

constant hard work and the fierce heat which prevailed, had become thoroughly exhausted : but fresh laurels were in store for them. The Ranees of Jhansy had joined Tantia Tópee at Kalpy, where the rebel army had again concentrated, to the number of 20,000 men, and had thrown up entrenchments about the town of Koonch. Here, on May 7, they were attacked by Sir Hugh ; who, piercing

Battle of
Koonch.

their strong line of defence in the centre, forced them to retire, which they did in good order, until pursued

Rout of the
rebels.

by the cavalry and horse-artillery their ranks were shattered, and the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry, which had mutinied at Jubbulpoor in September, killed almost to a man.

Nine guns were taken, with all their stores and ammunition, and 600 Sepoys were slain on the field ; the number of wounded being as usual, impossible to ascertain. It was hopeless to do more on account of the heat, which affected alike victors and vanquished. The men had marched and fought for sixteen hours with the thermometer at 115° in the shade, but the rebels were neverthe-

Trifling

English loss.

less pursued for eight miles. Sir Hugh Rose, on this day, had four successive attacks of sunstroke, and was recovered with difficulty, and forty-six men were stricken down ; but only five were killed, and twenty-six wounded, in the action.

The rebel forces rallied again at Kalpy, a strong fort on the Jumna, and now amounted to 15,000 men ; and on

Attack on
Kalpy.

May 19, supported by a column from Cawnpoor under Colonel Maxwell, and another from the northward under Colonel Riddell, the place was attacked. On the 20th, the rebel army made a spirited sally upon Sir Hugh's force, but were beaten back. On the 22nd, being between a double fire, they again attacked Sir Hugh's troops, and were only driven into the town after an obstinate combat, suffering very heavily under the charges of cavalry and

Assault of
Kalpy.

the guns of the horse-artillery. All that night, Kalpy was cannonaded by Maxwell, and early on the morning of the 23rd, Sir Hugh Rose's troops advanced to assault the town in two columns ; but they encountered no resistance, for the

Capture of
the rebel
arsenal.

enemy had fled, and the whole of the great rebel arsenal was taken possession of. Here were found fifty guns, with an immense quantity of stores, powder and ammunition. Nor did the rebels escape free : followed by the cavalry under Gall, and guns under Lightfoot, the pursuit was maintained, the Sepoys were cut down by hundreds, and every gun they possessed brought into camp.

Supposing that the labours of the Central India field force had come to an end, Sir Hugh Rose issued an order which is too remarkable to be omitted. 'Soldiers!' wrote Sir Hugh, 'you have marched more than a thousand

Sir Hugh
Rose's
general
order.

miles, and taken more than a hundred guns. You have forced your way through mountain passes and intricate jungles, and over rivers; you have captured the strongest forts and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met him; you have restored extensive districts to the Government, and peace and order now reign where before, for twelve months, were tyranny and rebellion; you have done all this, and you have never had a check. I thank you with all my sincerity for your bravery, your devotion and your discipline. When you first marched, I told you, that you, as British soldiers, had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you, but that courage without discipline was of no avail; and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watchword. You have attended to my orders. In hardships, in temptations and in dangers you have obeyed your general, and you have never left your ranks. You have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenceless, of foes as well as friends. I have seen you, in the ardour of combat, preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and it is this which has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes without doubt that you will find no place to equal the glory of your arms.' The whole campaign, indeed, formed an exploit never surpassed in Indian warfare, and by few in the history of war.

But the labours of the force were not yet over. After his defeat at Koonch, Tantia Tópee had proceeded secretly to Gwalior, ^{Tantia Tópee} which was fixed as the next rallying point of the rebel ^{at Gwalior.} army, and organised a conspiracy against Sindia, to be supported by the rebel troops as they should arrive. It was discovered by the Máhárajah and his minister, Dinkur Ráo, who advised a defensive policy till the arrival of British troops from Agra; but Sindia, eager to strike a blow at his faithless contingent ^{Sindia} and their comrades, and considering them to have lost ^{attacks} organisation and spirit by the defeats they had endured—relying ^{the rebels,} also on his household troops, whom he believed faithful—attacked the enemy at Barragaom on June 1, with 8,000 men and twenty-four guns. The result was unfortunate; Sindia's troops either joined the rebel forces, or returned to camp, and his army melted away, leaving him with a comparatively ^{and is de-} small escort. His special bodyguard, indeed, fought ^{serted by} with their old Mahratta spirit, and suffered heavily; but it was ^{his} impossible to rally the rest, and equally so to return to Gwalior. ^{troops.} Sindia therefore rode off in the direction of Dhólpoor, ^{Gwalior} on the Agra road, where, after providing for the safety ^{occupied by} of the Baiza Bye and the Ranees, Dinkur Ráo joined ^{the rebels.}

him in the evening. Gwalior, with all its guns, stores, and treasure, was now lost. Means of re-equipment of the rebel forces were ample, and speedily used; and the Nāna Sahib of Bithoor was proclaimed Peshwah. Six months' pay was issued to the troops, and thus, as it were, a new army of 18,000 men, with all the famous Gwalior artillery, rose out of the ruins of the old, more powerful in resources than its predecessors.

When this astounding news reached Sir Hugh Rose, he resumed the command he had laid down, and leaving General Whitlock in charge of Kalpy, marched with two brigades under Stuart and Napier for Gwalior, on June 7; and being joined by a brigade from Agra under Colonel Riddell, the enemy was attacked in their post of the Morar cantonments on the 16th, and driven from it with heavy loss. It was a surprise; for the rebel Sepoys could not believe that troops which had already made a long night march, would assault them without rest; but the English brigades were led into the action without halting. Sir Hugh now waited the junction of Brigadier Smith's column from the westward, which came up in the course of the 17th, driving the enemy before him, from all the heights south of the city; and in the last charge by a squadron of the 8th Hussars attached to the

force, the fierce Ranee of Jhansy, Lukshmee Bye, was killed by a trooper, without her sex being discovered. Dressed in male attire, she had been present in every action since her escape from Jhansy. With her, was killed another lady, supposed to be her sister, but who proved to have been a concubine of the late rajah. It was said that the Ranee had courted death on the field, to save herself from the ignominious fate she dreaded; nor is this at all improbable.

On the 18th, the whole of the rebel entrenchments and positions were stormed and captured, with all their guns, and their forces again obliged to take to flight; but their retreat was more compact and orderly than on former occasions, and they took with them no less than thirty field-pieces. Of this day's fighting Sindia was witness, having ridden in from Agra the day before; and on the 20th, under the salutes of the troops, and rejoicings of all his loyal subjects, he again took possession of his palace and capital. The mutineers had sacked both as far as possible, and in treasure, jewels, and property, Sindia's loss was estimated at fifty lacs of rupees—500,000*l*. On the same day Brigadier Robert

Napier, with 600 cavalry and six field-guns, followed the enemy, and came up with them next day at Jourah Alipoor, where, dashing into their midst with-

Napier's victory closes the campaign.

out a check, he put them to utter flight, taking twenty-five guns; a feat which, considering the number—6,000—and as yet complete organisation of the rebels, and their numerous field-artillery, was, as the last, unsurpassed among the many brilliant feats of the campaign. Operations were now closed for the season, and Sir Hugh Rose finally resigned his command on June 29.

Meanwhile the column of General Roberts, on March 30, had attacked the mutineers of the Kóta contingent, who held possession of that city. About 400 of them were slain in the storm of the place; for, in consequence of their murder of Major Burton, the political agent, and his two sons, in the month of October, no quarter was given; but the greater number of them, with a considerable amount of treasure, succeeded in retiring to Jhansy, and were not pursued. General Whitlock, whose advance from Nagpoor has been already noticed, marched in the direction of Banda, by way of Chirkáree and Punnah; and on April 19, defeated the rebel troops of the Nawáb before the town of Banda, taking four guns, and leaving 500 of the enemy dead on the field. Thence General Whitlock pursued his way to Kalpy, of which place he was left in charge by Sir Hugh Rose.

Although the narration of the mutiny and its consequences has been confined to the transactions in Northern India, there were occurrences in other localities to the south, which need a brief notice. They were, in truth, escapes from great perils; for had the mutinous and rebellious proceedings been allowed to gain head in any case, they might have infected the Sepoys of the Bombay and Madras armies, neither of which were wanting in elements of danger. Poona and Bombay were by no means free from seditious intrigues in the early period of the mutiny; but they were chiefly on the part of Mahomedan fanatics, and were suppressed. Among the purely Mahratta portion of the Bombay army, no instance of disaffection occurred; but there were several regiments in which men from Oudh and Bundelkhund had been numerously enlisted; and in one of these, the 27th Native Infantry, 140 of all ranks mutinied at Kolapoor on July 31, and contrived, in the darkness and heavy rain of the night, to make off, having plundered the camp treasury of 50,000 rupees, and murdered three officers. By what means these men hoped to gain Hindostan, it is fruitless to imagine. Seventy-four were captured next day, and in the course of a few days most of the rest perished; for Captain Kerr, commanding the Mahratta Horse, with fifty troopers, marched from Sattara to Kolapoor—seventy-six miles—in twenty-

General
Roberts in
Rajpootana.

Mutinies in
the Deccan.

Disaffection
at Bombay
and Poona.

Mutiny of
27th Native
Infantry at
Kolapoor.

Pursuit by
Captain Kerr.

four hours, and pursuing the mutineers, came up with them in a temple where they were resting, and slew most of them. Of the whole regiment, sixty-three were executed, and sixty-six transported for life. The 21st Native Infantry, and three Oudh recruited regiments, showed a mutinous spirit as late as September 1857, being then at Kurrachee in Sindh, and were disarmed; but beyond these regiments, no symptoms of disaffection appeared in the native army of Bombay; and the conduct of the native troops of that presidency employed in Central India, which has been detailed, is entitled to the highest praise.

The same eulogium attends the Hyderabad contingent, composed for the most part of men from Oudh and Northern India. They were sorely tempted to strike in with the rebels; but to none of the native troops with him did Sir Hugh Rose record a higher tribute of praise. Yet the 1st Nizam's Cavalry, stationed at Aurungabad, were in a state of mutiny early in June; and on the arrival of a column of Bombay troops under General Woodburn, a part of the regiment broke into open revolt, when they were fired on by the artillery, and pursued by the dragoons, many of them being captured and brought to trial; while those who escaped, proceeding to the station of Mominabad and to Hyderabad, excited much alarm throughout the country. Fortunately the infantry and artillery of the contingent remained loyal; for, if possible, better organised than the Gwalior force, the mutiny of the whole would have been extremely difficult to overcome, and would have extended rebellion to the Madras presidency.

During the early part of the mutiny, and indeed until the capture of Dehly, the city of Hyderabad, with its immense population, was in a most critical condition; and the arrival of some of the mutineers from Aurungabad excited the fanatic Mahomedans to the utmost. Seditious sermons were preached in many of the mosques, and the 'faithful' urged to rise against the 'infidel' English. But the Nizam took no part in the movement, the minister, Salar Jung, though young in years, was firm and faithful, and made over to the Resident, Colonel Davidson, twelve of the Aurungabad men who had been apprehended in the city. This produced a slight outbreak, when some Rohillas and local fanatics attacked the residency on July 17, but were easily repulsed, and no further attempts at insurrection followed. The Arabs in the city, from whom violence had been apprehended, were under the control of the minister, and their chiefs and men were not to be seduced into rebellion.

The 21st
Native In-
fantry at
Kurrachee.

The Nizam's
contingent.

Partial mu-
tiny of the
1st Nizam's
Cavalry.

City of
Hyderabad.

Loyal
conduct of
the Nizam
and his
minister.

Attack on
the resi-
dency.

