentic documents, desires to supply, in any future edition of his work, abundant authority for the use of the word "irritable," he will now only have to refer to the General's own letters, published by the desire of his family, for whole pages of affirmatory matter. There was "cruel kindness" in this. truth is above all things. Candour is to be commended. But truth and candour in these volumes have been carried to an extent scarcely demanded by the necessities of the case.

Indeed, it appears to us, that these volumes confirm much that Mr. Kaye has written, and disprove nothing. In saying this, we say nothing to detract from their value. The publication of a Memoir of General Nott, did not need an apology of any kind. Every month is issued from the press of Great Britain a biography of some man destined to take a much lower position in History—or perhaps, no position at all. General Nott was a soldier of great repute—he rendered essential services to his country in a critical conjuncture; he was a man, too, Mr. Stocqueler says, of an "original" character; and his very failings impart something of interest to the narrative of his life.

We wish, therefore, that a controversial tone had not, in any degree, been given to the work. It would have been sufficient to have told the story in a straightforward manner, without any preliminary apologies, or any incidental passages of exculpation or defence. We wish, too, that General Nott had not been suffered, in his over-eagerness to exalt himself, to depreciate before the public, the military character of other officers of high repute. Such self-laudatory passages, condemnatory of others, can only injure himself. But it is because they injure himself that we lament their appearance in these volumes. We repeat, however, that we do not blame Mr. Stocqueler for this. We entertain a strong conviction that, had he not written under family influences, he would have been less eager to vindicate General Nott and to depreciate his cotemporaries. There is a French saying to the effect, that to *ex*-cuse is to *ac*-cuse. Had this been considered, more ample justice would have been done to General Nott.

"In the discharge of the delicate and responsible task with

'which he has been honored," writes Mr Stocqueler in his Preface, "it has been the aim of the Editor to discard every 'letter that might unnecessarily give umbrage to deserving 'men The commentaries on public officers, of one who 'thought deeply, felt keenly, and spoke and wrote with 'scorching vehemence, have, however" . What significance is there in that *however*—"been considered by 'the Editor perfectly legitimate in a *Memoir*, elucidatory 'of character, and as in the lapse of time, since the 'scenes described in the following pages were enacted, 'most of the actors have passed away, the letters are rather 'calculated to prove the worthiness, foresight, and originality of the writer, than to inflict pain upon the surviving 'friends and relations of the individuals to whom allusion has 'been made'

The second part of this passage seems very much to neutralize the first It has been the study of the editor to discard whatever might give umbrage to deserving men, and yet he says that he has inserted commentaries, some of them written with 'scorching vehemence' on public officers Now public officers may be deserving men, and commentaries written with 'scorching vehemence' may give umbrage We are of opinion, for example, that General Pollock is a "deserving man" What General Nott wrote concerning that "public officer," and what Mr Stocqueler has published, may or may not have given umbrage, but it certainly appears to us to be of a very offensive character That it will injure General Pollock's well earned reputation, we do not for a moment suppose It is not on *that* account we deplore the appearance of the passages to which we refer in the volumes before us. We lament such publication, because we believe that it will lower the general estimate of Sir William Nott's character

Of the Somnath gate folly, Mr Stocqueler writes thus tenderly —

It was natural that Lord Ellenborough should believe in the value of the trophies He had not been long enough in India to be aware of the great ignorance of the Mahomedans and Hindoos of the history of their own country He calculated upon working an influence upon their religious antipathies, and he had likewise reason to believe that there was a prophecy chronicled by the Sikhs that they would one day become possessors of the gates "In any future treaty with the ruler of the Punjaub, these gates might be of the greatest use to Government They might be induced to make very important concessions on receiving what to us would be almost valueless, but what in their eyes would be invaluable *" Insufficient allow-

* I find a memorandum to this effect among General Nott's papers It is in Major Leech's hand-writing I have not seen it elsewhere —*Editor.*

ance appears to have been made by Lord Ellenborough's critics for the feelings and impressions under which he acted. He has been charged with a desire to give a theatrical and factitious importance to the triumph achieved under his Government. Something must be allowed to even the wisest of men for acts committed under the influence of exultation; and it is certain that Lord Ellenborough, generally a cool and clear-headed statesman, was, between the date of the resolution to vindicate British honour in Affghanistan and the return of the troops across the Sutlej, strongly moved by feelings of hope, joy, and gratitude. Anything would have been forgiven in a Governor-General who had long been known to the community of British India, but it was the misfortune of Lord Ellenborough that he was personally a stranger to the services—who after all are the public of India—and he had begun his career by disappointing expectations, which were not realized till a later period, when people had become wedded to their prejudices.

We cannot admit the conclusiveness of this reasoning. If Lord Ellenborough had not been long enough in India to know the ignorance of the people on points of history, he might be supposed to have been long enough at the Board of Control to know that the proclamation which he issued was an insult and an offence to all the Mahomedans in the country. As to the prophecy "chronicled by the Sikhs," there is not the slightest evidence that Lord Ellenborough ever thought of using his trophies in that direction, but there is the strongest possible proof that he did not. There only remains then the plea of "feelings and impressions," and the "influence of exultation." Admitting this plea, to what does it amount? What in plain language was the meaning of it? That Lord Ellenborough's head was turned—that, moved by "feelings of hope, joy and gratitude," he forgot himself, and did what no man in his sober senses could do, without provoking the severest censure. In point of fact, Mr. Stocqueler justifies the Proclamation of the Gates very much upon the same grounds as those on which his critics have condemned it. The severest of them have only said that Lord Ellenborough was not sufficiently strong-minded to resist the intoxication of place and power, and that the first burst of victory utterly overthrew his reason. We can scarcely doubt that this is Mr. Stocqueler's genuine opinion. The apology seems to be rather that of the Nott family, than his own. For our own parts, we hardly knew the extent of the childish interest which Lord Ellenborough took in this business of the Gate, until the appearance of the volume before us. From the following letters, the reader may derive some idea of the delight with which his Lordship contemplated the triumphal procession to Somnath :—

Simla, 19th October, 1842.

GENERAL,—Your letter of the 23rd ultimo to Capt. Durand, informing

me that you had brought away from Ghuznee the gates of the temple of Somnath, only arrived here yesterday.

I had already had a translation made of the letter I intend to address to the Princes and Chiefs, and all the people of India, on the occasion of the restitution of this great trophy of war; and it will be transmitted immediately to the Princes and Chiefs whose territories are situated on the route between the Sutlej and Somnath. I intend that the gates of the temple should be carried in triumphant procession to the ancient site, on which a temple has been recently erected by a lady of Holkar's family.

I shall publish in a few days an extract from your letter to Captain Durand, announcing that you have brought away the gates, my letter to the Princes and people, and some orders relative to the escort.

You will have to select an officer to communicate with the Princes through whose country the gates will be carried, a Captain, Lieutenant, and Assistant Surgeon for the escort, one hundred privates, and a double proportion of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and two native doctors. All these will have double batta during the service, and furlough for a year at the termination of it. The officer who will be selected by you to communicate with the Princes, &c., will have one thousand rupees a month. I believe I shall attach to this escort one of my Aides-de-Camp, and a portion of the Body Guard, about twenty-five troopers. The escort will bear the Queen's colours. The escort will guard the gates from the Indus. You will select the privates and native commissioned and non-commissioned officers from any regiment or regiments present at the capture of Ghuznee.

I should wish a correct sketch (with the dimensions marked) to be made of the gates, if you are not in march when you receive this letter, or whenever you have an opportunity. The officers you select for the escort had better at once take great care of the gates, which, old as they are, may be ill calculated to bear the shaking of a camel. Perhaps the safest course would be to place them between boards tightly bound together. In their progress to Somnath, they must, if possible, be so packed as to be seen, in a sort of frame, and they must be carried by elephants. I believe I shall have an application from the Sikhs, to be permitted to form a procession, with the gates, before they reach the Sutlej, to which I shall accede, and give you due notice of all that is to be done; only guard the gates as you would your colours.

I remain, General,
Your very faithful friend,
ELLENBOROUGH.

Major-General Nott,
Jellalabad.

Subathoo, 21st November, 1842.

GENERAL,—I received on the 19th, just as I was leaving Simla, the very interesting report you have sent to me respecting the gates of the Temple of Somnath. When I have the drawings and inscriptions, I shall send a copy of the whole to the Antiquarian Society in London, and they will publish it in their Transactions.

Major Smith, of the Engineers, as I suppose, will prepare everything, on receiving instructions from you, for the conveyance of the gates in the intended car. Would Major Sanders send a sketch of the car he imagines? The wheels must, I suppose, be taken from gun carriages. I am not sure that the most appropriate conveyance would not be a car, raised upon gun carriages.

You could not, I believe, have selected a better officer than Major Leech to communicate with the Chiefs.

I have the honor to remain, General,

Your's very faithfully,

ELLENBOROUGH.

Major-General Nott.

