LORD PALMERSTON.
but one which shows how cautious we
should be in believing rumours that occa-
sonally reach us from India. Sir Patrick
Grant, when leaving Calcutta, knowing well
the tendency to idle gossip which prevailed
among some of his fellow-countrymen in
that city, particularly when they were ex-
cited by any extraordinary alarm, deter-
mined that, although it would have been
more convenient to him to travel by the
public steamer, he would make the voyage
in a man-of-war. He went by a man-of-
war; but the cautious tactics of the old
soldier were utterly fruitless; for soon
afterwards, there appeared in a portion of
the Calcutta press, a detailed account of his
excursion in the public steamer, together
with a minute report of his conversations
with his fellow-passengers, ending with the
remark attributed to him, that he never
heard a sound so agreeable as the booming
of the guns which announced his departure
from the land of red tape. With regard to
the charge of the want of energy, industry,
and decision, brought against Lord Canning,
I shall only allude to one or two facts.
You are aware that Lord Canning
put restrictions upon the press. This is
another subject upon which I must avoid
expressing any opinion; but I think I may
say that that resolution of Lord Canning
appeared to meet with general approba-
tion, and was very fairly treated by the
public press of this country, notwithstanding
the esprit de corps which, to a certain
degree, might be expected to influence that
press on such a subject. Whether right or
wrong, it was a step which required great
moral courage; and, by its adoption, Lord
Canning exposed himself to much personal
unpopularity and obloquy. We are bound
to consider, that some of the most intelli-
gent men now in India—some of the men
most accustomed to wield the pen, and who
have the greatest opportunities of convey-
ing their sentiments and opinions to the
mother country—are smarting under the
very natural feeling, that they have been
unjustly treated, both as regards their
character and their property. I think,
therefore, that some of their statements
should be received with due allowance.
There is one more fact which I shall ven-
ture to bring before you. I think it is one
which has not yet been stated, and which
all will be glad to hear. It is generally
known that the king of Delhi made over-
tures to the besieging army. Now, it
happens that some of the bravest and most
successful military authorities in that part
of India, were of opinion, that so great were
the difficulties of the siege, those overtures
should be entertained. It is easy to say,
after the event, what was the right thing to
be done; but I submit that, at the moment;
it was creditable to the decision and the
moral courage of Lord Canning that he
sent the most peremptory orders to reject
the overtures made by the king of Delhi.
I have done with this subject. I think suc-
cess is not always a test of real merit; but
in this instance Lord Canning has collected
more troops than it was expected he would
be able to assemble, or than it was thought
possible, by the highest authority in parlia-
ment, he would be able to obtain; and,
without physical assistance from the home
government, he has ‘broken the neck’ of
one of the most formidable mutinies which
have ever occurred in our dominions.”

This important and unequivocal testi-
mony to the ability and general policy of
Lord Canning’s government, by the lord
president of her majesty’s council, was
co-robated and still more forcibly expressed
by Viscount Palmerston, the premier, on
the 9th of the same month, at a banquet in
Guildhall, upon the inauguration of the
majority of Alderman Sir Richard Carden.
Upon this occasion, his lordship, after pay-
ing a deserved tribute to the valour of the
troops, and the endurance of those who
had suffered by the rebellion in India, said—
“While we do justice to the great bulk of
our countrymen in India, we must not
forget that person who, by his exalted posi-
tion, stands at the head of our country-
men there. I mean the governor-general.
Lord Canning has shown throughout the
greatest courage, the greatest ability, and
the greatest resources; and, from the cor-
diality which exists between him, as head of
the civil service, and Sir Colin Campbell, as
head of the military service, we may be
sure that everything which the combined
experience of both can accomplish, will be
acted for the advantage of the country.
The task of Lord Canning will be indeed
a difficult one. He will have to punish the
guilty; he will have to spare the innocent;
and he will have to reward the deserving.
To punish the guilty adequately exceeds
the power of any civilised man; for the
atrocities which have been committed are
such as to be imagined and perpetrated
only by demons sallying forth from the
lowest depths of hell. But punishment must be inflicted, not only in a spirit of vengeance, but in a spirit of security, in order that the example of punished crime may deter from a repetition of the offence, and in order to insure the safety of our countrymen and countrywomen in India for the future. He will have to spare the innocent; and it is most gratifying to know, that while the guilty may be counted by thousands, the innocent must be reckoned by millions. It is most gratifying to us, and honourable to the people, that the great bulk of the population have had no share in the enormities and crimes which have been committed. They have experienced the blessings of British rule, and they have been enabled to compare it with the tyranny exercised over them by their native chiefs. They have had therefore no participation in the attempts which have been made to overthrow our dominion. Most remarkable it is, that the inhabitants of that part of our empire which has been most recently acquired (I mean the Punjab), who have had the most recent experience of the tyranny of their native rulers, have been most loyal on the present occasion, and most attached to their new and benevolent masters. Lord Canning will have also to reward the deserving; for many are they, both high and low, who have not only abstained from taking part in this mutiny, but who have most kindly and generously sheltered fugitives, rescued others from the assaults of the mutineers, and have merited recompense at the hands of the British government. I am convinced, that if Lord Canning receives—as I am sure he will—that confidence on the part of her majesty's government and of the people of this country, without which it is impossible for a man in his high position to discharge the duties which have devolved upon him, it will be found, when this dreadful tragedy is over, that he has properly discharged his duty, and that his conduct has not only been governed by a sense of stern and unflinching justice, but also by that discriminating generosity which is the peculiar characteristic of the British people.