A very widespread conspiracy was attempted in the Southern Mahratta districts of the Bombay presidency, towards the close of 1857, which, however, only produced two outbreaks—one of the Rajah of Nurgood, who treacherously murdered Mr. Manson, the political agent, who had gone to remonstrate with him. The fort of Nurgood, which resisted, was afterwards captured and dismantled. The second, by a Brahmin named Bheem Ráo, who gained temporary possession of the strong fortress of Kópul Droog, in the Raíchore Dooáb, and tried to raise the country, but failed. He was soon afterwards attacked by a Madras force from Bellary under Colonel Hughes, when he was killed in an attempt to retire to the upper works. There was no doubt, from intelligence received by the Resident at Hyderabad at this period, that the young Rajah of Shórapoor was deeply implicated in this treason; and having been a ward of the British Government during a long minority, Colonel Davidson sent his assistant, Captain Rose Campbell, to remonstrate with him, and if possible to save him. But no impression could be made upon the rebellious spirit that prevailed, and Captain Campbell's life being threatened, a portion of the contingent force stationed at Lingsoogoor, under Captain Wyndham, went to his assistance. This was treacherously attacked on February 7, 1858, by the rajah's tribe of Beydurs, with some Arabs and Rohillas; but after fighting all night they were repulsed, and early in the morning the moveable column under Colonel Hughes, which had been watching the Beydur districts, came up by a forced march, and uniting with Captain Wyndham, drove the Beydurs back into the town of Shórapoor, a position of immense natural strength. The day after, a Bombay column under Colonel Malcolm also arrived, and preparations were being made to assault the place, when it was discovered to be entirely deserted. The rajah had fled, and his Beydur militia and Rohilla and other levies had dispersed. The town was taken possession of, and the rajah, a few days afterwards, apprehended at Hyderabad. He was tried by a Commission, and sentenced to death; but his life was spared, and his sentence, in consideration of his youth, and the evil influences by which he had been surrounded, commuted to an imprisonment in the fort of Vellore for five years. On his way thither, however, the unfortunate young man shot himself—as was believed, by accident—with a revolver which he was examining. The transactions at Shórapoor were the last attempts at rebellion or mutiny in the Deccan. The principality of Shórapoor was attached, and with the Raíchore Dooáb, placed under the authority of Captain Meadows Taylor.

Rebellion in the Southern Mahratta country.

Bheem Ráo killed.

The Rajah of Shórapoor

attacks a British force.

but is defeated.

The rajah flies to Hyderabad.

CHAPTER X.

CURRENT EVENTS, INDIA AND ENGLAND, 1858 TO 1859

WHILE military operations were suspended during the rainy season, Lord Canning was occupied with considerations in regard to Oudh which need to be briefly reviewed. On March 31, 1858, he had sent Sir James Outram the draft of a proclamation to be issued in Oudh, which, with the exception of six landholders who had been loyal, confiscated the possessions of all others remaining, and declared the whole proprietary right in the soil of Oudh to belong to the British Government. If the abstract right of the question be considered, there can be no doubt that the principle upon which Lord Canning acted, apart from any consideration of rebellion, was correct. The Talookdars, as they were termed, were not landholders in freehold, but farmers or middlemen, between the government and the people; holding by authority from the government the office of arranging and collecting the revenues derived from the land, on an aggregate of villages or counties, or as it might be. No doubt these offices had, in many instances, become hereditary; and in most cases the Talookdars were locally too powerful to be displaced by an effete government like that of Oudh under the king; but Lord Canning considered it most expedient to assert the full right of Government to the land, leaving the cases of individual proprietorship or hereditary occupation to be settled hereafter. He could not recognise any real title of proprietary possession in what had never been admitted to be such by the former government; and the records of the country showed that much of the assumed right had been consequent on fraud and violence.

The measure was, however, a blow against the proudest and most powerful local aristocracy in India; the speedy pacification of the province was an event of all others to be desired, and admitting the proprietary right of Government in the land as a position not to be disputed, there might be, on the part of the Talookdars, many claims of ancient hereditary occupancy, of feudal tenure, and recognition of that tenure by preceding governments, extending to periods even antecedent to the Mahomedan conquest. Oudh had, for ages, been one of the strongholds of the Aryan people; and the claims of the descendants of their chieftains could not be ignored by a

Considerations against confiscation.

sweeping confiscation of all, without distinction or investigation. So thought Sir James Outram, who made a spirited and earnest remonstrance against the proclamation. He protested against confiscation at large, not only as unjust in principle, but as calculated to perpetuate disaffection; and asserted that before the conquest many of the Talookdars had been unjustly dealt with by the English settlement officers, whose injudicious proceedings had mainly incited them to rebellion. While Lord Canning was obliged to admit that such had been the case, he allowed Outram to soften the terms of the proclamation in some degree; but its main purport was not altered, and the speedy submission of the landholders was more consequent perhaps upon Sir James Outram's personal character, and the judicious proceedings of his successor, Mr. Robert Montgomery, than on any actual trust in the subsequent mercy of Government. Sir James was soon afterwards promoted to the Supreme Council. The terms of Lord Canning's proclamation were repudiated in England by means of a harsh and sarcastic dispatch from Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control; but the work of settlement had already gone on well under the effect of the measures taken by Mr. Montgomery. New titles were granted to Talookdars, and they were constituted magistrates; new settlements of revenue were made with them, and, as a local aristocracy, they became not only more secure than they had been before, as well in their possessions as against arbitrary exaction and demands, but every incentive to exertion in the improvement of their dependents was held out to them. Had the annexation of Oudh been followed by a similarly just and conciliatory policy, there can be little doubt that all or most of the great Talookdars would not only have abstained from rebellion, but assisted Government to subdue the mutiny. Their action was in fact produced by the dread of abolition of their hereditary rights and privileges, which, under the attempt to introduce the land settlement measures of the north-west provinces, were being ignored and swept away. As had been the case in Sind and the Punjab, Oudh was disarmed, and the number of arms collected was very large. Six hundred and eighty four cannon, 186,177 fire-arms, 565,321 swords, 50,311 spears, and 636,683 weapons of other descriptions were destroyed, while 1,569 forts, great and small, were demolished or dismantled.

On July 8, 1859, peace was proclaimed by Lord Canning; and July 28 was fixed as a day of general thanksgiving, 'a humble offering of gratitude to Almighty God for the many mercies vouchsafed.'

Outram's
remon-
strance.

Repudiation
of Lord
Canning's
proclamation
in England.

The new
settlement.

Proclamation
of peace.

The events of 1857 had aroused in the people of England a degree of interest in Indian affairs which had never before existed. Under a national struggle, impending between England and a cruel enemy, under widespread affliction, and the terror of losing what it had taken a century to gain, the feelings of all classes were excited beyond any former precedent, and it was soon manifest in what form their demonstration would have practical effect. There could at least be no further double government; responsibility could no longer be bandied about between the company and the crown; and in regard to responsibility for the outbreak—whether it resulted from the greased cartridges alone, or whether it was the effect of previous disaffection and combination in the native army; of long existing and rapidly gathering mistrust and misapprehension among the people—suspicion of proselytism, of material improvements, of confiscations, of Mahomedan and Hindoo fanaticism and intrigue, or that general antagonism to progress and change, in which history only repeats itself—it was bootless to inquire. Henceforward, one government only could be permitted; and that of the crown must succeed that of the company, which long since virtually, was now actually dead.

In the eyes of the people of India, the rule of the company, in accordance with the popular superstition, had ceased with the mutiny. Whose were the thousands of English soldiers? whose the generals that commanded them? whose the ships that brought them? None but the Queen's. The company was dead. The Queen had taken up her sceptre to rule India, and would do it, as many hoped, graciously, with honour to herself and respect to her people. At best, as the people said, the company was now known to have been a mere farmer (Ijâradar) of the land; and it was not honourable or endurable that princes and nobles should be farmed out in common, with the contingency of unchecked absorption of their territories whenever the company pleased. All the former prestige of the 'Koompany Bahádoor' had departed with the unequivocal display of its weakness; but the government of the Queen could not, indeed, be disputed; and all India was witness to the spirit and energy of the mighty nation which had put forth its resources in a manner not to be mistaken. If there were many who feared the principles of the new power more than those of the old; who had believed in the conservatism of the company, and its unwillingness either for absorption of territory or proselytism of the people; whose worst fears during the religious panic seemed about to be confirmed—the time was past when such opinions could have weight with the people at large, who, wit-

Feeling
aroused in
England.

Confirmation
of the pro-
phesy of
Plassey.

Native
opinion.

nessing the result of local combination for resistance, passively submitted to whatever might befall; nor were others wanting, who dreaded that the old 'farm' might be renewed, who considered that the company would spend millions to secure it, and that once secured, with extended power, the last term of charter would be worse than the preceding, and was in proportion to be dreaded.

Among all these, and innumerable phases of popular feeling in India, some indescribably childish and absurd, others grave and thoughtful; and after a prolonged consideration by the Parliament of England, the Act that provided for the sole dominion of the crown in India passed into law on August 2, ^{Dominion of the queen.} 1858. On November 1, a year after the rule of the company had fallen into abeyance, the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria was issued by the governor-general at Allahabad, ^{Proclamation.} translated into all the vernacular languages of India, read at every native court, and freely circulated to all classes of the people. It was admirably worded, and fell like oil upon troubled waters. By it, all existing dignities, rights, usages, ^{Its beneficial effects.} and treaties were confirmed: all grounds of suspicion of tampering with caste or religious faith removed: and from the highest to the lowest ranks of society, a reliant spirit of calm assurance and acquiescence in its simple provisions was at once effected. Lying at the feet of the conqueror, it was felt that much that was new might have been imposed on the people of India; but the gracious words established no new principles, and the security established by the Queen's edict communicated a like feeling throughout the country, which was too genuine to be mistrusted. From henceforth, a new era had dawned upon India.

Before the close of the year, the commander-in-chief, now Lord Clyde, was again in the field, and the last efforts of mutineers in Oudh were gradually crushed. The Queen's proclamation had promulgated amnesty to all, except those directly concerned in the murders of the mutiny, and many availed themselves of it, and surrendered; but there were others still defiant and desperate, and against these Lord Clyde and forces under several commanders, proceeded to act without delay. On November 9, the Rajah of Améthie submitted; but the Sepoys who had gathered round him, supposed to be 20,000 strong, got away with their guns. Rajah Bénéé ^{Rajah Bénéé Mádho.} Mádho, after offering terms of submission, which could not be accepted, escaped from Lord Clyde and Sir Hope Grant's forces, and took the field with his army, his guns, and his treasure. He was pursued from place to place; other bodies of rebels being routed as they were encountered, and finally, the

whole, with their leaders, among whom were the Nána and his brother, Bála Ráo, were driven by the close of the year across the Raptée river into the Terái jungles of Nipál, having lost all their guns, stores, and well nigh means of subsistence. Here, with the way of escape back into Oudh carefully closed, and access to Nipál proper denied, the rebel Sepoys suffered fearfully from the pestilential climate. Many perished by the forces of Rowcroft, Kelly, and the Nipálese; and by hundreds, those that survived came to the British posts, and surrendered themselves. Bénéé Mádhoo was killed by the Nipálese, and the Nána, his brother, and Azim Oolla, died in the jungles, with many other men of note who had been actively engaged in the rebellion, in which, as Lord Clyde recorded, 150,000 native troops had been subdued.

Lord Canning's progress through the country was a succession of brilliant assemblies, at which the loyal princes and people were received with all the magnificence which the occasion demanded. Many were decorated by him, many rewarded, and it was evident that the effects of the tumult were fast passing away. In England the new constitution of the Council, consisting of the Secretary of State for India, with twelve members, chosen from the late Court of Directors and the Indian services, worked surely and harmoniously under Lord Stanley; and in India, while no new administrative measures were brought forward, the old were strengthened and improved.