We do not think that we can do better, in the absence of time and space for a more elaborate review of these volumes, than close our extracts with Mr. Stocqueler's ably written Summary of General Nott's character :—

It is almost superfluous to attempt to sketch the character of the late Major-General Sir William Nott in a work which abounds in illustrations of its main features. Undaunted, when all around were "panic-struck"—never "despairing for the common-wealth," when all were clasping their hands in despair, we have traced him with a gallant little band—well known to their General, and he well known to them—holding with firm grasp the keystone on which British rule still planted her flag in Affghanistan—we have seen him sternly and resolutely maintaining his ground, urged though he was by superior military and political authority combined, to resign a seemingly hopeless struggle—and all this he did by his own unsupported energy alone. When "his country's honour was at stake, he felt it his duty to overcome difficulties, not to know dangers." The treachery of the enemy had never for a moment escaped his penetrating eye. Faithless from the first, as their promises had been, for the safe-conduct of the army which evacuated Caubul—faithless as he had *always* known their promises to be, he ever thought that what could not be obtained from their good faith, must be wrested from them by the strong hand. He estimated valour at its highest meed, but at the same time often said that it was comparatively worthless, unless united with science to direct its course—"that fighting was the least part of a soldier's duty." On this basis he had erected his own superstructure. We have seen him, for years and years before the din of war commenced, cultivating Torrens as his authority for the details of military training, and Wellington's despatches as his text-book for military practice. Here we find the key to his subsequently brilliant career—a career unchecked, from first to last, by one single reverse, and crowned at last by placing in the British power that very Caubul which but a short time before had been the scene where the reputation of our arms had lost its long established prestige. In his ordinary intercourse with Anglo-Indian society, in which every word is weighed, and not always interpreted advantageously, the General was usually reserved, but he was singularly communicative to his children, because he knew that reliance might be placed in their discretion and affection. From his letters to them we gather innumerable proofs of the warmth of his heart and the simplicity of his nature—his scorn of chicanery—his detestation of duplicity—his lively appreciation of kindness. Never inflated by a sense of his own worth, he received the attentions of others with an air of surprise, and rendered grateful thanks for the homage he had earned. "What have I done," he often exclaimed, "to be so kindly treated!" He had done much, but he did not know it. At the head of every regiment with which he had served, he had enforced the performance of duty, because he considered the obligations of the soldier to the State sacred and impera-

tive Himself an abstract and impersonation of "duty," he was intolerant of its neglect in others, and he demonstrated in the admirable discipline and harmonious state in which he left each successive regiment (some of which he had been expressly deputed to restore to order), that the strict observance of his system ultimately brought its own reward That no undue severity—none of the torture of martinetism—no frivolous interference with trifles—nothing, in short, but a close attention to regimental economy and parade steadiness—marked his rule, is clear, from the great regard with which he inspired all who had the good fortune to be commanded by him The conduct of the 38th Regiment, N I, after the death of Mrs Nott, at Delhi, and the departure of the General (then Colonel) for Affghanistan, evinced the lasting respect and regret of the officers and men of the corps While at Delhi, the 16th N I—another corps which Nott had commanded—were cantoned at the station, and to show how deeply they valued the recollection of his excellent government of the regiment, the Native officers used to call upon him in a body, and were received in the dining-hall, where they laughed and chatted without restraint. The sepoys of the 16th, most of whom had been recruited by Nott (who was always particular about the caste, height, and appearance of his men), continually made *poojahs* (religious ceremonials), and offered up prayers for his return to the regiment How the 41st foot esteemed the General who led them from Candahar to India has been set forth in the description of his last hours No severe Commander could thus have won the love of his subordinates By his officers, Nott was sometimes deemed cold and apathetic, because he was not profuse of his commendations They did not, in this conjecture, render justice to his exalted motives It was an axiom with Nott that in the utmost devotion of his service an officer only did his duty to the Government, and as the fulfilment of duty was the proper acquittance of the pay received and the honours bestowed, thanks and commendations were a superfluity in the compact Nevertheless, when he considered the occasion to call for an expression of approbation, he was not slow or niggard of his acknowledgments We can count fifty names which received honourable mention in Nott's despatches and orders—Wymer, Sanders, Anderson, Scott, Ripley, Stacey, M'Laren, Hibbert, Polwhele, Chamberlain, White, &c, are cases in point

In the exercise of all the duties of private life no man was more exemplary than General Nott The pure tenets of Christianity formed the basis of all his actions, but his religion was always unobtrusive His charity was boundless—no better proof of it can be given than his instructions to his daughters to follow his example in society, and pay the greatest attention to those, if worthy, who were the most neglected by others Children loved him—the poor followed him with their prayers The rude Affghans, who abhorred the Christian abstractedly, reverenced the just and simple-minded soldier, who, at the head of 10,000 men, held their provinces in subjection He was a just man in all his dealings, but he ever tempered justice with mercy. He loved truth for its own sake, and he held Honour to be "above life" With him it was, in very truth,

> "The noble mind's distinguishing perfection,
> That aids and strengthens virtue where it meets her"

His occasionally strong and bitter denunciations of the political and military authorities who misdirected the affairs of the British in Affghanistan, were not the effusions of a warm or angry temper, but the over-

flowings of a heart which recoiled from the oppressions, follies, and dangers which marked the whole course of their policy, and the injustice to his own branch of the service of which they were the frequent authors. In long after-years the descendants of the General will cherish his memory for his many noble public acts, and his private worth, and in British Military Annals he will live for ever as one of the best and finest specimens ever produced of THE COMPANY'S OFFICER.

Valete et Plaudite. We take leave of Mr. Stocqueler's book with a few more words of sincere commendation. It is the biography of a fine soldier, written in a fine soldierly spirit. We have freely expressed our opinions of certain passages which, in our estimation, greatly deface the volumes before us, and throw some very unpleasant spots upon the fair surface of Nott's character. But even with these abatements, the book is a pleasant one, and the character is one to be admired. It must never be forgotten either, that, as Mr. Kaye has justly said, Nott was an ill-used man;—he was ill-used by Sir John Keane, by Sir William Macnaghten, and by Lord Auckland. On the retirement of Sir Willoughby Cotton, Nott should have been appointed to the Chief Command of the army in Affghanistan. Instead of this, he was kept in the background. He chafed under this restraint; he would not remain there; and in spite of every effort to keep him down, he asserted the true dignity of his character, and made for himself a great reputation. He had his faults—who has not? They were faults of temper; but Mr. Stocqueler truly says that there was nothing mean or sordid about him; and it is pleasant to see how, beneath all his outside ruggedness and asperity, pulsed the warm human heart—how his affections remained strong and fresh to the last—and how his memory is now venerated by his children.

NOTE TO ART. V. NO. XLIII.

At page 225 of the *Calcutta Review*, No. XLIII a document is referred to as Appendix No. I. It was accidentally omitted in that Number, and is now inserted. The document is an abstract of a paper, by an officer of the 66th N. I., written during the first week of February, 1850, and published by me at the time, to allay public alarm. The three passages, marked in brackets, are by Col. Bradford, and were written in February last, when I sent the paper to him, in half margin, with a request that he would correct any inaccuracies.

H. M. Laurence.

On the evening of the 31st January, it was reported to Lieut. Ross, in charge of the Grenadier Company of the 66th Regiment N. I., in the presence of the Commanding Officer, Major Troup, by the Pay Havildar of the Company, that the men of the Grenadier Company were murmuring that no extra allowance had been drawn for them in the Pay Abstracts, which were on the point of being sent in. Lieut. Ross addressed his Company the following morning, and upon asking them whether their demand was for the Scinde Batta, was answered in the affirmative. Four men were allowed to appear before the Commanding Officer the next morning, upon which Companies 2, 8 and Light also, expressed a wish to be heard, and were allowed to send four men each to represent them. These men appeared before Major Troup on the 1st February, and through Purson Sing, of Grenadier Company, stated their complaint. Major Troup answered, and explained the the order, upon which Purson Sing remarked, "But your 'enemies are not all conquered yet; Golab Singh is not yet 'subdued, should you be obliged to fight againt him, will you 'hold out hopes of our receiving the same pay as those who 'fought before?" To this Major Troup replied that he had no doubt Government would do what was proper, and the men went to their Lines in good humour. On the evening of this day (February 1st) the Regiment paraded to hear G. O. C. in C. read and explained. After parade it was reported to Lieut. Carter, in charge of No. 7, that the men refused to take off their accoutrements till they had spoken to him. He went to them and desired one man to speak for all. One man

said "we wish to cut our names, our bellies are not filled." Lieut. Carter asked whether this man expressed the wish of the whole Company. All, with the exception of the Native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers, replied "yes," four men were then selected to appear before the Major the following day, and the Company broke off quietly. The next morning (February 2nd) Lieutenant Carter reported that the four men selected from No. 7 had told him that the men had changed their minds and would wait. Major Troup knowing that the men were well aware of the arrival and intended departure of the 1st Light Cavalry, placed little confidence in this change of intention, and at this time it was reported to him by Lieutenant Ross, that his Company (the Grenadiers), had gone to the arm rack, assumed their belts and side-arms without leave, and upon the arrival of the Subadar, and his ordering the men to take them off, they refused to do so, till they had seen Lieutenant Ross. Upon this Major Troup went and reported to Lieut. Colonel Bradford, C. B., commanding 1st Light Cavalry, and the following measures were agreed upon. It was resolved to relieve the 66th N. I. from charge of the Fort [*and after seeing the state of the regiment, I considered such a decided step necessary.*] To effect this a squadron of the 1st Cavalry dismounted, with loaded carbines, was told off with its officers, and ordered to hold itself in immediate readiness. Colonel Bradford then proceeded into the Fort with Major Troup, to observe the temper of the men on a parade ordered for the purpose. The regiment was formed in close column, and Major Troup, after addressing them suitably, called out the man who had been sentry over the arms of the Grenadier Company, when that Company armed itself, and desired him to state who had been most forward in the business. At first he pleaded ignorance, but being vehemently urged, named Mirza Khyroola Beg, who being questioned, strenuously denied the charge. All the native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers of the Company denied having been present. The Subadar was known to have been in the hospital, but the Jemadar, Gunga Singh, was present, and Havildar Bashut Singh, and Lance Naick Summer Khan came forward and told Major Troup that they had both reported to him at different times, and he had told them to report to the Subadar and taken no further notice. The Jemadar being sent for, at first denied, but being confronted with the two men, had nothing to say for himself. Major Troup then ordered the Jemadar into arrest, and Sepoy Mirza Khyroola Beg into