This graceful tribute to the courage and judgment of Lord Canning, in the ordeal through which he was still passing, was no more than he had a right to expect under the extraordinary circumstances that surrounded him, and the undeserved censure to which his acts, imperfectly understood, had been exposed. That he should have been violently attacked was but a natural consequence of the position which his government occupied with respect to the Indian press and the independent Anglo-Indian public. The consequences of some of his acts, by which so much of obloquy had been created, could not yet be fairly measured; but one fact, at least, was in his favour—namely, that hitherto complete success had followed most of his measures. At home his conduct could be viewed with more impartiality than could be expected at the seat of his government, where all the elements of strife and dissatisfaction were in action. He had also the confidence of the government by which he was appointed, and he had painfully acquired experience in his hard and perilous career; and as it was now considered certain, that within a short time the great corporation which had hitherto held India at its feet, would be shorn of political power, and surrender its vast dominions to the immediate control of the British crown and parliament, it was felt that the services of one who had seen and learnt so much as Lord Canning had done, could not be valueless in the establishment of the new order of things.

Among a multiplicity of plans for civilising, Christianising, or Anglicising India, one was suggested which, it was thought likely, might be found a valuable auxiliary to the important work, being at the same time simple and unobjectionable. This consisted in a scheme for reducing the written or printed characters of the Oriental alphabets to the Roman type. Missionaries, and promoters of education in India, had, for a whole generation, been endeavouring to render all the Indian dialects in the same familiar notation; and, as it had now become a manifest necessity that natives should be attracted to the study of English, and that all difficulties which impeded the free intercourse of the governing race with the population, should be as far as possible removed, it became expedient that the government should give its support to any project that would facilitate such a result. The existing difficulty in attaining to a familiar intercourse between the races was not confined to the natives, as many Englishmen who had already acquired a fair colloquial knowledge of the native languages, were unable to overcome the obstacles interposed to a free and familiar intercourse with the people around.
them, through their ignorance of the Persian or Sanscrit characters of the various dialects. It was obvious that a very long period must elapse before English could become the official language; but, it was contended, there could be no reason why Hindostani, or Telegoo, should not be rendered intelligible to those by whom the machinery of government had to be kept in motion. In many portions of the Anglo-Indian territory, there were districts, larger than the whole area of Great Britain, which had no written language whatever; and, consequently, there could be no native prejudices in favour of any peculiar type; nor was there any valid reason why the English alphabet should not represent the utterances of the people. A similar experiment had been successfully tried with respect to the Phoenician Arabic alphabet of the Malteese, who were left by their former knightly masters to the exercise of a purely oral language. In support of the idea thus broached, it was assumed that the most inveterate prejudice in favour of Indian institutions, would find it difficult to create a grievance out of the introduction of a convenient alphabet for its people; the reading community bearing but a small proportion to the population of the empire, and an Indian education by no means implying a facility of reading fluently at sight. All the natives who were really educated, were already familiar with the English characters; and it was proposed that those who were not so, might be allowed, for a prescribed time, to use their own indigenous varieties of type. Bills of exchange, contracts, and other legal documents, could thus by degrees be brought under the improved system; and the lapse of a single generation would probably consign all the existing native modes of writing to oblivion. It was also urged by the advocates of the change, that, at the age of three or four years, even Hindus were comparatively exempt from prejudice; and that a child who exercised a choice, would certainly accept, in preference, the easiest alphabet. The mode of introducing the reformed system was proposed to be left to the direction of local administrators. A court, or a public office, could not compel suitors and tax-payers, except after a considerable specified interval, to adopt the innovation; but official documents and correspondence might, at an earlier period, furnish examples, and native ingenuity might be employed in deciphering writings connected with practical interests; and thus, at no very distant period, it was contended, the introduction of the English type would be found a vast convenience to the rulers, and be acknowledged as a valuable boon to all future generations of the ruled.