The war was dying out everywhere. The last effort was made by Prince Feróze, in concert with Tantia Tópee. The former foreseeing destruction in Nipál, dashed through Oudh, and joined Tantia, who, with what remained of his army, was still eluding the various columns which strove to hem him in. From Rajpootana to Berar, the pursuit never slackened, and his attempts to break into the Deccan were skilfully frustrated; but this could not long endure. His last hiding-place was betrayed, and, on April 7, 1859, he was seized while asleep in the Parone jungle, two miles from Seepree, in Malwah, and there he was tried and executed. Mán Singh, his fellow-rebel and leader, had surrendered on the 2nd, and directed Major Meade to Tantia's last camp. The fate of the other rebel chiefs need not be followed in detail.

The rest of Lord Canning's incumbency might have passed away without any material event; but discontent in the European portion of the company's army at one time threatened very serious consequences. On the amalgamation of the company's with the Queen's troops, it would have

The rebels
are driven
into the
Terái.

Fate of the
principal
leaders.

Lord
Canning's
progress.

Constitution
of the new
Council.

The last
effort of the
war.

Tantia Tópee
executed.

Discontent
of European
troops.

been wise to have allowed a small bounty on re-enlistment. The men protested against being transferred from one service to another without special provision or agreement; and, under Lord Canning's order, demanded their discharge, which, with a free passage to England, could not be denied them. They were accordingly sent home, and thus the Government, by an unwise economy or obstinacy, lost the services of nearly 10,000 seasoned veterans, whose passages to England cost far more than the small bounty which would have satisfied them. One regiment only, the 5th Bengal Fusileers, broke into mutiny at Berhampoor, and threatened violence; but their discontent was happily brought ^{European troops} to a conclusion without a resort to force; and after the measure of amalgamation was passed, the establishment of nine regiments of royal infantry, three of cavalry, and additions to the Engineers and Artillery corps, absorbed the remainder, both officers and men, of the old local European troops of the company.

CHAPTER XI.

LORD CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION (*concluded*), 1859 TO 1862.

THE opinion of Lord Lawrence in regard to the mutiny was, 'that it had its origin in the army itself; it is not attributable to any external or antecedent conspiracy whatever, although it was afterwards taken advantage of by disaffected persons, to compass their own ends; the approximate cause was the cartridge affair, and nothing else.' There was, no doubt, much foundation for this opinion; but it may hardly be considered to reach the depth of the occurrence, and the general feeling of uneasiness, which prevailed at the end of 1856, and beginning of 1857, though it might not have caused mutiny of the native soldiery, or rebellion of the people, nevertheless helped to encourage their progress. The conduct of the people, even in the most disturbed districts, was, for the most part, singularly neutral. The agricultural, mercantile, and manufacturing population took no part in the rebellion, or in demonstrations in its favour. The only Zemindar, among the hundreds of Bahár, who rebelled, was Kōer Singh, a man whose embarrassments had rendered him notoriously desperate. All Bengal was perfectly tranquil. The noble aid given by the Sikhs, at the call of Sir John Lawrence, proves that they had no desire to re-establish a national independence, and were content with the local government. When Khan Bahádoor Khan, the chief of Rohilkhund,

imposed his authority upon the province, the Hindoos submitted because they had no power to resist, and soon found by his exactions and oppressions, as well as by interference with their religious observances, that a fanatical Mahomedan rule would be unendurable, and they hailed the re-establishment of the English Government with unfeigned rejoicings. All Rajpootana was tranquil and well affected; and the substantial aid rendered by the Sikh chiefs west of the Sutlej, formed a memorable and gratifying proof of their entire loyalty. Counting the number of actual rebels in Central India, the Ranees of Jhansy, the Nawábs of Banda and Futtehghurh, the Rajah of Bám-poor, and a few other minor chiefs and persons; and comparing them with the loyal princes, Sindia, Holkar, the Máhárajahs of Jey-poor, Joudh-poor, Alwur, and Oodypoor, the Rajahs of Rewah, Bhurt-poor, and Kóta, the Bégum of Bhopál, the Nawáb of Rampoor, and others whose independent territories almost cover Central India, the preponderance on the side of attachment to the British Government was enormous.

As will have been seen by the narrative of events, neither the rulers nor the people south of the Nerbudda took any part in the disaffection. The Gáikwar of Baroda; the people of the lately annexed provinces of Sattara and Berar; the Nizam, and the whole of his populous dominions; the great Mahratta families who possess independent territories; the Mahratta people at large, who might have been stirred to action by a new Peshwah and the memories of their plunder of India; with those of Mysore, and the whole of the south—were loyal and tranquil during the excitement of the period, and never seem to have entertained a doubt of the ultimate triumph of the English, over an outbreak as sudden as it was fearful. The only element of apprehension was the Mahomedans, who were most affected by fanaticism; and without doubt there were many of the southern Mahomedans of Arcot and Vellore, the descendants of the old Moghul and Patán soldiers and colonists, who, never perfectly reconciled to Christian domination, looked eagerly and anxiously to news of success at Dehly, and were ready to make a diversion in the king's favour, should there be opportunity. As for the Hindoos, as soon as the first excitement had passed away, they relapsed into their usual condition of passive obedience. The weird prophecy in regard to Sumbut 1914 had indeed been fulfilled: but war and tumult had passed away without affecting them.

Triumphantly, then, had England come out of the ordeal; and with renewed confidence. The test which many had dreaded, had been suddenly and fiercely applied; and never was disaffection in possession of such powerful auxiliaries

Condition of
Western and
Southern
India.

Position of
the English.

as a disciplined army of 150,000 men, with ample material of war, and a general excitement of the people from other causes; yet no one rose except a few disaffected nobles and State officials, who, without territory or subjects, were supported only by the lawless scum of the districts in which they lived—hereditary robbers and marauders, whom a powerful government had been able to restrain, but who returned at once to ancient evil ways directly its authority ceased, temporarily, to exist. If the loyal classes of the convulsed districts needed any confirmation of motives of attachment to the British Government, it was furnished to them in the insecurity which prevailed as long as its functions were suspended, and the security which accompanied their re-establishment.

It has not been possible to follow the course of events in the minor presidencies; and indeed there is little to record, after the first shock of the mutiny had been endured. Lord Harris at Madras, and Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, proved invaluable coadjutors to the governor-general; and the manner in which troops were forwarded to Calcutta, and the Madras and Bombay columns despatched for service in Central India, is entitled to the highest praise. Bombay had indeed the largest share in those operations, and endured the most keen alarm; but Lord Elphinstone's prompt and decisive action against the first demonstration of the Nána's intrigues, and Mahomedan fanaticism, prevented any chance of their further development. Exhausted, however, by the climate, and by anxiety, he went to England in 1860, only to die. So also the chivalrous James Outram, who, with his constitution thoroughly impaired, was unable to retain his seat in Council, and retired, also only to die. Sir John Lawrence, too, equally suffering, was saved by a speedy retirement to England, where he was appointed to the Council of India, and was succeeded in the Punjáb by Mr., now Sir Robert, Montgomery, from Oudh.

In 1860 and 1861, reforms of the administration of justice were carried out in the amalgamation of the Supreme or Queen's and the Sudder or Company Courts, under one chief justice, with assistant judges, some practising barristers, some civilians of not less than ten years' standing. Natives were also eligible for appointment to the latter offices. The courts of the assistant judges formed courts of appeal from others beneath them, and their jurisdiction extended to criminal as well as civil cases and suits. The penal code, now improved by trial and extension, also became law, and was made applicable to all localities in India. In this year also, the first Indian minister of finance, Mr. Wilson, took his place in the General

Minor
presidencies.

Deaths of
Lord Elphinstone and of
Sir James
Outram.

Judicial
reforms.

Mr. Wilson's
income-tax.

Council of India, and the most material of his proposed measures was an income-tax, applicable at large to natives as well as Europeans. Against so fair an impost, and against the taxation at all of sections of the community on which, under native ad-

ministrations, heavy burthens had been laid, Sir Charles Trevelyan, then governor of Madras, protested vehemently, and to an extent for which, as it amounted to positive insubordination, he was superseded in his government.

Unfortunately Mr. Wilson died before his financial measures could be matured, and was succeeded by Mr. Laing, whose principal reform was the establishment to some extent of a paper currency. The redemption of the land revenue for money payments was also determined by the governor-general in council, as well as the sale of waste lands; but it does not appear that in either case any material progress has been experienced.

No sooner had war ceased, than the great public works of India, which had been suspended during its existence, were resumed with spirit. The North-Western Railway progressed rapidly towards Dehly; the Great Indian Peninsular Railway had advanced to Sholapoor, in the Deccan, and very materially towards Jubbulpoor. The Sindh Railway from Kurrachee, along the line of the Indus, the Madras Railway to connect the eastern with the western coasts, were also in course of completion. Along with railways, canals were making great progress: the great Ganges Canal was extended in several branches; the Báree Dooáb Canal in the Punjáb was under completion. The noble works on the Krishna and Godavery rivers were in active operation in the Madras Presidency, and a canal for irrigation and traffic from the Toombuddra river to Madras had been projected, and has since been partially executed. The metalled trunk road which reaches from Calcutta to Pesháwur, a distance of 1,500 miles, was finished; and it is impossible to detail the many other works, in metalled roads, which were under execution in all the presidencies. It had been recognised, at last, as a public duty, that a portion of the revenue of India should be applied to guarantees of interest upon railways, and to an enlarged system of public works; and the impetus given by this measure to the railways was only what had been expected.

The only check to the universal and fast extending prosperity of India was caused by the famine in the north-western provinces of 1860—1861. No rain fell, and between the Jumna and the Sutlej the sufferings of the people were frightful. No less than 500,000 human beings are believed to have perished, and the whole of the population, notwithstanding the benevolent exertions of Government, of individuals, and

Sir Charles Trevelyan's protest.

Death of Mr. Wilson.

Resumption of public works; details.

Famine in the north-western provinces.

the receipt of large subscriptions from England, endured misery which it was hopeless to alleviate in proportion to the existing necessity. During its continuance, the exertions of Sir Robert Montgomery in the Punjâb, of Mr. Edmonstone in the north-western provinces, and of Colonel Baird Smith, the engineer-in-chief, can never be overrated; and to the regret of all India, the latter, prostrated by his exertions, died soon after he had left Calcutta, on his voyage to England.

Death of
Colonel Baird
Smith.

In November 1861, the governor-general suffered a severe affliction in the loss of Lady Canning, and prepared to return to England. His last splendid court was assembled at Allahabad, where, on November 1, he conferred the order of the Star of India, newly established, upon those of the native princes of the north-west who had afforded the most material aid during the mutiny. These

Lord
Canning's
farewell
Durbâr.

The Star of
India.

were Sindia, the Sikh chief of Puttiala, the Bégum of Bhopâl, and the Nawâb of Rampoorâ. To His Highness the Nizam the same decoration was forwarded, and on November 25, he was invested with the insignia by Colonel Davidson, the Resident. His Highness had already received some very substantial acknowledgments of obligations. In 1860 a new treaty was made in regard to the assigned territory, by which Berâr alone, the revenues of which had materially increased under British management, was retained, and the other large provinces, Daraseo and Nuldroog on the west, and the Raichore Dooâb on the south-west, were restored to him. The province of Shôrapoor, which had been confiscated after the rajah's treason, was also conferred upon him, and yielded an annual net revenue of three and a half lacs of rupees—35,000*l.*—and the balance of his debt, the principal of which amounted to fifty lacs of rupees—500,000*l.*—was altogether cancelled. In addition, a princely gift of various choice articles of English manufacture, valued at 10,000*l.*, or a lac of rupees, a magnificent diamond ring, and a jewelled sword, were sent as a khillut or present of honour, accompanied by gifts of the value of 3,000*l.* each, to Salar Jung the prime minister, who was afterwards created a knight of the Star of India, and to the Nawâb Shumsh-ool-Oomra, chief of the Hyderabad nobles. It is possible that the Nizam may have been disappointed by the measures of Lord Dalhousie being still retained; but any reversal of the final settlement in regard to the pay of the contingent, and other obligations of His Highness's government, was considered inadmissible. There was, however, a claim for surplus upon the management of the assigned districts from the commencement, and this was under consideration for final adjustment.