confinement. Upon this order being carried into execution, a half suppressed shout of disapprobation arose, principally from the rear wing and the reverse flanks of Companies, and a slight movement, as though for a rescue, was observed. By Major Troup's orders, however, the regiment instantly halted and remained steady, and at this juncture Colonel Bradford despatched one of his Officers to order up the squadron, and himself followed to meet it. On his way he found the guard at the outer gate (composed of sepoys of the 66th Native Infantry) with fixed bayonets, in a state of great excitement, declaring that the Cavalry should not enter. Passing through he found the squadron just outside the barrier gate, being detained there by the Officer of the Guard, who said that he had no orders to admit the Cavalry. Accordingly, the sentries, aided by some of the guard, were engaged in closing the gate. Meanwhile one leaf of the outer gate was closed, and the other held partly open by the guard. The order for the admission of the Cavalry from Major Troup speedily arrived, but the sepoys still in resistance to Colonel Bradford and their own officers, tumultuously opposed the entrance of the squadron. At this time the Fort Adjutant, Captain Macdonald, arrived, and upon his peremptory order [*followed by a blow of his sword to a man who hesitated*] both the barrier and the outer gate were thrown open, and the squadron passed in rapidly. Colonel Bradford then ordered the guard to pile arms, which they refused to do, until the squadron was drawn up opposite to them with loaded carbines. During this time Major Troup kept his regiment in close column ; and continued to address them so as to give the Cavalry time. When he heard that the squadron was in possession of the Barrier gate, he gave the word " Pile Arms," which, after a slight hesitation, was obeyed. He then ordered the column to file out to the left, adding to the officers in English, " you understand, through the gates, left wheel." The men marched off with their officers in perfect order. Major Troup detained the band and drummers, and with their assistance closed the inner gate directly the regiment had passed out. They passed out as the guard at the outer gate had piled arms, and all marched out together. A desire to possess themselves of the arms of the guard was manifested in the rear of the column, but this was prevented by their officers. Colonel Bradford now placed two hundred of his dismounted troopers in charge of the Fort, and they assisted the small detachment of Native Artillery men to bring down two field pieces to bear upon the gate way, and he sent out orders to two Company's of H. M.'s 32nd and

to the body guard, both encamped nine miles off [to hasten on]. The Cavalry arrived within two hours, and the Europeans shortly after. The two Companies of H. M.'s 32nd were placed in the Fort. The 66th N. I. were ordered to bivouac outside the Fort, and were prevented from escaping by the body guard and 17th Irregular Cavalry, under Captain Bobbins. Parties of the 3rd Punjab Cavalry under Captain Prendergast patrolled all night.

It may be observed that the 66th N. I. had had the order regarding the Scinde allowance explained to them before crossing the Frontier, and had frequently discussed it with apparent good humour. [*Before the baggage of the 66th was allowed to be removed from the Fort, all the correspondence of the sepoys was taken possession of by Major Troup and myself*].

6495/1106

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Public Works in India; their importance, with suggestions for their extension and improvement. By Lieut.-Colonel A. Cotton, Chief Engineer, Madras. W. N. Allen and Co. London.

An advertisement prefixed to this unassuming-looking little volume, tells us that it was not either prepared, or intended for the press by its author; but that friends in England to whom the MS. was sent, struck by the vigour of its reasoning, its originality of thought, and its application to the spirit of the times, had resolved, of their own motion, to give it publicity. Whatever the writer may think of a decision,* which the present shape of the work may well make us suppose to have been unexpected, the Indian public cannot do otherwise than feel grateful for a most valuable contribution to the understanding of a subject, vitally important at all times, but more especially now, that gigantic Railways, intersecting the country by various lines, are about to be spread over the face of the whole Indian Continent.

It is our decided conviction, that may readers of Col. Cotton's work will share our own belief, that had its publication taken place five years ago, or had the author's MS. found its way to Barrackpore or Cannon Row, instead of to a printing press in Leadenhall Street, the deservedly admired state papers, by one of the finest writers of the day, which have rendered the subject of Indian Railways so popular and attractive, would never have appeared in their present garb; nor would those undertakings themselves have been exclusively fostered, to the neglect of other means of improvement, far more comprehensive in their scope and action, more rapid of attainment, better adapted to India and her wants, and more economical in execution, and more productive in final results, which the Chief Engineer of Madras, (intimately acquainted with both the subject and the country) has most ably, luminously, and practically sketched out in this powerful treatise.

This startling assertion is more likely to amuse and repel, than to attract readers to judge for themselves; and we admit that to endeavour to detract from the importance or expediency, or even the necessity of Railroads in the present day is

"Like feather bed 'gainst castle wall,"

or any other useless and hopeless enterprise. But the many are not always right, and we imagine no one will be bold enough to

* Since this was written, we have received a copy of a revised edition, published by the author himself at Madras.—Ed.

say that there has ever yet been an instance of Railways being even attempted, far less of their succeeding, under circumstances similar to those of India, whether for the length of lines, the absence of manufactured goods, or the sparseness of the population.

But in truth, we are diverging from our subject, which is by no means to cavil at Railroads, to which, in common with all others, we heartily wish every success; but rather to dispassionately consider what remedial treatment India calls for at this moment. It is to the candid consideration of this question, that Col. Cotton has earnestly addressed himself in the volume before us; and we think he has conclusively shewn that the country cannot afford to wait until Railroads are made, nor support them after they are constructed, until by other quicker and cheaper means of improvement, she has risen much higher in the scale of wealth and civilization than she now is.

It would require the full limit of one of our usual articles to give even a condensed summary of this volume, abounding as it does in original thought, novel investigation, and conclusive reasoning, expressed, too, for the most part, in striking and racy, though simple language. We are not without hope that ere long we may be able to devote an article to the subject. For the present we shall conclude our brief notice by a few of the many extracts we have marked for quotation, and which, if we mistake not, will induce many to procure the work for themselves.

"Of the superficial way in which the question (of communication in India as a whole) has been considered hitherto, even taking it in its narrowest view, and thinking only of the point, whether a Railroad on a certain line will pay, we have a curious instance in the Calcutta Railway. The traffic is there, and it is proposed to construct the Railway, and calculations are given to shew that such a traffic on such a Railway will pay such interest; but whether the Railway, when it is ready, can carry the traffic, has not been considered. The traffic is one and a half million tons a year, or 5,000 tons a day, on an average of the whole line and of the year; which of course implies, that at the busy time of the year, and near Calcutta, there will be at least 10,000 tons a day, besides 1,600 passengers. Can a double Railway carry 10,000 tons a day, besides 1,600 passengers? The busiest passenger Railroad in England only carries 700 tons a day, on an average, according to Lardner, or one-seventh of the quantity upon which these calculations are based. We have no data as to what amount of goods a Railway worked at high speed for passengers can carry, but we know certainly that it could not carry 10,000 tons of goods a day; so that, when the road is finished, either only a small part of the goods can be carried, or additional rails must be laid, or it must be worked at one speed for all, both goods and passengers, and that a very low one; any of which expedients, however, entirely overthrowing the calculations of profit." (*Page* 3.) And again:—"It is not surprising that this

'essential, fundamental point of the necessity of a great diminution 'of the cost of traffic should have been treated as of no consequence 'by the engineers and others concerned in projecting the great Rail-'ways. Their views were naturally contracted to this comparatively 'insignificant part of the subject, viz., will such a Railway pay to the 'shareholders? But that it should have been so lost sight of by the 'public and the authorities is, indeed, surprising. The question for 'the Government to consider is, what does the country really require 'in the way of transit, and by what means can the greater advantage 'be obtained for the whole community? The interest of the share-'holders in a line of Railroad, and that of the community, may be 'diametrically opposed. If a Railway on an important line is con-'structed on so expensive a plan, as to require a high rate of charge 'to enable it to pay a good interest, an irreparable evil will have been 'done. The whole power of an influential body, influential and 'powerful just in proportion to the amount of capital expended, will 'be brought to bear on that line, not to secure cheap transit, but to 'prevent cheap transit ever being obtained on it.

"If the proprietors of the Bengal Railway, for instance, charge, 'as is proposed in the pamphlets, 1*d.* per ton per mile, there seems 'no hope that that line will be ever favoured with a cheaper com-'munication than it has at present by the river. While other parts 'of the country were favoured with this most essential advantage, 'probably no power could be found that would be sufficient to pre-'vent this, the most important line by far in all India, from being 'sealed up against the use of any means by which cheap carriage 'could be obtained. Of the various means that could be used for 'this purpose, and there are several (for I am certain that on that 'line, transit could be carried on at the rate of one pice per ton 'per mile as well as on the Mississipi) there would be no pro-'bability of any being adopted while the owners of the four 'millions sterling invested in the Railway, felt that the whole of 'their property depended upon their successfully resisting all im-'provements.