So much for a step in advance towards civilisation. For Christianising the people, it was resolved, at a public meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in India (which was held at Willis’s rooms on the 26th of November, the Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair), to adopt and carry out the following measures, in furtherance of the important object:

1. To double (at least) the number of the society’s European missionaries in India, and to promote, by every available means, the education, training, and ordination of the more advanced native converts for the work of the Christian ministry among their owncountrymen.

2. To found new, and strengthen existing missions, in the presidential and other principal cities of India, wherever there may appear to be the best opening, with a view to bring the truths of Christianity before the minds of the upper as well as of the lower classes in those great centres of population.

3. To press again upon the attention of the Indian government, the urgent necessity of a subdivision of the enormous dioceses of Calcutta and Madras, and especially to insist upon the desirability of establishing a bishopric for the Punjab, another for the North-Western Provinces, and a third for the province of Tinnevelly.

At this meeting, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Oxford, advocated, with much earnestness, the objects of the society; and the two latter prelates adduced powerful arguments, illustrated by examples, of the necessity for infusing the spirit of Christianity among the millions subjected to British rule in its Indian territory. The former, after expatiating at some length upon the cruel tendencies of the human heart in a state of paganism, said—”We have seen what heathenism is. Many of us have been brought up with such an admiration of the old classical heathens, that we had almost got to think that a refined heathen was not such a bad sort of man after all. But we now know what a refined heathen is: we know that in a moment he can be transformed into a raging beast; and that, impelled by a spirit of demoniacal wickedness, he can perpetrate deeds of atrocity such as we had vainly imagined the world would never again witness.” Again—“We have in every newspaper a true picture of what hea-
thenism is even in this day. And if of heathenism, have we not also a true picture of what Christianity is? What do you think it has been that has served these few Europeans to such extraordinary acts of daring, of self-sacrifice, and of heroic endurance? I believe that the high spirits of young men, and their bold soldierlike daring, may account for much; but these do not account for such quiet endurance in the midst of awful trials such as human nature never witnessed before. Talk of Roman matrons and Roman maidens! we henceforth shall talk of English matrons and English maidens. We know how, under circumstances to which it was impossible to suppose they would ever be exposed, they have risen superior to every attempt to degrade, every attempt to terrify them; and as long as the world lasts, the memory of these mothers and daughters of England will be revered wherever the English name is known. We have set before us, by them, pictures of Christian resignation which we delight to venerate; and when we read their letters, we find in them the spirit which has served them to such trials. I read last night two letters from a lady, since massacred, with her husband and child, who for weeks was expecting every hour the fate which at last fell upon her. While in this awful expectation, she wrote a journal day by day, which was transmitted to her friends; and never, out of Holy Writ, have I ever read words that spoke more truly of the reality of Christianity, of the strength of Christian faith, than in those few pathetic pages. That is but one specimen out of a hundred which we rejoice to think so many families will be able to lay by and treasure up among their most precious possessions. We may also conclude that God intends, by this great chastisement, to teach us rightly to value our Christianity, to show that it has borne fruits in our hearts, and to show this by our readiness to assist those who are in India; and, as this occasion particularly reminds us, by endeavouring in every way hereafter to spread the blessings of that Christianity throughout the world.”