His Highness
the Nizam.

It is hardly necessary to follow the details of honours and re-

wards, which were conferred upon individuals who had proved faithful or done good service during the mutiny; but before his final departure from India, in March 1862, Lord Canning had the satisfaction of bringing them to a close. As he was leaving India, addresses from all sections of the community, both English and native, bade him an affectionate farewell; and it was evident that the first fierce clamour against his clemency had been softened by a late, but full, recognition of its justice and necessity. But India and his anxieties had proved too much for his constitution, and he died shortly after his arrival in England, on June 17. The last governor-general of the company had become the viceroy of the Queen, and during his term of office had had to encounter and overcome the fiercest storm that had ever broke over the English power. Future historians, while they may notice his natural slowness of conception and of action, will not fail to recognise the inherent firmness and unostentatious greatness of his character, which, through the double storm of English animadversion and the fierce contest of the mutiny, enabled him to surmount both in an honest, unswerving, practical endeavour to do his duty to his country, and to the people committed to his charge. At the worst period, and when surrounded by panic-stricken men, he never lost confidence in himself or his means, and his calm courage and perseverance, while they cheered and encouraged every subordinate authority, gained him an eventual success, the value of which will be enhanced by time.

CHAPTER XII.

VICEROYALTIES OF LORD ELGIN AND SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, 1862 to 1865.

LORD ELGIN, who had been employed as H.M.'s plenipotentiary in China, and had brought the transactions there to a conclusion, was appointed Lord Canning's successor, and assumed the office of Viceroy of India on March 12, 1862. Sir Charles Trevelyan was appointed finance minister, in succession to Mr. Laing, who had retired; and the Legislative Council of India, extended under the term of the new Act of 1861, now contained three native members, all men of note and mark: the Sikh Rajah of Puttiala, Rajah Déo Narráin Singh of Benares, and

Lord Elgin
succeeds as
viceroy.

Sir Charles
Trevelyan as
minister of
finance.

Appointment
of native
councillors.

Rajah Dinkur Rao, the minister of Sindia. Three gentlemen not belonging to the service, Messrs Cowie, Fitzwilliam and Forbes, gave an appearance of freedom and representative constitution to an assembly which, for latter times, had been too restricted. On February 5, 1863, Lord Elgin left Calcutta for the upper provinces, holding public receptions or durbars, which were attended by the chiefs and nobles of the various districts through which he passed. That at Agra was a most magnificent spectacle, and again collected the princes of Rajpootana and Central India, as had been the case under Lord Canning. The viceroy proceeded to Simlah; but he was already suffering under a chronic disorder, and on his return he died at Dhurmsalla, in the Himalayas, on November 20, 1863. His brief tenure of office allowed of no opportunity or proof of his capacity, and was simply one of routine. During its continuance, a conspiracy among the Wáhábee fanatics of Patna was found to have extended to Sittána, on the Afghan frontier, and to have had for its design a rising of Mahomedans in the east, as well as in the west, with considerable sympathy, if not assistance in money, from the south. Had not the conspiracy at Patna been discovered and checked by the local magistrate, Mr. Tayler, early in 1857, it might have assisted the rebellion in some degree; but though the bitter spirit and malignant intention of the latter attempt were clearly manifest, its impotence was patent to all but its originators.

The idea of a new Mahomedan conspiracy in India, however, excited apprehension in England: and the locality in which armed demonstration had occurred, Sittána, on the north-west frontier of the Punjáb, demanded the presence of one who should be able to apply personal acquaintance with the people to the suppression or prevention of war. Sir John Lawrence, therefore, was chosen to succeed Lord Elgin. Though not desiring office, he at once responded to the call, and proceeded to Calcutta without delay. Meanwhile the campaign against the Sittána fanatics had assumed somewhat formidable dimensions. Other Afghan hill-tribes were taking part with the Sittána rebels; and, as it was termed, the 'Umbeyla campaign,' threatened to bring about a coalition of all the Afghans of the mountains against the British power, and an invasion of the Punjáb. General Neville Chamberlain, who had conducted the first operations, was severely wounded, and a retirement of the forces from what appeared to be a fruitless mountain warfare—a warfare which in the time of the Emperor Akbur had caused the destruction of a fine army—was almost determined upon by the Council of Calcutta, in spite of the remons-

Durbar
at Agra.

Death of
Lord Elgin.

Wáhábee
conspiracy.

Sir John
Lawrence
appointed
viceroy.

Campaign
against
Sittána
fanatics.

Proposed
retirement.

trances of Sir Hugh Rose, who had succeeded Lord Clyde as commander-in-chief. At this crisis, Sir William Denison, the governor of Madras, reached Calcutta, to act as viceroy till the arrival of Lord Elgin's successor. He saw at once the inadvisability of retirement, and directed Sir Hugh Rose to press the operations against the fanatics. This was done with spirit and judgment, and during the ensuing month the primary object of the campaign was attained, and submission made by the chiefs of the frontier tribes.

Sir William Denison takes charge of the viceroyalty.

The Umbeyla campaign renewed.

In many respects, both operations were remarkable. The Sittána fanatics resided chiefly in the town and district of Mulka, on the north side of a mountain which separated the Indus from the Kabool river, just above their junction; and Mulka could only be approached through the territories of other mountain-tribes, the Eusofzyes and Bonáira, with whom there was no intention of interfering. On October 20, 1863, the British force, which consisted of two English and six native regiments, advanced to the Umbeyla pass, a proclamation having been issued to explain the motive of the campaign. As it progressed, the people were found civil and obliging; but near Umbeyla, shots were fired, a skirmish ensued, and for several days in succession the fighting was almost continuous, the object of the enemy being to close the pass behind the British force. On the 28th, the position which had been taken up was attacked with much resolution by a large body composed of men from Swát and from Mulka, who had joined the Bonáira of Umbeyla. The enemy was repulsed in every attack; but it was impossible not to see that progress onwards, into even wilder defiles, and without supplies, was impossible, and that were any advance made, the pass behind must inevitably be closed. From the time the army took up its position and began to clear a road, until November 20, there were daily combats, attended with much actual hand-to-hand fighting. The 'Eaglecrag' picket was twice taken by the enemy and retaken, and in his last and third assault for its recovery, General Chamberlain was badly wounded. Reinforcements were, however, coming up, and the force held its ground, now less molested than before; but the enemy were known to be collecting men in large numbers. This was the period at which retirement was contemplated by the Council of Calcutta, but opposed by Sir William Denison; and when Sir Hugh Rose was at liberty to give the necessary order for advance, it was made effectively.

For some days negotiations with the Akhoond of Swát, and other heads of tribes, had been in progress; but they came to

nothing, and on December 15, General Garnock, now in command, moved to attack the enemy's position at Laloo, about two miles distant, with his whole force. It was very strong, and held by some thousands of the enemy; but it was stormed with a rush, and the Afghans fled. Umbeyla was assaulted next morning, the enemy retiring into the fastnesses of the mountains above, with the exception of one party, which attacked the 23rd Native Infantry and Pioneers, sword in hand, and did considerable mischief, but were in turn put to flight. The Bonairs now submitted, and a party of them volunteered to accompany a detachment of English troops to Mulka and destroy the place. The village was found deserted, but the powder-factory was blown up, the houses burned, and the object of the campaign—the lesson sought to be impressed on these rude tribes, that no resistance or difficulty of access could prevent the attainment of a desired object—seemed to be duly appreciated. On Christmas-day, 1863, the force left the Chumla valley, and regained the plains; but the road which had been made by the troops was immediately destroyed.

Successful
attack on the
enemy's
position.

Mulka
captured.

In 1862–1863, the cessation of supplies of cotton from America, owing to the civil war, produced a corresponding demand for Indian produce, and the prices rose an enormous extent. Surat cotton, of which the former value in England was from threepence to fourpence a pound, had risen, in cases of good quality, to nearly two shillings, while all others had increased in proportion. The value of exports rose in Bombay from 43,000,000*l.* to 63,000,000*l.* sterling in a single year; and the importation of the precious metals, silver and gold, was of immense amount. Nor was there any sudden cessation either of demand or extra value; both were steadily maintained. This influx of wealth changed the condition of the people of Western India very materially, and combined with the large expenditure on public works, had the effect of increasing the values of food, of labour, and of manufactures in an extraordinary manner throughout India. Much apprehension was felt in Europe at the immense absorption of gold and silver by India; but it was unavoidable, as it would have been impossible to pay in manufactures only, for what was exported under the exceptional demand.

Rise in value
of cotton.

Its effect in
Western
India.

Sir John Lawrence arrived in Calcutta on January 12, 1864. It is little to say he was enthusiastically received by all ranks and all classes, European as well as native. He had many personal friends among both; and one who had so nobly done his part in the period of alarm and disaster, whose influence and exertions had so materially checked

Arrival of Sir
John
Lawrence.

the tide of rebellion, was evidently the most fitted to follow up what Lord Canning had begun, and in which he himself had borne so large a part. As from his seat in the Indian Council of England he had been able to follow the course of events without check, so he took up his office at the interval of a month, without any break in his knowledge of what was passing. He found India at peace; the Umbeyla campaign was at an end, and provincial exhibitions of local produce and manufactures were begun by that in the Punjab, which was eminently successful, and rightly directed by Sir Robert Montgomery.

Sir John Lawrence did not remain long in Calcutta; he proceeded to Simlah for the hot season, and at the close of the monsoon went direct to Lahore. Here, after six years, he had the gratification of meeting his old Sikh friends and addressing them in their own language, in an eloquent but simple speech. He told them of the interest which the Queen of England felt in them all, how she had charged him to be careful of them, and how deeply she and Prince Albert desired their prosperity. He reviewed the measures of his own, his brother's, and successive administrations; how taxation had been lightened, how canals and roads had been constructed, and how means of education had been provided; and concluded by a prayer, which must have moved all hearts present, that God would guard and protect them, and give them all needful for their benefit. Few great assemblies in India have resembled this, at once solemn and joyful, with thankful remembrances of the past, and bright anticipations for the future.

During 1864, Sir John Lawrence's exertions to improve the condition of English soldiers in India were begun earnestly, and to the last period of his tenure of office never ceased. For their occupation and amusement he sanctioned reading-rooms, gardens, workshops, means of athletic exercise and games—in short, everything calculated to improve their moral and physical condition. Nor were means of religious study and improvement omitted, but, on the contrary, facilitated by provision of religious works, and apartments for their private study. Their barracks also were surveyed and improved, and in many places altogether reconstructed; the old sanatorium in the hill-stations enlarged, and other localities in India which enjoyed a cool climate, with fresh mountain air, sought out. Nor was sanitary reform confined to the location of European troops. Outbreaks of cholera, of fever, of small-pox, fall so heavily and so unexpectedly upon India, that investigation of the causes by a sanitary commission, opened in 1861, and continued throughout the country, not only brought to light many unknown causes of malaric influence, but suggested remedial measures.

Measures for
the improve-
ment of
English
soldiers.