"Happily, the matter is very far indeed from being as stated 'in the Railway pamphlets; even with all its present imperfec-'tions, the river transit will provide for the conveyance of goods 'at a much lower rate than 1*d.* per ton per mile. But of 'the Railway accomplishing the main object, that of materially 'reducing the charge, I see no prospect; so that certainly, at 'present, the probability is that, whatever may be effected else-'where, no material improvements will take place in the rates that 'will be charged on this most important line, which ought to be the 'line of greatest traffic in the world.

"But what means can be found that will really relieve the country 'from this intolerable burden of the cost of transit, supposing it at 'this moment amounts to 15 millions a year in actual payments, be-'sides the loss of as much more from the ability to move ten times

'the quantity in those things which will not bear the present 'charges? Is the case really hopeless! Have we no alternative but to lay out a lakh of rupees a mile, or 200 millions sterling on the 20,000 miles of main line required, and then to be shut up to paying for ever nearly as much as we do now? Hopeless, indeed, would be the state of India if this were the real state of the case. But nothing can be further from the fact. On almost every line in India, the cost can be reduced to one-fifth or one-tenth of what is contemplated by the great Railways." *(Page* 83.*)*

On the prevailing hallucination that the prosperity of India depends upon the system adopted for *collecting* the land revenue, Col. Cotton has the following, amongst many other pithy and pertinent observations :—

"Certainly, without any exaggeration, the most astonishing thing in the history of our rule in India is, that such innumerable volumes should have been written by thousands of the ablest men in the service on *the mode of collecting the land revenue,* while the question of a thousand times more importance, how to enable the people to pay it, was literally never touched upon; and yet even the question of the *amount* of taxation was utterly insignificant in comparison with that. While we have been labouring for a hundred years to discover how to get twenty lakhs out of a district which is not able to pay it, not the least thought has been bestowed on the hundreds of lakhs it was losing from the enormous cost of transit, which swallowed up all the value of the ryots' produce, if they raised it. The roads are not the only Public Works that are wanted: irrigation also is in this country of the very first importance; but no irrigation will bring the country to a state of great prosperity without the means of conveying produce to a market; and cheap communications will have an immense effect, even in enabling one part of the country to help another in the matter of food, if local rains fail."

"But our present inquiry is about communications only. This is not a question whether a Railroad will pay on a certain line of 100 or 1,000 miles; the question is, what is the importance of providing all India with communications, and the best mode of doing so, considering all the circumstances that affect the case? Till the subject is taken up on this ground, nothing effectual will be done. Any particular lines improved will be just as likely to hinder as to help the great work. It is certain, that up to the commencement of the Railroads, the individual works undertaken in this Presidency, were the main hindrances to a system of communications. Instead of learning from the mistakes that were made how to set about this important work in future, we have only concluded to do nothing. And for the last four years, since the Railroads have commenced, they have completely blinded the Government and others. They have effectually prevented any real attempt to open India. While millions of words and lakhs of

'Rupees have been expended on a few miles of road in two corners 'of the country, the whole of India has been lying untouched in the 'same miserable and disgraceful state as before. Had not this ill-'considered expenditure been going on, perhaps the Government or 'the English public might have employed their time in commencing 'upon a real and general project for giving all India *cheap* commu-'nications." *(Page* 10.*)* "These be grave wants" indeed, and would that we were able to gainsay them! and again :—

"Thousands want to lend money at four per cent., thousands of 'Europeans and natives want employment as Superintendents of 'work, &c. ; thousands of iron manufacturers and others in England 'want a sale for their goods ; lakhs of people in India want employ-'ment as labourers and artificers ; millions of ryots want water for mil-'lions of acres ; tens of thousands of miles of communication, and the 'means of carrying produce, need to be constructed, and thus millions 'might be expended so as to yield ten, twenty, or fifty times the 'interest paid for them. Every thing is ready except one thing. 'But, there is indeed a difficulty, *the* difficulty which has kept India 'immersed in ignorance and poverty from the day we commenced 'our rule, up to this day. It is this, that Englishmen, instead of 'coming to India to teach the natives the things which make us 'what we are, sit down to learn of the natives the things that make 'them what they are. How wonderful it is that the man, who, if he 'were in England, would be certainly engaged in furthering every 'thing in which England glories, should in India occupy himself 'from morning to night with this notable subject—the settlement 'of the land revenue of his district. He sees, for instance, that his 'district is paying ten or twenty lakhs a year for the transit of goods, 'and that it cannot find a sale for what it produces for want of the 'means of sending it to places where saleable ; and yet he is com-'pletely at a loss as to what can be done to relieve and improve it. 'He turns again to the "settlement," and tries once more what he 'knows has been tried a thousand times before in vain, how to 'make a district, steeped in poverty, pay additional revenue without 'increasing its resources. He sees and hears of capital employed 'in almost every kind of Public Works, yielding fifty or hundred per 'cent. ; he sees that his own district, in producing certain articles 'of food, clothing, &c., pays double or treble what they could be 'procured for from another part of the country, if there were but 'cheap transit ; whilst other districts are wanting, and paying double 'or treble for things which could be got far more cheaply from his own 'district ; and yet he cannot think of any thing to enrich his district, 'except giving a little more time to the "settlement," or reading a few 'more thousand sheets of paper on that everlasting subject. Here 'then is the real, and the sole difficulty. To remove it, one word 'from our rulers is all that is required ; every thing else is ready, 'and has long been ready. Let them only open a loan for twenty 'millions to begin with, order the expenditure of three lakhs a year

'in every district, purchase a million tons of rails and such other 'things as can be got at once for money, and will help towards the im- 'provement of the resources of the country, and the whole difficulty 'is got over. This might be done to-morrow; nothing is required 'but that what has been so well done by the Governor-General 'about the Telegraph, be applied to every thing else of this kind, 'that is to say, let it be done." *(Page 47.)*

On both the facility and wisdom of vigorously pushing forward public works, our author is no less eloquent and forcible, and with two short quotations on this head, we conclude our hasty and imperfect notice.

"That money is forthcoming for public works is proved from the 'fact, that on the 30th April, 1852, according to the accounts sub- 'mitted to Parliament, there was no less a sum than thirteen and 'a half crores, upwards of thirteen millions, lying in the different 'treasuries unemployed, and the Government of India was urged to 'apply this surplus to the liquidation of debt.

"It thus appears after all, that not only is it in the power of 'Government to obtain money for the purpose of throwing open 'India, and relieving it from an annual expense of several millions 'sterling, which is now actually incurred in the conveyance of goods 'across the unimproved face of the country; but that, even sup- 'posing that no better system of management could be arranged than 'one which requires the enormous sum of seventy-two millions ster- 'ling to be always in hand to meet current expenses, there are six 'millions sterling now actually lying totally useless in the treasuries, 'quite sufficient to give 20,000 miles of transit, at a rate certainly 'not exceeding one-tenth of what it is at present. Is it wise, then, 'to return money borrowed at four and five per cent., when, by em- 'ploying it, you may obtain returns from twenty-five to seventy- 'five?"

"We are quite alive to the fact, that England without her Public 'Works, machinery, roads, canals, railways, ports, steam and water 'power, and all those other appliances which enable the human 'power of the community to accomplish so much, could not pay a 'revenue of fifty millions; and yet we refuse to believe that the 'same causes will produce the same results in India, although we 'have instances of common roads, of canals, of irrigation works '&c., before us, which produce an annual relief to the country of 'more than cent. per cent. upon the outlay; and as money enough 'can be obtained at five per cent. to make every sort of improve- 'ment in India, the practicability of executing these essential works 'is undeniable." *(Page 23.)* And again, "a million of people in Berar 'are paying annually 200 or 300 lakhs a year for rice, which they 'grow themselves, while they could obtain it from Rajamundry for 'fifty or seventy lakhs, if the Godavery navigation were opened; 'no wonder they cannot bear the burthen of their taxes when they 'have to bear this load of 150 or 200 lakhs unnecessarily. If they

'could get their food so cheap from Rajamundry, they might em-
'ploy their labourers in growing cotton for Manchester. And so
'also with respect to the sums actually paid for transit. The city
'of Madras, for instance, pays at least twelve lakhs a year for the carri-
'age of firewood, &c., or perhaps even twenty lakhs, nineteen-twen-
'of which might be saved by improved communications. With
'this load, equivalent to two or three rupees a head, more than ten
'times as much as their share of the interest on the Indian debt, no
'wonder that they are not able to bear the load of their taxes,
'light as they really are.

"If we take the whole loss to India from want of communica-
'cations at only twenty-five millions sterling, it is twelve times
'as great a burthen as the interest of her whole debt. How is
'it that there are such endless discussions about relieving her from
'that debt, and not one word about getting rid of a load in com-
'parison with which the debt is trifling? How much easier will
'it be to increase its strength, so that the debt shall be scarcely
'any burthen to India, than to get rid of the debt; and how much
'better to have a country in health and strength, with a light load
'to carry, than a miserable, sickly, and starved one, though with-
'out a load, even supposing it were possible to get rid of the bur-
'then, which it certainly is not, excepting by this one means of
'Public Works. India has been dealt with as an ignorant doctor
'would treat his patient, who persisted in physicking him to cure
'him of some complaint connected with the unwholesome state of
'his room, and so only reduced his strength more and more, while
'if he would give him a change of air, his system would gather
'strength to throw off the disease of itself. India requires some-
'thing to invigorate the system; it wants to have the light and air
'let into it by means of communications. If this were tried, it could
'soon throw off its present debt.