A quarrel with the State of Bhótan was in progress on the viceroy's arrival in India, which had arisen out of claims by the Bhótanese Láma upon portions of cultivated territory, called Dooars, lying at the foot of the mountains in Assam. These had been annexed after the province came into possession, and a sum of money, to be paid annually, was agreed to in compensation. The same arrangement was made with the Bengal Dooars, but it did not restrain the Bhótanese from making inroads into them, kidnapping British subjects, and committing other excesses. The money payment was therefore refused, until security should be obtained; a measure which led to reprisals on the part of the Bhótanese. In November 1863, the Hon. Ashley Eden was sent as ambassador to the capital of Bhótan, with a view to arrange a definite treaty, accompanied by a small escort. His mission was an unwise one, in every respect. It was impossible to protect him; from first to last he was ill-treated and insulted by every means of indignity, and finally a release of the Dooars was extorted from him, when he was suffered to retire.

Bhótan war.

Causes of the war.

The Hon. Ashley Eden's mission.

His conduct, and the treatment he had met with, alike produced an outburst of indignation; and in November 1864, war was declared against Bhótan. It was badly conducted, and the country proved very unhealthy, nevertheless, some positions were occupied, and maintained; but one, Dewángiry, was retaken by the enemy, with some spirit, and so far from the Bhótanese showing any disposition to submit, they appeared more reliant in their resources. A new campaign was therefore necessary, and a heavy force was assembled. Dewángiry was retaken, Dalimkote captured and held; but it was not till 1865, by which time the troops in occupation had suffered frightfully from the climate, that it was determined to conquer and annex the whole territory. This produced a disposition to treat on the part of Bhótan, and peace ensued; but it may be said it was purchased, by an agreement to pay 25,000 rupees per annum for the Bengal Dooars. The whole proceeding, from first to last, was unfortunate and ill-managed. Had sufficient forces been thrown into the Dooars in the first instance, and the passes watched, the Bhótanese might have been defied till they were obliged to become suppliants for restoration of their assumed rights.

War declared.

Second campaign.

Unsatisfactory conclusion of the war.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE (*continued*),
1865 to 1867.

In the year 1862, Mr., now Sir Richard, Temple had been nominated chief commissioner of the 'central provinces,' an aggregate of previous smaller and separate jurisdictions, including Nagpoor, the Saugor and Nerbudda territory, and part of Bundelkhund. It comprised an immense area of about 250,000 square miles, with a very varied population, in some localities sparse, in others populous, and included some of the most rugged country, as well as the wildest aboriginal tribes of India. To mould this into shape as it were, to connect previous local systems of administration into one harmonious whole, required more than ordinary ability and power of application; and it was a fitting and welcome task to a man who, with great physical energy, possessed a mind capacious and ingenious, which had already found congenial occupation in the affairs of the Punjab, where, as well in the revenue as the judicial departments, Sir Richard Temple had gained considerable experience. In the central provinces, Sir Richard's measures were eminently successful; and his administrative reports show wonderful powers of endurance, in long and rapid journeys, in the constant overlooking of every detail of administration, to which alone the result is attributable, and in his friendly intercourse with every native chief or landholder of the various districts. Larger in extent than the Punjab, infinitely more diversified in natural features, in language, population, and in products, he had mastered all details, harmonised all working measures, and laid the foundation of future progress. Too little is known by the people of England of such undertakings and their results, or of the means by which they have been achieved; of the management by one individual and a few subordinates, of the affairs of provinces as large as France or Spain, uniting many different races and languages, and requiring daily toil of which there is little conception. Among such administrative exploits, Sir Richard Temple's tenure of the central provinces claims prominent notice; and at the close of the year 1865, he was able to apply a gratifying test of the success of his harmonising measures in an industrial exhibition held at Nagpoor, to which every district made contributions in produce and manufactures, and at which all classes of the people,

Temple's administration of the central provinces.

Industrial exhibition at Nagpoor.

from the semi-savage aborigines, Gonds, Bheels, and Kookoos, to the civilised Hindoos and Mahomedans, for the first time in their history mingled together in common. After the preceding war, devastation, and bloodshed, the effects of Sir Richard Temple's labours are more than ordinarily gratifying to contemplate; and few of the provincial administrative reports possess so high and so varied an interest as his.

The great influx of money into Bombay, and the enormous fortunes suddenly realised by adroit speculators, produced a mania of local joint stock companies, which exceeded in its results anything that had ever before appeared in India. Old means of investment trebled and quadrupled, for the time, in actual value. The shares in a company formed for the reclamation of land from the sea rose to twelve times their value—1000*l.* to 12,000*l.* and upwards—and others in proportion. With a plethora of wealth, the wildest schemes were entertained and put into execution; but after the custom of such events, the collapse was as sudden as the rise, and many were ruined. Nor was it till the end of the year, that commercial confidence was in some degree restored.

Results of
over specu-
lation in
Bombay.

Similar in some respects to the Bombay, Colaba and Backbay reclamation schemes and companies of Bombay, was the Port Canning Company of Calcutta. As year after year the navigation of the Hooghly became more difficult, the Mutlah, another branch of the Ganges, east of Calcutta, was fixed upon as the site of a new commercial capital; a railway was constructed from Calcutta, and warehouses were built; but although the navigation was much easier from the sea, no large ships ascended to the new Port Canning, and the scheme, if not entirely abandoned, became abortive. The only chance of the new port being frequented appears to lie in the stream of the Hooghly becoming too shallow for large vessels.

Projected
port on
the Mutlah.

In the course of the year under review, the college of civil engineers for the north-western provinces was founded at Roorkhee; an establishment which, whether in regard to Europeans or natives, has already sent forth many able men, and is in active operation. The institution owes its origin to the suggestions of Sir Hugh Rose, who, as a means of employment for many unemployed officers, considered that a public college course would be the best method of fitting many for the department of public works—a hope which has been fully justified.

College for
civil
engineers
founded at
Roorkhee.

The year 1866 is memorable from the great famine of Orissa. There had been a failure of rain in the season of 1865, and scarcity began to prevail, which passed into abso-

Famine in
Orissa.

lute famine almost without notice, and certainly without precaution. Till it had reached an alarming height, the government of Bengal were inactive; and the time passed by in which supplies of grain could have been sent by sea. When the people were perishing in thousands, no vessel could approach the coast, and the supplies forwarded by land were utterly insufficient to meet the general wants. The lieutenant-governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, and his Council, defended themselves to the best of their power; but they could not, and did not, escape the severe animadversions of the viceroy and of the press of England. Lord Napier, governor of Madras, took active measures for the relief of the people under his jurisdiction; and at a later period, Orissa was relieved; but the intermediate destruction of life was estimated at 2,000,000, and the amount of human suffering had been incalculably great. A plan had been formed, before the famine, of turning the waters of the Máhánuddy river to use in the irrigation of the Delta of Orissa, and the works were under execution by a private company. After a long discussion, which much retarded their progress, the company, for want of means, was obliged to make over its works to Government.

Orissa
irrigation
scheme.

The Currency Commission, which was instituted in this year, applied itself laboriously to the questions of silver, gold, and paper circulation; but it may be said to have been premature, as beyond a recommendation for the continued trial of the paper currency, and some suggestions as to detail of working measures, it gave no opinion upon the question of a general gold medium, which had many supporters, though it recommended that gold should continue to be a legal tender in payment of revenue. In the face of the constantly fluctuating market value of gold, it was indeed impossible to come to any other conclusion.

Currency
question.

In 1866, Sir Richard Temple was promoted from the office of commissioner of the central provinces to the political department, as Resident at Hyderabad. He was succeeded by Mr. Strachey, who did ample justice to his predecessor's immense exertions, which may be briefly summarised. New and uniform land settlements had been completed all over the various provinces, and the demand fixed for from twenty to thirty years. Every class, every individual, general proprietors as well as occupants of fields, knew what their rights and obligations were, and all questions as to proprietary rights over waste lands were settled. The police department was reformed, and many native gentlemen were created honorary magistrates, and performed 'one-fifth' of the whole

Land settle-
ments and
other mea-
sures of the
central
provinces.

business satisfactorily. The civil courts of the provinces were enlarged, and the proceedings simplified; and improvement was manifest in the number of suits instituted, which rose from 19,000 to 45,000. 1,570 public vernacular schools were established, and fifty-six public dispensaries had afforded relief to 150,000 patients. Vaccination was extended to thousands, and sanitary regulations enforced in towns and villages. Four hundred miles of road had been bridged and metalled, and other branch lines in connection with the railway to Jubbulpoor were under construction. In addition to these, court-houses, police-stations, barracks, rest-houses for travellers, churches and wells, might be named; but the detail, after all, would hardly convey an idea of the impetus given to this long-neglected territory by Sir Richard Temple, or of his practically benevolent exertions in securing it. 'Whatever of progress,' writes his successor, Mr. Strachey, 'has been noted, was secured during Mr. Temple's rule. No such progress had ever been seen in this part of India before. Much of it may—must be, due to the action of natural, commercial; and social forces; but something, at any rate, may have been the result of good government, and must have been due to the personal exertions of Mr. Temple—to the system he introduced, and the officers he trained.' Sir Richard could not indeed be resisted; and while he achieved more in practical results, unaided, except by the subordinates, into whom he had to infuse his own energy, during his incumbency of little more than four years, these results rival, if they do not exceed, any in the history of the British administration of India.

On October 6, as Dr. Cotton, the Bishop of Calcutta, was on a tour of visitation in Assam, he was accidentally drowned, to the great grief of the Christian community. During his incumbency, he had laboured very zealously and effectually in the cause of the Church, had visited every station in his vast diocese, and had stimulated the ministers of religion by his example and discipline; and a very sincere tribute to his memory and admirable labours was recorded by the viceroy in council.

In conformity with the Act of Parliament for the government of India, two provincial high courts were established in 1866, one for the Punjab at Lahore, one for the north-western provinces at Agra. These were presided over by chief justices appointed by the crown, and serve as the local courts of appeal, from all lower courts, as well as courts of first instance.

The question of irrigation in India had been warmly taken up by Lord Cranborne during his tenure of office as Secretary of State for India, and the deplorable famine

Death of
Bishop
Cotton.

The high
courts
established.

Irrigation.

of Orissa had opened the way to a clearer perception of the necessity and practical value of these useful works. The scarcity of rain in that province had been followed by floods almost as destructive; but the advantage of regular and controllable supplies of water was not the less evident. Colonel Strachey was therefore sent from England as commissioner for works of irrigation, and arrived early in 1867, for the purpose of furthering these great undertakings; but some time necessarily elapsed before details could be decided upon. Even in this year the continuance of distress was severely felt in Orissa: and the viceroy stated at a public meeting convened in Calcutta, that 27,000 tons of rice would still be required, and 1,500 orphan children already, with 2,000 more in prospect, would have to be maintained.

The census of the central provinces, taken on November 5, 1866, with much care, was promulgated early in 1867. The result was perfectly unexpected in the great majority of Hindoos over Mahomedans, and was as follows:—

Census of
central pro-
vinces.

Hindoos	.	.	.	.	.	6,864,770
Mahomedans	.	.	.	.	.	237,922
						<hr/> 7,102,692

Of those classed under Hindoo, were the aboriginal tribes, numbering about two millions. The result gave only seventy-nine souls to the square mile, which is attributable to the immense preponderance of forest, jungle, and uncleared, and for the most part unculturable, land.

Little more of general or historical interest marks the year 1867, but as it was closed with a discussion in regard to extension of railways, those under completion up to this period may be briefly noted:—

1. Lord Dalhousie's projected line from Calcutta to Dehly, called the East Indian, to be prolonged to Attock, in the Punjab, with an extension south to Jubbulpoor.

2. The Great Peninsular Railway from Bombay to Jubbulpoor, to meet the East Indian, as well as a line *via* Sholapoor to meet the Madras line, near the Toombuddra river, with an extension from Sholapoor to Hyderabad.

3. The Bombay, Baroda, and Ahmedabad line.

4. The Sinde line, connecting Sinde *via* Mooltan with the East Indian line, in the Punjab.

5. The Oudh and Rohilkhund line.

6. The Great Southern of India.

7. Eastern Bengal.

8. Calcutta and South-Eastern.

9. Madras and Western Coast.

By the report up to the year under notice, it appeared that,

out of 5,599½ miles of projected railways, 3,934½ miles had been completed, and 1,665 miles remained to be finished.

The whole of the questions noted in this chapter are of a purely administrative character; but as they serve to illustrate the progression of events in India, are not without historical importance.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE (*concluded*), 1868.

THE details of works of irrigation, in operation, in their construction, or projected, were reviewed by Sir John Lawrence in Council on March 31, 1868, with the following Review of great irrigation works. results:—

I. In the Punjáb:—1. A new canal from the Sutlej was roughly estimated at 2,000,000*l.* sterling; the work, it was hoped, would be begun next season. 2. The remodelling of the Báree Dooáb canal and that of the Western Jumna. 3. Surveys for canals from the Sutlej to Ferózepoor and Mooltan, and for the extension of the canal system on the right bank of the Indus.

II. In the North-west Provinces:—1. A new canal projected from below Dehly to irrigate the Agra and Muttra districts, at the cost of 500,000*l.* 2. The improvement of the Ganges canal for navigation, in order to complete a water communication from Lahore to Dehly, Agra, the Dooáb and Oudh. 3. Works in Rohilkhund for irrigation and drainage, as also in Bundelkhund in respect to utilising the waters of the three largest rivers. 4. In Oudh, a canal from the Sarda; would be not inferior to the Ganges canal, at a cost of 2,000,000*l.*

III. In Bengal several projects:—1. To utilise the waters of the Gunduk. 2. A canal from the Ganges, near Ráj Mahál, perhaps as far as Calcutta. 3. A canal from the Damoodra, for navigation and irrigation, through the coal district of Raneegunje, to the Hooghly. 4. A canal from the Soane; the project, originally, of the East India Irrigation Company. 5. The works of the same company in Orissa, already in progress.

IV. In the Central Provinces, two promising projects were in course of survey.

V. In the Madras Presidency:—1. The completion by extension of branches of the great works on the Krishna and Godavery rivers. 2. Two very large tanks near Madras itself. 3. The extension of irrigation from the Pennar river into the Vellore district. 4. A project for the utilisation of the waters of a river in

Travancore, to be applied to the province of Madura. 5. Extension and improvement of the works of the Cavery river.

VI. In the Presidency of Bombay:—1. A project for a large canal from the Indus at Róree, to irrigate the Hyderabad collectorate in Sindé, with improvements of other existing works. 2. In Guzerat a project, already sanctioned, of a canal from the Taptý river. 3. In Khandésh, a work of irrigation of considerable importance, already in progress. 4. In the Deccan, several undertakings in various stages of progress, and several new projects which would be submitted to Government.

VII. In Mysore, a large sum would be applied from the surplus revenues in furtherance of irrigation works.

The Secretary of State had already sent out thirty civil engineers of experience, who would be distributed to various localities, and others would follow in the coming year; and ‘generally,’ his Excellency states, ‘it might be affirmed that the Government of India had taken all necessary steps to inaugurate the policy of extending irrigation to the utmost. It had already established in every province a separate head to the irrigation branch of the public works department, and would be ready to consider favourably every proposal having in view the improved administration of this class of works.’

From the foregoing detail, which necessarily excludes all former works executed and in actual working operation, it will be seen that new irrigation projects extended to all the three presidencies of India; that the importance of such projects had been fully recognised; and that no doubt existed, not only of those detailed being executed as rapidly as funds could be provided, but that they would be succeeded by others in every province where the means of obtaining water supplies, and of disposing of them to advantage in the irrigation of the soil, appear to be practicable and profitable. To all such undertakings, it is evident that the viceroy had given his best consideration and encouragement.

Small wars are seldom absent from India, and early in 1868, an insurrection of the Wághurs—an aboriginal tribe in the province of Kattiawar, in the Bombay presidency—arose, which required force for its suppression. The Wághurs had originally possessed the district of Okamundel, in which they resided, which was sold to the Gáikwar in 1815. In 1857, the district was re-transferred to the British Government, and it was found that the Wághurs had never abandoned their hereditary occupations of plunder and lawless conduct. Collision with the new administration was inevitable; but a small force under Colonel Anderson encountered and routed a body of them—not, however,

Measures for
extending
irrigation.

Importance
of the
question.

Waghur
insurrection.

without losing two valuable officers, Captains La Touche and Hibbert. A partial insurrection of Bheels followed in another part of Guzerat, but was promptly suppressed.

The military operations of the year closed with a campaign against the Afghans of the Black Mountain, on the north-west of the Punjâb—near the locality of the Umbeyla campaign—who, like the Sittâna fanatics, had been excited by the Wâhâbees of Patna and Southern India; a strange circumstance, when it is considered that those who sought to excite rebellion, and those who entered into it, were separated by 1,500 miles. But the conspirators were not without system; they had forwarded supplies and money, by agents, through the railways to their destination, and, no doubt, succeeded in making considerable preparations. The tribe now seduced was the Hus-sunzye, inhabiting the Agrôr valley, in the Black Mountain range. They attacked a police station as a commencement of hostilities, and showing no disposition to submit, a campaign against them became inevitable. Troops were therefore massed upon the frontier under the command of General Wylde; and marching on September 26, two brigades advanced to Oghee on October 3, whence the operations continued till the 7th, when a village belonging to the Parâree Syeds, having been destroyed, the chiefs of several of the clans, finding further resistance impossible, came into camp for terms, which were accelerated by the results of other attacks upon their positions and villages, in which the enemy were uniformly routed. By the 10th, however, all had submitted, and the force was withdrawn. It was considered by many that enough punishment had not been inflicted to have a permanent effect in the prevention of outrage; but Government was satisfied that ill-will would only be perpetuated by the continued destruction of villages, and that the present submission of the clans might be received in earnest of future good behaviour. Enough had been done on the Black Mountain, as well as at Umbeyla, to prove that no natural obstruction and no armed opposition could prevent progress, when it was needful, into the wildest and most inaccessible regions of the mountains.

The question of the western frontier, which had occupied all successive Governments of India, from the Mahomedan period up to the present time, is still an open one; but much progress has been made in it, and there are good grounds for believing that the tribes, though not under our own Government, nor, indeed, many of them under that of Afghanistan, but wholly independent, are becoming more amenable to civilised influences than before, while the sharp lessons that have been occasionally read to them have not been entirely without effect.

The Ameer Dost Mahomed of Afghanistan died in 1863. Up to the period of his death he had not only preserved perfect good faith with the Government of India, but had maintained tranquillity in his dominions. After his death, though he had appointed his son, Shére Ally Khan, to succeed him, the nomination was opposed by his brothers Afzool Khan and Azim Khan; and a series of struggles took place, in one of which Shére Ally was dethroned, and Afzool Khan became ruler. He did not live long afterwards, and his son, Abdool Rahmán, waived his claim in favour of his uncle, Azim Khan, who had been for some time a fugitive in British territory. Ultimately, however, Shére Ally regained his throne, and the opposing faction was gradually overcome.

During the whole of this prolonged contest the policy of the viceroy was much criticised both in England and in India. By many, especially in India where a powerful army was burning for a further field of action, he was blamed for not interfering in force for the support of Shére Ally, or in any case for the pacification of Afghanistan. While in a disturbed condition, it was assumed to be at the mercy of Persian, or worse, Russian intrigue: and nothing but a decided interference in arms could, it was alleged, prevent the Russians from crossing the Oxus to the assistance of Shére Ally, Azim Khan, Abdool Rahmán, or whichever party should bid highest for their support. The assemblage of General Wyld's magnificent force against the Black Mountain tribes gave colour to the supposition that a movement into Afghanistan was projected: but the policy of the viceroy was a perfect neutrality, and was supported by remarkable reasoning which is well explained in the 'Edinburgh Review' of April, 1870 (No. 268). It is not necessary to enter into the details of the subject, further than to state that the designs of Russia, should she have any, would only be furthered by a fresh British advance into Afghanistan, and that the best policy would be to support the *de facto* ruler of the country, without entering into the intricate mazes of its domestic politics; or that intrigue on the part of Persia was an idle bugbear, the weakness of which had been already sufficiently demonstrated to need any fresh illustration. It is very possible that the army was disappointed by Sir John Lawrence's pacific policy; but there can be no question of its expediency.

In this year a precautionary measure was sanctioned for the construction of fortified posts in many of the large stations, as well to protect the arsenals, as to afford refuge in case of need. That such works would have proved invaluable during the mutiny will have been manifest from the narrative of events. In the Punjáb, at Jullunder and Sealkote; in

Affairs of
Afghanistan;
death of Dost
Mahomed.

Disputed
succession.

Policy of the
viceroy.

Fortified
posts.

India, at Nowgong in the central provinces, at Umballa, and at Hyderabad in the Deccan, these fortified arsenals were to be constructed, while at Mooltan, at Pesháwur, and Rawul Pindee more extensive forts were to be executed. It is perhaps a strange fact, that, with the exception of the presidencies, the English have erected no fortifications in India. In a few localities, as at Dehly, Allahabad, and Agra: Ahmednugger in the Deccan, Bellary, Vellore, &c., native fortifications have been improved, and used as magazines; but in no other part of the country do they exist, and the siege of Dehly formed an impressive lesson against trusting them, in case they were constructed, to any but English soldiers. In barracks, indeed, the expenditure, under Sir John Lawrence's administration, had been munificent, nearly seven millions sterling having been applied to this purpose alone.

The details of purely administrative measures are subjects hardly fitted, by their local and often intricate character, for discussion in a manual of history: but a few belonging to Sir John Lawrence's incumbency may be briefly enumerated. The Municipal Improvement Act of 1868 was applied to the formation and guidance of municipalities in the north-west provinces. The local municipal committees consist of a proportion of official and non-official members, and their duties are the conservancy of towns and villages, and their improvements; the expenses being defrayed from taxes levied on houses and the octroi duties which have been imposed. Under the operation of this Act much has already been effected, especially in the conservancy of towns, a subject much neglected before; and as an incitement to efforts in local management of details, which were almost beyond the province of the collector or magistrate, they are practically useful and encouraging.

Two Acts—XIX. and XXVIII.—of 1865 are, however, of more important character. The former relates to the rights of cultivators in Oudh, the latter a similar measure in regard to the Punjáb. By these Acts, the definitions of the rights of tenants, whether hereditary or at will, and so-called tenant-right upon improvements, are expressed and confirmed; but neither measures have passed without strong opposition and lengthened discussions, into which it is impossible to enter. In taking up the subject, it was evidently the intention of Sir John Lawrence to secure the rights of hereditary occupancy of land to those who have possessed them for generations. Such tenancies are well known and well defined in Madras and Bombay, where, so long as the stipulated rent or land-tax was paid, the occupant had a proprietary right in the land he cultivated. Other tenants, being tenants at will without hereditary right, had occupancy

from year to year, or by lease as might be agreed. In the case of Oudh, hereditary right was defined by a thirty years' occupancy, dating back from February 1856; but it is advanced, and perhaps admitted, by the cultivators, that there are no classes in Oudh to which the designation of hereditary occupant, or, as he would be termed in Bombay or Madras, 'Merasdār,' can be applied; and the Talookdars of Oudh have protested against the interference which a recognition of such rights would involve. Equally in the Punjâb, rights which in other parts of India have been guarded with the most jealous care by the people, and respected by all preceding native governments, as before explained, are apparently unknown or unclaimed, and are thus accounted for by Sir John Lawrence:—'Under the Sikh rule, the position of the hereditary cultivators was practically very much on a par with that of proprietors in the same village. And although the Sikhs, in their social relations to each other, set a high value on proprietary rights in land, more particularly when these were ancestral, their rulers acted very differently, and cared little who held, or who cultivated, these lands, provided that the revenue was punctually paid.'