"Whether England is to be dependent on America alone for
'cotton and cheap bread, or whether it is to have two strings to its
'bow, two customers for its custom, is the question. *India can*
'*supply it fully, abundantly, cheaply, with its two essentials, flour*
'*and cotton*, and nothing whatever prevents its doing so but the
'want of Public Works. If only the country is by means of irriga-
'tion supplied abundantly and cheaply with food, and by means of
'communications, its produce can be cheaply conveyed to the coast,
'Manchester is safe; its supply with the two things upon which its
'very existence depends cannot fail. But while three-fourths of the
'people in India are raising food, and an eighth are carrying their
'produce over the unimproved face of the country at a cost that
'would instantly paralyze England, if it were subjected to such an
'incubus, this magnificent appendage to England must be compara-
'tively thrown away upon her, and the prodigious, the incalculable
'stimulus that it might give to her manufacturing and general pros-
'perity must be in a great measure lost" *(Page* 30.*)*

We take leave of Col. Cotton for the present, not without hope of being able to return to him and do him more justice that we have now been able to do. In the mean time we recommend all who are interested in the welfare of India to ponder well the statements and arguments contained in this volume.

The Indian Annals of Medical Science, or Half-Yearly Journal of Practical Medcine and Surgery. Nos. I. and II. R. C. Lepage and Co. Calcutta and London.

CERTAIN able and accomplished medical men, resident in Calcutta, taking for their motto, the remark of Lord Bacon, "I hold every 'man a debtor to his profession, from the which as men of course 'doe seeke to receive countenance and profit, so ought they of duty 'to endeavour themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and 'ornament thereunto;" have well filled the hiatus left by the loss of the late Dr. Edlin's Medical Journal, and have started the periodical, whose title we have placed at the head of this notice; presenting the professional and general public with an amount of interesting, important, and useful matter seldom provided in any two numbers of any journal. The conductors, probably, have good and sufficient reasons for adopting, as they have done, so bulky a form, and for publishing their Journal but once in six months: but we should have thought that half the quantity, published quarterly, would have better met the wants and wishes of their readers. It is not our province, even if we had the ability and the temerity so to do, to criticise the professional matter contained in the well digested, carefully printed, and neatly got up pages before us; but we presume to furnish our readers with a few extracts from, and comments on some of the many interesting papers that this Number contains, in the belief that we shall render them a service, by showing them how earnest and serious in their endeavours to record their experiences, and in their efforts to ameliorate human suffering, are many of the Bengal Medical men.

The Editors, in a notice, invite their brethren to contribute all they have seen and learnt with respect to that dire scourge of tropic climes, Dysentery, in order that they may be able, in their next Number, to furnish a full report on that very serious affliction; and they state their intention of reporting regularly, every half year, on some one or other of the more important eastern diseases.

The first article is a careful translation by Dr. Cantor, of a very able and elaborate paper on Tropical Dysentery, by the Dutch Physician Dr. P. Bleeker, who has brought to bear on the pathology of this very important subject, an amount of careful investigation and minute observation very rarely equalled.

The second article is a full return of operations on the eye during the years '48, '49, '50 and '51, drawn up by Dr. Martin, the Calcutta Opthalmic Surgeon. In this paper, Dr. M. enters minutely into all the varieties of the various operations, giving the numbers cured, relieved, &c., and from his Tables the operation for cataract by "depression," appears in Bengal to have been far more satisfactory and successful than that by "extraction," the one much preferred in Europe.

The next article is a set of notes, and a full report on the treatment of that serious affection "Tetanus," in which "Locked-Jaw" and fearful Cramps and Spasms constitute only a portion of the unfortunate patient's sufferings. These interesting notes are drawn up by that able physician Dr. J. Jackson.

The fourth paper in *The Annals*, is one possessing much of interest to the general reader; consisting, as it does, of Medical Notes on a people, many of whom have lately become our fellow subjects, namely, the Burmese. Dr. Waring writes in an agreeable and amusing strain: shows by Tables, that the Burmese females do not reach womanhood at all earlier than European women do; and that they do not fade and grow old anything like so early as the women of Hindostan do. His description of a Burman lady's lying in, should be told in his own words.—"The 'customs of the Burmese at confinements, are not uninteresting, 'either in a medical or general point of view. The word in the 'Burmese language denoting 'to be confined,' translated literally, 'signifies 'to be roasted,' and no word could have been chosen to 'convey a clearer idea of the proceedings on these occasions. At 'the expiration of the seventh month of pregnancy, one hundred 'large sticks or logs are purchased in anticipation of the event, and 'directly the woman is seized with labour pains, a huge fire is lighted on a small moveable platform, which is ready for the occasion, 'and is placed close to the left side of the woman: the heat given 'out by this pile of blazing wood is intense, and the room is not 'rendered cooler, or the atmosphere more agreeable, by every window 'being religiously closed, and by being crowded with all the woman's 'relatives and friends, male and female. If the patient's family be 'sufficiently rich, the attendance of a Bhoodist Brahmin is secured, 'who places himself at the woman's head, and remains during 'the whole labour, in order to ward off the approach of evil 'spirits. An old woman generally acts as accoucheur; if every 'thing goes on right, no one interferes, nature being allowed to have 'its sway uninterruptedly; but if the labour exceeds an ordinary 'period, a few of the most powerful male relatives are called upon 'to make violent pressure on the abdomen, from above downwards, 'with the view of pushing the child out.

* * * * * * *

"Every Burmese woman swears by the efficacy of this measure 'and ascribes it solely to the pressure employed. During the whole

'process, the woman is placed on her back, and is not allowed to 'turn on either side. The umbilical cord is tied à l' Anglais, and 'divided by a see-saw motion with a piece of bamboo split up the 'middle ; forming a most rude pair of scissors. This being accom-'plished, the fire is increased, and for seven days is kept up with 'unabated vigour.

And again :—" I found my patient lying close to a huge fire, per-'haps within two feet of it, all the windows and doors closed, and the 'heat in consequence was suffocating. The thermometer, placed in the 'centre of the room, stood at 100 Fahrenheit. On the second morning 'after her confinement, I found the patient's face so much swollen and puffed, that I could hardly recognize her, the skin was hot and dry, pulse about 120°. The girl's relatives assured me that this appearance 'was nothing of consequence, that almost every Burmese woman pre-'sented a similar strange aspect after lying by the fire for the two or 'three days, and that it would disappear altogether when the fire was 'extinguished. On the fourth morning, the swelling still continuing, 'I found the whole body covered with a red miliary eruption, which 'gave rise to intense itching, but this I was likewise informed was very 'common amongst the Burmese women, and was looked upon rather 'as a favourable symptom. It ought not to be omitted that daily at 'mid-day, the girl was supported to a corner of the apartment, and 'had several chatties (buckets) of warm water thrown over her 'whole person, after which she was washed with a strong solution 'of turmeric, which gave her a most strange appearance. This 'state of things continued until the seventh day, when the windows 'were opened, and the fire decreased ; and I own that I was not 'a little surprised as well as pleased to find all the untoward 'symptoms, the swelling of the body, the eruption, the hot dry skin, 'the small rapid pulse, and the dyspnœa (from which she had 'suffered considerably), greatly diminished, and in a few days she 'was able to walk about, and resume her avocations as if nothing 'had occurred : The girl perfectly recovered."

As regards the age to which the juvenile Burman draws sustenance from the maternal font : he says :—

"Nothing is perhaps more calculated to excite surprise in the mind of a newly arrived medical man in this town, than to witness the lengthened periods to which lactation is carried, with apparent impunity, at least as far as the infant is concerned. No certain period is fixed, the general rule being to suckle one child, until the mother is several months advanced in pregnancy with her next, but even this rule is not strictly attended to. I have, in more than one instance, seen two children, one a sturdy young urchin of five or six years old, and the other an infant of as many months, engaged in drawing sustenance from the mother at the same time. Three years is by no means an uncommon age at which to wean a child, but instances have come under my notice, of which notes were made at the time, in which lactation was

'prolonged to four years and six months, to five years, and to six 'years respectively. The last mentioned varied the amusement of 'sucking, by an occasional whiff of a cigar! The prolonged lactation 'does not appear to affect the child in any way; a finer set of chil-'dren cannot be seen, but it tells wonderfully upon the constitution 'and outward appearance of the mother."

Pinched waists, and padded hips, bare bosoms and almost uncovered feet, and all their terrible effects, are not, it appears, peculiarities confined to European ladies, for Dr. W. tells us that "artificial deformities, however, are every where met with; the slender waist of the English lady, the small foot of the Chinese, and the elongated septum nasi of the New Hollander, have their representatives amongst the Burmese. The principal artificial deformity of the women is flattened bosoms, in order that their dress may sit properly across the chest. When a girl arrives at the age of puberty, the mammæ are daily pressed downwards, and they soon lose their rotundity and assume a pendulous form, which, according to English ideas, is far from becoming. Another deformity which they cultivate (in common with the male part of the community,) is boring the lobes of the ears, and wearing in the apertures a large round ornament of either wood, glass, or gold; this, which is called a Na-doung, is often an inch in diameter, and when of gold, it is often very heavy, weighing from an ounce to two ounces. They begin to bore the holes in the ear in early childhood, at first only a single straw is introduced, subsequently, at intervals of a week or ten days, an extra straw is added, until the aperture is sufficiently large to admit of a dozen or two, when it is considered to have attained its proper size. Tattooing is only practised by the men, and in them is confined to a space extending from the waist (on a line with the umbilicus) to the knee. The devices are in some instances very good, and executed with great skill. The men, whilst young, never allow the hair to grow on the face, but pluck out the rudiments of beard and moustache directly they make their appearance; as a species of compensation however, they allow the hair of the head to grow as long as it will, and when it has attained, which it often does, a length of three, four, or even five feet, they bind it up very carefully with their head dress."