This exemplifies the present condition of the Punjâb hereditary tenures, and shows the results of disturbed and oppressive administrations, which not only did not protect existing rights in land, but overthrew them in mere consideration of revenue. The condition of Oudh exhibits exactly the same result, from the same causes. The hereditary landholders had been unable to retain their rights in opposition to a grasping administration in the Punjâb, and to the unlimited and unquestioned power of the Talookdars in Oudh.

Sir John Lawrence's motive in these Bills was the protection, by legal recognition, of the hereditary occupant, and the security of his tenure: and considering the additional value which land in India is acquiring under a settled government and moderate assessment, there is no question that Sir John's large experience led him directly to the root of the question, in the establishment of definite rights, and, therefore, titles to the land, wherever they could be proved. The working of these two Acts is, therefore, a subject of much interest, but certainly, as yet, undefinable; and in the case of hereditary occupants, cannot fail to ensure the gratitude of those concerned on a point which, in former settlements in the Bengal presidency, had been much or entirely overlooked, and which in the Punjâb and in Oudh might have shared the same fate in being irredeemably swept away, but for his wise and timely interposition.

At the close of 1868, Sir John Lawrence's term of office having

nearly expired, Earl Mayo, Chief Secretary for Ireland under Mr. Disraeli's administration, was appointed viceroy, and arrived in Bombay before the end of the year. If Sir John Lawrence's policy as viceroy be reviewed, it will not be found barren of fruit. The long list of administrative acts, his adjustment of progressive measures, his extension, as far as practicable, of education, his liberality in public works, his Bills for the protection of tenants in Oudh and in the Punjâb, are peculiarly his own, and may be separated from the heterogeneous Acts passed by the Legislative Council. All evince a benevolence of purpose, a deep desire to further and secure the interests of the people whom he had known so long, and over whom he became in turn chief ruler. His foreign policy was peculiarly his own, and has not been impugned. With all these great points in his favour, and with the certainty of having by his mere presence and authority repressed latent disaffection, it must be admitted that his rule was not popular as viceroy, though it was great and powerful. His own service was doubtless jealous of a member who had belonged to their ranks and had overstepped all; yet there was no one who watched more vigilantly over its rights, or whose patronage was more pure. Popularity in India, however, unless accompanied by corresponding vigour, is the lowest meed of praise that can be accorded to a viceroy, and was a distinction never sought by Lord Lawrence, or attempted to be sought, either from Europeans or from natives. Enough for him that he did his duty, strictly, sternly perhaps, without bending; and in this respect, the character and administration of Lord Lawrence, apart from his Punjâb acts, will rise in proportion with the lapse of time. On his retirement from the office of viceroy, his long and great services were recognised and rewarded by his elevation to the peerage.

Earl Mayo
appointed
viceroy.

Review of
Sir John
Lawrence's
policy.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF EARL MAYO, AND CONCLUSION: 1869 TO 1870.

THE appointment of Earl Mayo to the office of viceroy was severely criticised and opposed both in England and in India; and indeed to succeed one so perfectly conversant with the affairs of India as his predecessor, was to induce a comparison which might prove disadvantageous. Earl Mayo belonged to the Conservative party of England; but his appointment was nevertheless ratified

by Mr. Gladstone's Whig Cabinet—a wise measure in relation to the people of India, as proving to them that the man considered most capable would be selected for their governor, without reference to home politics. But the progress of Earl Mayo, while it has surprised those to whom he was unknown, has fully justified the selection originally made. His great capacity has been developed, and the experience he is gaining bids fair to place him in the rank of the most illustrious men who have preceded him. Among all classes, European and native, he has established a widespread popularity and respect, as much due to his public measures as to his magnificent hospitality. So far, indeed, he appears to be one of those characters which can only be estimated by having been placed in a position in which his natural powers are increased by exercise of great responsibilities. Unfettered and unprejudiced by any former association with, or opinion upon, Indian questions, and without any former local ties, he is able to apply a fresh, clear, and powerful judgment to the consideration of all local affairs, and to the general well-being of the empire. The results of a year's incumbency leave little room for comment, though events have already occurred, not only to develop great and independent decision of character, but to afford a key, as it were, to future results.

Earl Mayo's
qualifica-
tions.

The foreign policy of Lord Lawrence has been briefly noticed in the last chapter. It was strictly non-interferent as regards Afghanistan, but reticent—perhaps overmuch. While it professed to encourage Shère Ally, the ruler of Afghanistan, it was cold in demeanour and in practical effect; and Lord Mayo, while he strictly retained the principles of non-interference, went a step further, in giving to the Ameer Shère Ally hearty and generous recognition, assistance, and hospitality. There may have been obstacles to such a course during Lord Lawrence's viceroyalty which have not transpired. If this were the case, Lord Mayo availed himself of the first moment at which they were withdrawn to redeem his predecessor's views from a coldness which might grow into positive marks of mistrust, if not aversion, on the part of the Ameer. A cordial invitation to Ameer Shère Ally to visit India, and confer upon matters relating to Afghanistan and the security of the frontier, was therefore forwarded to Kabool, and was responded to in the same spirit in which it was given. On March 27, 1869, the Ameer met the viceroy at Umballa, and was sumptuously *fêted* and entertained: receiving not only presents of great intrinsic value, but, what was of more consequence to him, entire recognition of his rights and position, with means of

Foreign
policy.

The Ameer
Shère Ally
visits the
viceroy.

defending them in a supply of arms, and a money subsidy of twelve lacs of rupees, or 120,000*l.* per year. By this generous proceeding, Earl Mayo has not only secured the personal attachment of the Ameer, but enabled him to judge of the magnitude of the British resources in India, of the progress of the country, and condition of its people in comparison with his own, which can hardly fail of having future good effect. The results of the Ameer's visit, the honour which was accorded to him, together with the good feeling which existed on both sides, have ere now become known to all the nations and tribes of Central Asia. They have already effected much that was needful to the consolidation of the Ameer's power; and the knowledge that it is not only recognised, but supported by the authority of the viceroy, backed by all the resources at his disposal, cannot fail to repress intrigue and disaffection. Under such circumstances, the peace and gradual improvement of Afghanistan can hardly be doubtful; and it is impossible for its people not to perceive that all bitter memories of the past have given place to more generous and hopeful feelings on the part of the British Government.

Following the brilliant reception of Ameer Shère Ally, the discovery of a considerable estimated deficit in the budget of the year 1868-69 was an unlooked for and unpleasant contingency which had not been anticipated, and the financial report of Sir Richard Temple was met with sharp criticism in India and England. In this question the viceroy is now engaged. Retrenchments and an enhanced income-tax are not less unpopular measures now than they have ever been found to be; but the necessity for real economy cannot be relaxed, and while the actual condition of the revenue cannot be exactly ascertained until the close of the session of Parliament, there is every reason to believe that by a vigorous effort this temporary check may be overcome, and by the period of the budget of 1869-70 that the proper equilibrium of revenue and expenditure may be attained and confirmed.

Apprehended
deficit in the
budget of
1868-69.

While these pages were being written, Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria, had completed a tour of India. He arrived in Calcutta on December 22, 1869, in his noble frigate the 'Galatea,' and was received with every demonstration of loyal welcome and rejoicing. He was entertained with truly regal pomp and splendour by Earl Mayo, and invested with the Grand Cross of the Star of India by him as its Grand Master, amidst a gathering of native princes and nobles, Hindoo and Mahomedan, such as Calcutta never witnessed before, nor may, perhaps, witness again. The events are too recent to need any description in these pages; and while

Visit of
Prince Alfred
to India.

the progress of the prince was marked by eager welcome and profuse hospitality, English and native, throughout the country, its moral effect in familiarising the people of India with the royal family which now rules them, in uniting the bond between the native and alien races, and in securing the grateful acknowledgment of the Queen for her son's reception, can hardly be overrated. With this event, the year 1869 closed in
prospects of 1870.

India, amidst profound peace and general rejoicing, and the year 1870 opened with their continuance. The cloud of suffering with which 1869 was overcast in the north-west provinces and Rajpootána, by the famine which prevailed, has also cleared away, and there is every hope that abundance may ensue in the coming harvest. At this happy juncture, therefore, this history of India closes.

As a student's manual only, necessarily restricted in size, it has been impossible to review events as they have occurred with the fulness which can only be attained in an elaborate history. Yet it may be hoped that sufficient detail has been given to induce the student to follow up the works of the various historians of India, which will not fail both to instruct, and, by their wonderful and varied interest, to gratify him. From the dim early ages of Aryan invasion to the establishment of Hindoo power; from the decadence of that power under Mahomedan invasion and dominion, to the establishment of the sway of the Christian nation of England over both, the long record of more than 3,000 years has been completed through the varied stages of progress—from aboriginal savagery and barbarism, to the civilising influences of the nineteenth century. Of the Hindoo period, the records are indeed scanty; but from the
Hindoo period. literature and science which have survived, there is evidence that during its existence the Aryan people were as far in advance of their Western brethren in intellectual culture as they are now below them, and that what they were then in religion, in capacity, in ingenuity, and in social habits, so, for the most part, they are now. Three thousand years—a period of time hardly realisable by mere numbers—has seen change certainly among them; but comparatively it has been very slight, and the institution of caste, and the religion of Brahma, still resist the influences of Mahomedanism and Christianity. If other impressions are gaining strength in the land under the influence of Christian teaching and secular education, they are necessarily slow of development; and it must be remembered that the recently-declared Brahmóism, from which much appears to be expected, is not Christianity, but the resuscitation of that simple Theism which was the religion of the Védás 4,000 years ago, and as yet has made a very limited progress.

What the future of the great Hindoo race, for the most part Aryan, may be, is at present dark; but may become, under Divine guidance, both bright and glorious.

Through all the Mahomedan period and its variations, the student has been conducted with more ample definition of events ^{Mahomedan} than the Hindoo; for the Mahomedans, wherever they ^{period.} settled or conquered, have furnished excellent historians, and India, in this respect, has proved no exception. Their magnificent conquests, their splendour, their cruelty, their often savage fanaticism, their massacres of 'infidel' Hindoos, and their occasional benevolence and statesmanlike greatness, in laws, in revenue settlements, and in political measures, have been followed as nearly and fully as was practicable. That they had deteriorated in all great qualities long before the virtual destruction of their power by the Mahrattas, will be evident from the events which followed the reign of Aurungzebe, their only monarch who can be said with truth to have been Emperor of India. What remains of their period of sway are magnificent mosques, mausoleums, palaces, and fortresses, unequalled in the world: memorials of individual and dynastic wealth, and greatness only. There was no science and no literature to survive. It has been a favourite subject with popular writers to contrast the comparatively niggardly spirit and feeble execution of English works with those of the Mahomedans, and to depreciate what has been effected by India's last conquerors; but the accusation was unjust and unmerited. Englishmen, though they might govern large provinces, were yet poorly paid in proportion to Mahomedans in the same positions; and where the one might spend enormous sums upon his mausoleum, might found mosques and colleges, or build a palace from the revenues at his disposal, the corresponding English officer lived in a humble bungalow, accounted to his government for every penny he collected, and when he died rested under a simple stone or monument. Mahomedan emperors made no roads, no harbours, and but few bridges or canals—these, too, defective in scientific construction. Yet they ruled for more than 700 years with, for the greater part of the time, the resources of the whole of India at their disposal.