The Burmese men and women would appear utterly to disregard the many examples set them, according to Shelley in his *Love's Philosophy*, by fountains, rivers, winds, sunlight, moonbeams, &c, which, he says, all kiss and clasp one another! For we are, alas! told that, "the Burmans are one of the very few nations, who never kiss each other," that they have no such agreeable and sensible practice, nor any word in their language to express its meaning, breathe its joys, or pourtray its sweets; we learn, however, that they have "a somewhat analogous custom (?) in nose-rubbing:" substi-

tuting the nose for the lips—" they place it near the object of their affection, and take a prolonged sniff!"

In speaking of Intermittent Fever, Dr. W. gives a Table at page 103, showing the hours at which the febrile paroxysm most usually occurs: and he notices the tendency that cases occurring in the same house have to assume identically the same peculiarities in their course.

'Doctoring' 'twould seem,—is a flourishing calling rather, for we are told that "the number of native doctors is immense, and the 'Burmese, who are generally very fond of medicine, go about from 'one doctor to another, paying a fee of from sixpence to a shilling, 'and sometimes even more, for every consultation. When the patient 'is in the opinion of the doctor about to die, he is recommended to ''call the English physician;' if the patient then die, all the blame 'is laid upon the employment of foreign medicines, &c., if he re-'cover, all the credit is unblushingly ascribed to the remedies which 'had been previously administered. The returns of the Civil Hos-'pital, however, clearly show that there is a great and daily in-'creasing confidence in European practice."

"In Surgery, the native doctor is altogether at fault, and in sur-'gical cases the Burmese resort to English practice, most unhesi-'tatingly. The smallest operation, even the opening of an abscess, 'fills them with wonder, and the operation of paracentesis abdominis, 'which I performed on a native four or five times, gained for me 'the highest reputation, the most respectable inhabitants of the 'place requesting as a favour to be allowed to be present. I have 'never met with a people who, as a general rule, bear the pain of 'operation with more patience, and less expression of feeling than 'the Burmese.'

"And the fee rules would appear on the whole, satisfactory, for 'the law regarding the remuneration to doctors is laid down in the 'Laws of Menoo, book iii., sect. 19. 'Oh king! if any one shall call 'a doctor to prescribe for a sick person, and the doctor, for the sake 'of the pay, or to relieve the sick person, shall administer medicine 'to him; or if the doctor is called to wash the patient's head or 'avert the evil influence of the stars, and shall go where he is 'called, and holding a small knife or stile for writing, shall only lay 'hold of the bannisters or ascend the stairs, and if the sick man 'before his arrival shall obtain relief, and on recovery shall ask, 'Did 'you use any charm? Did you give me one of your pills? Did you 'wash my head?' or avert the evil influence of the stars, and, in-'sensible to friendship, shall refrain from paying, if the doctor have 'an affection for him, he may get off paying, but if not, he shall pay 'five tickals of silver. If the patient wish to get off the five tickals, 'he shall be made to pay three tickals of silver. If a good doctor 'reach the bannisters, stairs, or door, and a good pleader, though he 'do not state the case, if he only put up the sleeves of his jacket or 'sit down (preparatory to speaking) they shall be paid.' This is

'probably the oldest law relating to the payment of doctors extant, 'the Laws of Menoo being generally supposed to have been com- 'piled centuries before our Christian era."

Next in order in *the Annals*, are Notes on Cholera, by Dr. J. Macpherson, in which details of some cases terminating in a very unusual manner, are given.

Then follow some memoranda on the Fever common in Cabul, from 1839 to 1842: and at Ferozepore in 1844 and 1845, by Dr. George Rae, which will repay the professional reader's perusal.

Next comes an extract from a Superintending Surgeon's Report, recommending strongly Dr. Mackinnon's single large dose (30 gr.) of Quinine "at the sweating stage," in the treatment of Intermittent Fever.

And this is followed by the Annual Report of that famous institution, the Madras lying-in hospital, for 1852.

Next comes a Report of the removal of a large bony tumour, from the face of a young Brahmin, by Dr. Webb. This paper is illustrated by a well executed coloured lithograph of the poor patient's face, and of the knife employed in the operation.

Dr. Fayrer then reports the particulars of a hip-joint amputation in a Burman, followed by locked-jaw, and terminating fatally.

Then follows an important paper by Dr. J. R. Bedford, on "Small- 'pox, Vaccination and Inoculation in India." Dr. B. enters very fully into the subject, shows that Inoculation with *Small-pox* virus is in common and general use in many parts of India, especially in lower Bengal, and he strongly recommends that the state be very careful to introduce Vaccination thoroughly, and to be sure of the people's full confidence in *its* efficacy, ere venturing to put down, by any legal enactment, the practice of Inoculation. He says:—

"If Government were called upon to enact a sanitary law for a 'nation utterly unprotected by any prophylactic against Small-pox, 'it is not to be doubted for a moment that Vaccination should 'be selected to the utter exclusion of Inoculation; but when, as it 'will be seen hereafter, so very large a proportion of the population 'is already protected by the latter, we may judiciously hesitate ere 'such legislation be recommended."

Dr. B. gives us rather startling information, when he says at page 202.

"The mutual relations of Variola and Vaccinia are full of interest, 'and deserve to be sedulously studied. Experience would seem to 'shew that, if the system be occupied by either disease, the other 'may be set up in it, and both pursue a modified course.

"It is not a little remarkable that Dr. Gregory, who must be at 'once conceded to have paid as much attention to the subject as 'any living physician, should have enunciated an opinion, 1st, that 'vaccination is a certain preventive of Small-pox up to the age of 'puberty only; and, 2nd, that after puberty, the liability to Small-

'pox is again developed in the constitution, a tendency which re-
'vaccination is powerless to nullify, but which is only to be met
'by Inoculation with Small-pox matter, an operation resulting in a
'disease neither pustular nor vesicular, but popular, and distinct
'from both Vaccinia and Variola, as innocent as the former, and per-
'fectly protective for the remainder of life.

"This extraordinary proposition, so opposed to general medical
'opinion, was unsupported by facts, although Dr. Gregory assured
'his hearers, that experiments upon the subject had been made in
'Italy, and that his own experience entirely supported it. Now, put-
'ting all statistical argument on one side, it certainly appears
'opposed to all physiological probability, that Vaccinia should
'exercise a protective influence at one period of life and not at
'another. It is of course quite possible that the changes undergone
'at puberty may revolutionize the system, and thus the protective
'power of vaccinia may be lost, but it is most difficult to understand
'that a constitution so renewed should be unsusceptible of fresh ap-
'plication of the influence."

And at page 208 :—

"The value of Inoculation, under certain conditions, is well illus-
'trated by the following extract from the *New York Medical Times*,
'reported in the *Lancet* of January 3, 1852. 'An interesting in-
'stance of the value of Inoculation, under certain circumstances, has
'just occurred among the Sac and Fox Indians. The Small-pox,
'which is usually so fatal to the aboriginal race, and which some-
'times sweeps away whole tribes at once, recently appeared
'in the Sac and Fox community, and they were induced to diet, en-
'camp together, and be inoculated with small-pox virus. Fifteen
'hundred out of twenty-six hundred, submitted to the operation, and
'not one died that was not previously affected with the disease.
'About 110 had died before this measure was adopted. None took
'the disease who had been previously vaccinated.'"

Again at the 209th page :—

"The only objection to Inoculation lies in the asserted dangers at-
'tendant upon the operation, and its acting as a focus of contagion.
'Before attempting to advocate its legalized performance in Bengal,
'it becomes essential therefore to examine by the light of statistical
'data, into the truth of these assumed facts. If it can be shewn that
'Inoculation is dangerous to life beyond a small fraction per cent.,
'or that it is followed by injurious consequences to present or future
'health, no amount of argument, founded upon the ignorant pre-
'possession of the inhabitants of Bengal, should suffice to influence
'our opinion. But if, on the other hand, it can be approximately de-
'monstrated that the mortality is infinitely small, and the evil in-
'fluence upon health extremely light, it may be worthy of considera-
'tion, as I have above asked, whether, under the peculiar social cir-
'cumstances of the people, it might not be desirable to carry it out

'under Government supervision. I am anxious to be distinctly 'understood as offering no positive opinion upon the subject in the 'present stage of inquiry."

And at page 226—

"By the Census of Great Britain, taken in 1851, I find that the 'London division contains a population of 1,257,910. The Eighth 'Annual Report of the Registrar-General of England, assigns to 'London, which I assume to be conterminous with the London 'Census Division, 909 deaths in 1845, and 257 in 1846 from Small-'pox, thus giving a respective ratio of 7.2 and 2.8 'Small-pox 'deaths' to every 10,000 of the population."