The English, who have struggled into local power during the last hundred years, were, for the first half of it, little more than commercial adventurers, who, when the ^{The English.} opportunity occurred, and they were insensibly drawn into the existing local struggles, struck in boldly for supremacy, and won it; and in the record of the last half of the century must the effects of their progress be looked for. Gradual, very gradual, and perhaps timorous at first, it received its final impetus from the Marquis of Dalhousie, and since then has never stopped. The early

rigid conservative policy is regretted by many; but it must be borne in mind that English civilisation is not Indian, and that to have urged on what existed in England before a way had been provided for it in India, would have been to incur a risk which might have lost all that has been gained.

So, now at last the field is open, and the progress swift and sure, England can look with pride upon many thousands of miles of metalled and bridged roads constructed—over mountain-passes, and through forests, where before there were barely foot-tracks; over rivers at their highest floods, morasses, and plains, impassable in the monsoons, now traversable with safety in all seasons; to 15,000 miles of railways which will be eventually constructed—of which, as stated by Lord Mayo at Jubbulpoor in April—4,000 miles are already opened, 1,000 are in progress, and 9,000 are about to be immediately commenced, carrying with them greater civilising influences than it is possible yet to imagine, while they enlarge the commerce and develop the resources of the country; to several thousands of miles of navigable and irrigating canals, the only rivals to which are the ancient Hindoo irrigation works of the Madras presidency; to at least 15,000 miles of electric telegraph; to a uniform and certain postal system at a very low rate; to a progressive system of public education; and, above all, to the maintenance of peace throughout India, in contrast with the never-ending strife, rapine, and butchery of the Mahomedan and Mahratta periods. Of the early Hindoo ages the records are indeed dimmer; and yet, from what has been ascertained, there is every reason to conclude that the condition of the country was not materially different. For more than a thousand years, at least, there are unvarying records of war and desolation, till they culminated in the acts of the Mahrattas and Pindharees; and from these, as from all other public scourges, the power of England has delivered the long-suffering people of India. Greater than these are the moral effects of universal security of property, the rapid progression of national wealth, industry, and intelligence, and the conversion of purely military and predatory classes into productive members of the community. It is no little triumph to have been able to turn swords into ploughshares among alien races; and yet the examples of the Mahrattas, the Sikhs, and many other classes, are examples which admit of no denial. Let the student review in his mind the results of native rule which this history has furnished, and he will, I think, be unable to resist the conviction that the intervention of England at the crisis of confusion, and striving for mastery at which it occurred, was providentially directed and sustained.

It is at once admitted that the condition of some parts of the

Mutual progress under English rule.

Mahomedan period have had their parallel in European history: that its fierce contests, its fanatical massacres, may find equivalents in Christian nations, and that the murders and assassinations of its kings and princes, and tortures, ^{Mahomedans} have had, too, their Western representatives. But while the West emerged out of comparative barbarism into a brilliant civilisation, the Indian Mahomedan had not altered; nor has he shown as yet, for the most part, any symptom of regeneration; on the contrary, all change is hated and avoided, except by those upon whom orthodox Mahomedanism hangs more loosely than upon their forefathers.

Enough, however, of comparison of the past and the present. English rule may not be loved, may not be everywhere popular; but, tested by the fierce convulsion of the ^{Character of English rule.} Mutiny, and compared with the condition of the Mahomedan rule at its hundredth year of existence, it is more popular, and better loved. It has in it no element of pomp or display, by which the imaginations of an excitable people can be enthralled; but, on the contrary, in a hard, perhaps mechanical, adherence to routine, just to the people, painstaking and hardworking—it is sincerely respected. It prevents and suppresses crime, and it dispenses justice to all: it is honest, because its servants are incorruptible either by money or influence, and the test of rebellion only served the more firmly to establish its power and its preference over that of the native. It is rapidly creating wealth by development of natural resources and their employment, by extension of production, and by internal and external commerce; while it may be questioned whether any State in the civilised world shows more practical benevolence in the desire for, or utilisation of, improvement, than the widespread British provinces of India.

Urged as they are by example, by encouragement to exertion, and by surrounding progress, it is painfully evident how backward and defective most independent native States ^{Independent native States.} still remain in ordinary means of protection, justice, or public convenience to their people, and how slow they are to adopt more enlightened measures of reform. Wherever elements of improvement exist in them, they will continue to develop progress, and to maintain their positions: wherever they fail, they must inevitably, in process of time, drop into the great and irresistible tide of advancement which is fast spreading over the land. Meanwhile England does not wait. The history of the first ten years of the administration of the Crown shows not only no halting or faltering in purpose, but the reverse. The desire of England is India's greatness, prosperity, and happiness, as an essential part of

her own; and the simple but affecting prayer of Queen Victoria, which closes her proclamation to the people of her dominions, is this:—

‘MAY THE GOD OF ALL POWER GRANT UNTO US, AND TO THOSE IN AUTHORITY UNDER US, STRENGTH TO CARRY OUT THESE OUR WISHES FOR THE GOOD OF OUR PEOPLE.’

APPENDIX

To Page 120, Book II.

NIZAM-OD-DEEN AHMED BUKSHY observes in his History that Feróze introduced many excellent laws, which were current in his time. Among others were the following regulations:—The first was the abolition of the practice of mutilating criminals—a mode of punishment which he would not allow to be inflicted on any of his subjects, Mahomedan or Hindoo; the second regulation limited very much the demand on cultivators, by which he increased not only the population but the revenue. . . . He caused his regulations to be carved on the Musjid of Ferózábad, of which the following may be taken as a sample.

‘It has been usual in former times to spill Mahomedan blood on trivial occasions, and for small crimes to mutilate and torture them by cutting off the hands and feet and noses and ears, by putting out eyes, by pulverising the bones of the living criminal with mallets, by burning the body with fire, by crucifixion and by nailing the hands and feet, by flaying alive, by the operation of ham-stringing, and by cutting human beings to pieces. God, in His infinite goodness, having been pleased to confer on me the power, has also inspired me with the disposition, to put an end to these practices. It is my resolution, moreover, to restore, in the daily prayers offered up for the royal family, the names of all those princes, my predecessors, who have reigned over the empire of Dehly, in hopes that these prayers, being acceptable to God, may in some measure appease His wrath and ensure His mercy towards them. It is also hereby proclaimed that the small and vexatious taxes under the denomination of Cotwally, &c., payable to the public servants of Government, as perquisites of officers, by small traders; that licences for the right of pasturage from shepherds on waste lands belonging to the Crown; fees from flowersellers, fishsellers, cottoncleaners, silksellers, and cooks; and the precarious and fluctuating taxes on shopkeepers and vintners, shall henceforward cease throughout the realm; for it is better to relinquish this portion of the revenue than realise it at the expense of so much distress occasioned by the discretionary power necessarily invested in tax-gatherers and officers of authority; nor will any tax hereafter be levied contrary to the written law of “the book.”

‘It has been customary to set aside one-fifth of all property taken in

war for the troops, and to reserve four-fifths for the Government. It is hereby ordered that in future four-fifths shall be distributed to the troops, and one-fifth only reserved for the Crown. I will on all occasions cause to be banished from the realm persons convicted of the following crimes:—Those who profess Atheism or who maintain schools of vice; all public servants convicted of corruption, as well as persons paying bribes. I have myself abstained from wearing gaudy silk apparel and jewels, as an example to my subjects. I have considered it my duty to repair every public edifice of utility constructed by my predecessors—such as caravanserais, musjids, wells, reservoirs of water, aqueducts, canals, hospitals, almshouses, and schools—and have alienated considerable portions of the revenue for their support. I have also taken pains to discover the surviving relatives of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my late lord and master, Mahomed Toghluik, and having pensioned and provided for them, have caused them to grant their full pardon and forgiveness to that prince, in the presence of the holy and learned men of their age, whose signatures and seals as witnesses are affixed to the documents, the whole of which, as far as lay in my power, have been procured and put into a box, and deposited in the vault in which Mahomed Toghluik is entombed. I have gone and sought consolation from all the most learned and holy men within my realm, and have taken care of them. Whenever my soldiers have been rendered inefficient for service by wounds or by age, I have caused them to be pensioned on full pay for life. Two attempts have been made to poison me, but without effect.’—Extract from ‘History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India,’ Briggs’s ‘Trans. of Ferish-ta,’ vol. i. pp. 162–164.

II.

INDIAN STATISTICS.

THE annual ‘Statistical Abstract relating to British India’ has been issued by the India Office:—

It states that there are 910,853 square miles of territory under British administration, containing a population of 155,348,090 souls; the native States under the Government of India comprise (as far as can be ascertained) 646,147 square miles, with a population of 46,245,888; and the foreign States comprise 188 square miles under the French Government, with a population of 203,887, and 1,066 square miles under the Portuguese Government, with a population of 313,262. The total presents an area of 1,558,254 square miles, and a population of 202,111,127 souls. In those portions of British India for which the

occupations of the people are stated, not including Bengal (Lower Provinces) or Bombay, 60,000,000 among 102,000,000 are described as engaged in agriculture; 53,000,000 are males, 48,000,000 females; 78,000,000 are Hindoos, 17,000,000 Mahomedans, 1,700,000 are Parsees, Jains, and Buddhists; 1,000,000 are Sikhs, and 523,875 Christians, 57,421 of these being Europeans. The gross revenue of British India for the year ending March 31, 1869, was 49,262,691*l.*, and the gross expenditure in India and England, 53,407,334*l.*, leaving a deficiency of 4,144,643*l.*; the public debt amounted to 102,866,189*l.*, and the interest upon it to 5,025,014*l.* Revenue, expenditure, debt, and interest are all higher than in any other of the ten years, 1860-69, included in this little volume of statistics. The imports into British India by sea in the financial year 1868-69, including treasure, amounted in value to 50,943,191*l.*, and the exports to 53,706,830*l.* The imports of merchandise amounted to 35,793,767*l.*; among them were cotton goods, 15,483,476*l.*; cotton twist and yarn, 2,531,656*l.*; metals, manufactured and unmanufactured, 3,211,408*l.*; metal manufactures, 451,379*l.*; railway materials, 1,526,780*l.*; machinery, 730,295*l.*; raw silk, 703,840*l.*; silk goods, 381,836*l.*; woollen goods, 722,262*l.*; apparel, 483,551*l.*; jewellery and precious stones, 370,637*l.*; salt, 683,455*l.* The exports included raw cotton of the value of 19,707,877*l.*; cotton goods, twist and yarns, 1,329,944*l.*; opium, 10,695,654*l.*; dyes, 3,023,146*l.*; grain and pulse, 2,650,898*l.*; jute, and jute manufactures, 2,070,242*l.*; raw silk, 1,269,468*l.*; seeds, 1,927,989*l.*; coffee, 1,111,027*l.*; hides and skins, 1,230,932*l.*; tea, 974,519*l.*; ivory and ivory ware, 224,802*l.*; saltpetre, 310,757*l.* The moneys coined at the mints of the several presidencies in the year amounted to 5,457,083*l.*, almost all silver. The Government currency notes in circulation averaged 10,145,533*l.*; the reserve in coin, 6,618,191*l.* The expenditure on public works sanctioned by the Government in the year 1868-69 was 7,040,000*l.*—viz., 2,400,000*l.* on military works, 829,321*l.* on civil buildings, 2,561,505*l.* on public improvements, and 1,249,174*l.* on establishments, tools, plant, &c. The expenditure by the Government on schools and colleges in the year was 590,452*l.*; the average attendance of pupils reached 757,767, in schools and colleges belonging to or aided by the Government. The number of letters and newspapers transmitted through the post-office of British India in the year reached 74,664,817—a great advance on previous years. The troops employed in British India in the year were 184,858—64,858 being Europeans and 120,000 natives. The number of emigrants embarked from British India is stated at 13,358—6,377 proceeding to the West Indies, 5,014 to British Guiana, and 1,967 to Mauritius. Railway progress has already been reported by Mr. Juland Danvers.—*Homeward Mail*, August 19, 1870.

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