"The last Calcutta Census on the other hand, taken in May, 1850, 'gives a total population of 413,182, from which, if we deduct '10,818 for Europeans and Eurasians, we get a remainder of '402,364 natives. Now, adding together the total deaths by Small-'pox in the non-epidemic years, to be found in Table A. of Report 'of Small-pox Commissioners (*page* 9,) we get a mean mortality 'of fifty-two Small-pox deaths per annum, or 1.2 per 10,000 of the po-'pulation. So that, if these calculations be correct, we obtain the re-'markable result of there being a lower Small-pox mortality in 'Calcutta, with seventy inoculators assiduously at work, than exists in 'London, where such an individual is not to be found. There are 'some slight elements of fallacy, inasmuch as the years of observa-'tion are distinct from those of the census, and the population of 'London probably increases more rapidly than that of Calcutta. 'Allowing for these, however, it still seems to leave the broad fact 'untouched, that the average mortality from Small-pox in Calcutta 'does not exceed that of London. If this be conceded, it at once 'appears that the system of Inoculation in non-epidemic years, 'exerts no influence in spreading Small-pox."

At page 231:—

"The thing (Inoculation) is not to be got rid of by forbidding it, 'and we dare not forbid it before having provided the substitute. 'Whenever a ticcadar is removed, Government must place a vacci-'nator, otherwise we increase the evil; for if we wholly or partially 'suppress Inoculation, and fail to introduce Vaccination to a like 'extent, we must leave a larger proportion unprotected; and, when 'an epidemic does come, it will be with a vengeance. Inoculation is 'not a curse, it is a blessing, and was so considered in England, till 'vaccination superseded it, and it is so here, till the people understand 'and take to its substitute. Let the schoolmaster go abroad a little 'longer, and when the spirit of the age calls for a change, when 'we have convinced the people generally that what we recom-'mend will indeed secure them from Small-pox, and when we 'have supplied men who will really vaccinate and not inocu-'late;" (as they all do at and near Simla) "in short, when we have 'made it a want of the people, then we can carry Vaccination on 'the rising tide of popular belief to any extent, and then, if it is

'thought proper, let us have an enactment forbidding Inoculation, to 'finish the business; but to begin thus, with a chance of success, 'appears impossible.'

The author concludes his able paper with these deductions:—

"That the remotely injurious effects of Inoculation appear to 'have been much overstated.

"That the proportionate success of Vaccination in Bengal and the 'Hills throughout the year, appears to equal that of England, and 'that no satisfactory evidence of its being less powerfully protective, 'has been yet shewn.

"That Vaccination is impracticable in the North-West Provinces 'during the hot season.

"That it is an urgent requirement of the Public Health, that 'protection of some kind should be universally diffused, and made 'compulsory, for which purpose it is essential that well instructed 'vaccinators, superintended by European officers, should personally 'visit every town and village in the North West Provinces, during 'the cold-season; whilst, taking the peculiar circumstances of Ben-'gal into account, it may be more desirable to omit Vaccination al-'together in that province, and to substitute Inoculation properly 'superintended.

"That no effectual sanitary progress can be made in India, until 'the Government establish a system of Death Registration for the 'principal towns of each zillah."

This valuable paper is followed by a brief description of the Government Dispensaries in Bengal, by Dr. K. Mackinnon; and by an interesting account of the recent Scarlet-eruptive Fever in Calcutta, by Dr. Edward Goodeve; Dr. Chuckerbutty next describes a remarkable case of Kidney Disease, and shows clearly what the exact locality of the affection must have been; then Dr. C. Mackinnon recommends the "Kameyla," a drug procurable in all the bazars of Upper India, used as a dye by the natives, as a very useful remedy, in two or three drachm doses, in cases of Tape-worm. Next follow an "extract from the Annual Sick Report of H. M.'s 3rd Dragoons," "a case of Aneurism," and one of "a musket-ball in the heart," occurring recently in Burmah; some interesting remarks by Dr. Norman Chevers, on a "Congenital Malformation," and a very excellent paper by Dr. A. Grant, on the all-important "Hill Diarrhœa and Dysentery," and this very carefully put together first number of the *The Indian Medical Annals*, is concluded with a Bibliographical Record and a series of brief critical notices.

The second Number of *The Medical Annals* appeared on the 20th April. In weight and number of pages, it is far more bulky than its predecessor; though its contents, while more voluminous, are perhaps hardly so generally interesting as those of the first Number.

From facts adduced in the first paper, on a full Medical History of Her Majesty's 80th, it appears that this regiment suffered much more in the year ending March, 1853, than it had done during any

previous one of its Indian service, inclusive of the bloody battles on the Sutledge, and of a year passed in the old, unventilated, unverandahed bomb-proof barracks at Lahore; but Mr. Taylor, the Surgeon, considers both sickness and mortality as due far more to the peculiar irksome nature of the military duty, than to any climatic influence or disadvantages.

We have been startled and grieved to learn, that the poor men, at the storming of "Martaban," were buckled up in thick cloth jackets, tight leathern stocks, and the other barbarous and muscle-cramping paraphernalia of our military uniform, though "the morning was a 'very close one." "Who could wonder at many a man so galled and 'fretted, falling out faint, exhausted, vomiting, insensible, and epilep-'tic?" It was on this occasion, too, we believe, that the officers were directed to wear Albert shakoes, cocked hats, and tight coats and sword belts! Absurdity of this kind brings about more disease and death than the enemy's balls and chain shot, shell or shrapnel; and does more to cripple a corps' efficiency than the ills of many a bad climate! When *will* such button and tape nonsense, and such cruelly mischievous pseudo-discipline be put down for good and for ever? Loud complaints are made of the unnecessarily prolonged issue of salt provisions; and of other easily avoidable discomforts to which the men were subjected: and vehement regrets are expressed at the absence, amongst the medical comforts, of the flesh and milk extracts, the beef and biscuit, soup and bouilli, in lieu of the salt-beef and pork, so bowel-disordering and so eminently ill-adapted for food in hot countries. The detail of diseases and the memoranda of their treatment, will hardly interest the general, though they will well repay the professional, reader. The opinion that the climate of Pegu is far preferable to that of Lower Bengal, would appear to be strongly and generally held by the Doctors.

The second paper—a good one, by Mr. Barry—on cholera, strongly recommends grain doses of the Nitrate of Silver in solution; to be followed by Quinine, Calomel, Rhubarb and Magnesia.

The next article, by Mr. Hare, vehemently lauds copious tepid and warm-water enemata in Dysentery; and scruple doses of Quinine in all stages of Fever.

Then follow some very judicious and pertinent remarks, by Mr. Campbell, on the abuse of Purgatives.

The next article is an account, by Mr. Green, of Hill-diarrhœa among the Europeans from Kussowlie and Subathoo.* And it is followed by a Note by Dr. Ebden on the internal uses of the Nausaada, of every village bazar.

The surgical and medical cases recorded will well repay the professional reader's careful perusal. The one of that peculiar affection,

* The disease, though, is considered as decidedly *not* due to the Hill barracks, as an Ex-Commander-in-Chief has declared it to have been: down at Ferozepore, in 1848-49, the disease grew worse.

'Sarcina Ventriculi,' appears to have happily and readily yielded to soda and bitters.

Dr. Chevers's suggestion for arresting Mercurialism's ill effects with Iodine, appears an important one. The authors of the highly important and interesting report on that terrible scourge, Mahamurrie, have deduced, after very careful observation, these practical conclusions. 1. That Mahamurrie and plague are identical. 2. That the disease is of local origin, is capable of transmission from person to person, and place to place. 3. That it is extending, and that no sufficient grounds exist for the supposition that it will not be developed in surrounding countries. 4. That the local causes should be removed, and sanitory measures be introduced; when, probably, the disease may be gradually eradicated, or modified in severity. 5. That if dealt with early, the disease may prove curable; and that the people themselves may use the remedy. The tone and spirit of this report, as a whole, are very pleasing.

Dr. Bedford's tables, showing the disease amongst the denizens of the Bengal Jails, will much interest those, (and they should be more numerous than they so unhappily are,) who attend to this important subject, daily calling loudly for the care and aid of the humane. They show in-door labor to be more healthful than out-door, as has been indisputably proved in the Punjab.*

We should be very glad to see others of the many useful indigenous drugs, described as the 'Chaulmoogra' has been by Dr. Mouat. Dr. McPherson's account of insanity as prevailing among Europeans and Eurasians in Bengal, will be read with painful interest. The poor patients are, we observe, found "to dislike natives, and when they suspect conspiracies, notions of thugs, &c., are very common;" while some are remarkable for their habitual vanity and conceit.

The remarks, by Dr. Chevers, on "Obliterated Carotid Arteries" are, too, of great interest, and carefully drawn up. We may quote from this paper an instance of what we fear is not so rare as, for the honor of the profession, we should desire it to be.

"At so late a stage of this enquiry (says Dr. Chevers) any allusion to the subject is scarcely called for. Still I cannot but express regret that, in Mr. Guthrie's "commentary," and throughout Mr. Erichsen's recent analysis of the subject (in which that gentleman's leading conclusions, nay, even his expressions, are almost identical with my own, as recorded nine years since) the deductions of Dr.

* This is a very valuable paper, but its Tables are susceptible of simplification. We agree with its author in deeming mere cubic space, of less consequence than free lateral ventilation, so that 'draughts' be avoided. That pernicious thing, 'the night-chain,' should of course be put down in every jail. 'Tis but a convenience to lazy and sleepy guards. Agreeing with the author that the present jail diet is as low as it can be, we should be glad to see measures taken, in every jail, to secure the prisoners against peculation by cooks and others We should be glad were the 'weighing of prisoners' at regular intervals, ordered as a rule in every jail throughout India. And very much pleased, too, if all civil surgeons and others in Medical charge of jails, would emulate the example of the Surgeon of the Rajshahye jail.

Morris, of Philadelphia, who admitted in the most candid manner that his results on this practical question were principally derived from my Memoir, are alone referred to. I feel confident that this has been a mere oversight in the part of each of these authorities. Still, although the matter may be readily enough adjusted in the case of my cotemporary, I must deem my labors unfortunate in having escaped the notice of the first Military Surgeon of the age."

We have taken the trouble to verify the statement of Dr. Chevers as to the identity of Dr. Erichsen's leading conclusions and expressions with his own; and we confess that we do not quite share his "confidence," that the omission of all reference to Dr. Chevers, and the ascription to Dr. Norris of those views which *he* admits that he derived from Dr. Chevers, are merely accidental. Alas that such things should tarnish the fair fame of a noble profession!

Though deeming some of the papers in this Number rather too profuse and unnecessarily elaborate in detail, we still would be understood to consider it as ranking fairly with its October brother; and we have been quite as much pleased with its style and subject matter, as we were with those of the first Number of *The Annals*.

Earnestly and sincerely do we wish the conductors of this Medical Journal every success; and heartily do we hope that they, and their professional brethren, will not allow the Medical art in Bengal, ever again to be without its own Journal; and that they all will strive to render the future Numbers of their *Annals*, as interesting and as valuable as these two Numbers are.

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XIII. —Notes on the Manufacture of Salt in the Tumlook Agency. Report on the Coal-mines of Lahadong—Memorandum on the Results of an examination of Gold Dust and Gold from Shuy-Gween. Calcutta, 1853.

The over-crowded state of our pages of late has prevented our noticing many works that have been sent us from time to time, by their authors or publishers; and among others, the Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government. Nor can we do much more now than call the attention of our readers to Mr. H. C. Hamilton's Notes on the Salt manufacture in the Tumlook agency. It is an admirable specimen of a report, full of the most minute details, yet very interesting even to those who do not care much for tabular statements of quantities and prices; and in some places almost amusing. The whole process of the manufacture, weighing and conveyance, the standing and pay of every man employed, are detailed

with a particularity that is quite refreshing, and that indicates, what indeed we have long known, that Mr. Hamilton has his heart thoroughly in his work, and that nothing is unimportant in his estimation which can bear upon the successful carrying out of the trust reposed in him.

The following extract will give an idea of the style of the Report :—

As soon as any golah is filled, the mass of salt is adulled or stamped all over with the Intendant's audul after which the agent's *guy* or check audul is fixed thereupon The golah is then closed in the presence of the Agent or his assistant, the doors, one at either end, are sealed with the Agent's seal and fastened with two padlocks , the key of one lock, together with the audul, remaining in the Intendant's possession, and the key of the other locks, together with the seal and check audul, remaining in charge of the Agent

The whole of the salt stores at Ghaut Narainpore, are under the exclusive charge of the Intendant, who receives a salary of Rupees 250 per mensem, a wastage allowance of 2½ per cent to cover deficiencies arising from atmospheric causes, being also granted to him Some years since, this allowance was considerably exceeded, but of late the average deficit on the out-turn weighment of each golah has not been above a few maunds, so that neither the Government nor the Intendant have lost anything.

No Salt is sold by the Agent, but for the supply of this District under the retail system which is in force, and with the exception of about 20,000 maunds which are required for this purpose, the whole stock is advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* The rate at present is fixed at Rupees 318 per 100 maunds, and it is disposed of at the Office of the Board of Revenue in the following manner.

When any merchant is desirous of purchasing salt, he pays into the General Treasury the amount of his contemplated purchase at the above rate. In return, he obtains a receipt, which he presents with a written application at the Office of the Board of Revenue, and in exchange, he receives a document called a *chan tunkha*, or delivery order on the salt Agent of Tumlook, to deliver over to the merchant the quantity of salt he has purchased and paid for, a *rowannah* or pass to protect the salt, (after delivery) in transit through the Salt Chowkies or Preventive limits, being simultaneously granted to the purchaser by the Board of Revenue.

On presenting the *tunkah* and rowannah at the office, an order is written on the back of the *tunkha* for the Intendant at Ghaut Narainpore to have the quantity of salt specified therein, weighed off to the merchant, or his gomastah , and as soon as the gomastah has procured boats, carts or bullocks, as the case may be, he takes delivery, and grants a receipt for the salt, after which a chellaun is granted to him from the Agent's office (on return of the *tunkha* from the Intendant) shewing particulars of the salt, mode of transport, &c.

Merchants are allowed to keep their salt purchased from the golahs, unclaimed, and undelivered, for ninety days, after which period they are obliged to pay golah rent to Government at the rate of 4 rupees per mensem for every 100 maunds *Tunkhas* and rowannahs issued by the Board of Revenue, are purchased and sold in the Calcutta markets like any other Government acknowledgment, and no small profit is obtained by these transactions.

The cargoes of boats laden at Ghaut Narainpore are stamped over by the Nazir of this Agency, with an audul of the device given on the margin, and seals are affixed to all bags of salt transported by land or carts, or by bullocks.

Daily advices are received from the Board of Revenue of such sales as are effected at their office, and Registers are kept of all rowannahs and chellaans which pass through this Agency , these two documents are kept with the salt under charge of manjees of boats or chuprunders, but "*chars*" or "*tunkhahs*' are forwarded monthly to the Revenue Accountant, as vouchers in proof of the deliveries of salt from Ghaut Narainpore.

As soon as boats are cleared and passed at the Ghaut they are no longer under the control of the Agent, but come under the serveillance of the Chowkey or Preventive Department, which Department is quite distinct from the Agency. The Agent is, however, Ex-Officio Superintendent of Salt Chowkies within his own limits, and an establishment of six Darogahs and four independent Mohurirs, aided by a staff of thirty-two Chaprassies and seventy-four Chowkeedars, is entertained in this Division for the suppression of smuggling and to prevent the vend of contraband salt.

The Bhilsa Topes; or Buddhist Monuments of Central India, comprising a brief Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Buddhism; with an account of the opening and examination of the various groupes of topes around Bhilsa. By Brevet-Major Alexander Cunningham, Bengal Engineers. London, 1854.

We hope to be able to devote an article to this important work in an early Number. In the mean time we can only express, in the most general terms, our congratulation to the author on having so successfully completed his laborious survey of these most interesting monuments, and having laid the results of that survey before the public in so elegant a volume. One would imagine that the Asiatic Society would regard it as entirely within its province to aid in the prosecution of such enquiries, and in the publication of their results. But it seems hard to say what that Society does regard as its province. It has been stated in a London Periodical that this book has been published at the expense of the Government, and great *Kudas* has been bestowed upon them for their liberality in the matter. Whether this were intended seriously, the reviewer having been misinformed as to the facts of the case, or whether he took this method of delicately hinting to the Government what course of procedure on their part would be commendable, we have no means of ascertaining. If the latter were the state of the case, the plan adopted seems to have been successful, since we learn that while Major Cunningham produced his work at his own expense and risk, and with little prospect of reimbursement, the Court of Directors have, since its publication, purchased a hundred copies of it. This is good.

Zohráb; or, a Midsummer Day's Dream; and other Poems, by W. T. Thornton. London. Longman. 1854.

The first poem in Mr. Thornton's little volume is pleasantly and fancifully written. It is considerably above the average of ordinary magazine verses; and, though Mr. Thornton cannot take rank with the real craftsmen, he occupies a respectable place among those accomplished persons of both sexes, who "write at home at ease.' His own estimate is higher; for, in his preface, he very honestly writes, "I believe my attempts in verse to be not inferior to those 'of many other authors, whose productions have been received with 'considerable favour by the public." The truth is, that he mistakes strong feeling, a keen enjoyment of the poetical, and fluency and even grace of expression, for the true gift of utterance—that mysterious inspiration which strikes the key notes of other minds, and makes the world feel with the singer

Mr. Thornton, it appears, is related, on his mother's side, to a Persian family, named Zohráb, and would fain trace his descent from Zohráb, the gallant and ill-fated son of the Persian hero, Rustum. He selects, accordingly, the episode of the combat of Rustum and Zohráb, and the death of the son by the hand of the unconscious father, from Ferdusi, and sets it up in facile and graceful English octo syllabics. The opening of the poem is a very favourable specimen of his powers:—

In the cool shadow, which, midway
Up Ashley's hill, twin beeches throw,
Upon the new-mown sward I lay
And gazed upon the vale below,
Where, frolicking through flowery meads,
Smooth stones and tufted reeds among,
Young Exe his jocund waters leads
And prattles as he trips along.

A lovely vale, nor lovelier ever
Than while, as then, the noonday sun
Expends his strength in vain endeavour
To mar it; for, though elsewhere, none
But, drooping, pined beneath his power,
Here his fierce radiance only drew
Still livelier tints from hill and bower,
Made earth more green, the stream more blue.

* * * *

But now, though gazing steadfastly
On blooming field and shining river,
The landscape vainly bids the eye
Its message to the mind deliver.
I gaze, but see not; for a spell,
Wrought by the volume in my hand,
Has done its mystic office well,
And borne me to the Magian's land.