The Bishop of Oxford, in speaking to a resolution upon this occasion, said—“The cobweb notions which have infected some brains, of educating Mohammedans and Brahmins until the polished heathen shall be capable of participating in a silken administration, seeking the happiness and good of all, have been swept away by the besom of the Cawnpore destruction. Why, the man who has shown himself to be the most under the power of that spirit of evil which has been let loose in India for our chastisement—Nana Sahib himself—is a man who has that kind of education in its greatest perfection, and who passed among our countrymen as a pleasant and highly accomplished gentleman. Ah! how like the tiger of his own jungles, when sleek and smooth, with its claws soft as velvet, it plays with the little innocent whom it seems to guard! How like, also, the same tiger in its moment of fury, when it has given itself up to the gratification of its brutal passions, and when its vile nature has burst forth in all its hideousness and atrocity! A polished Brahmin or a polished Mohammedan is a savage still; and I trust that henceforth, instead of confining ourselves to the cultivation of the native intellect, we shall administer India not merely for our own temporal advantage, but for the benefit of the people and the support of Christian truth. How is that to be done? Not by fraud or violence—not by leading the natives to suppose that they shall please England or avoid punishment by assuming the Christian faith; but by letting all our public acts declare that we are Christians, that we glory in belonging to Christ, and that we hold India for the good of the people because we are Christians. Let us declare that no man shall be injured because he chooses to become a Christian; but that, as long as we hold dominion in India, there shall be protection for all. That is the first thing.”—In continuation of his eloquent and impressive address, the right reverend prelate said—“We have an opportunity such as no people ever had before of spreading the gospel among the heathen. We have the farther advantage of standing upon the vantage ground of a better civilisation and higher intellectual gifts. The other day I met a gentleman connected with one of our highest families, who was a resident in India for thirty years. He told me that, upon one occasion, the rajah of Gwalior, the ancestor of that rajah who has stood so faithfully by us in the present mutinies, said to him, ‘How is it that you English have so great a command over us?’ His reply was, ‘It is because you pray to an idol which can do no good to you; while we pray to the God of Heaven, through
His only Son, and our prayers are heard.' The man was still for a moment. At last he said, 'I believe you are right.' Mark how curiously you may trace the hand of God in this last outbreak. Why did that man’s family remain faithful to us? I verily believe that it was mainly on account of the moral and religious influence which the resident obtained over that man’s heart. He had got to trust him implicitly. The resident had helped him to recover a large debt of which he had always despaired; and when it was paid it came home in bullock-waggon; and the rajah sent to say, that he had ordered a certain number, containing £400,000, to stop at the resident’s door, as his share. Of course the resident’s answer was, ‘I cannot take a single penny from you. What I have done I have done as a matter of right and justice.’ The rajah sent for him next day, and said to him, ‘What a fool you were not to take the money; nobody would have known it. I should never have told it.’ ‘But,’ said the resident, ‘there is One who would have known it—the eye that sleepeth not; and my own conscience would never have left me a moment’s rest.’ Upon which the rajah said, ‘You English are a wonderful people; no Indian would have done that.’ When the resident was going away, the rajah sent for him, and asked him for advice as to his future policy. ‘I will give you this advice,’ said the resident: ‘it is very likely that troublesome days will come; but don’t be led away. It may appear as though the power of the Company was going to be swept away. Don’t believe it; it never will be; and those who stand firm by the Company, will in the end find that they have made the best choice.’ The rajah’s reply was, ‘I believe you are right;’ and he transmitted that doctrine down to those who came after him. There, I believe, is the history of Gwalior remaining firm, when so many other princes have fallen from us, because Christian principles had been there brought to bear upon the rulers of that people.”

In reference to the objects of the meeting referred to, it may be observed, that Christianity possesses two distinct features. It is not a religion to be propagated by violence; but is, essentially, a religion to be diffused by preaching and teaching; and thus, although Christians may not make converts by the sword, they are bound, where they can, to make proselytes by instruction. This element of Christianity, however, was, in India, entirely suppressed, and our administration presented the disgraceful spectacle of one of the greatest Christian powers in the world, sedulously bent upon ignoring its own belief! The natives saw us patronising and encouraging institutions which, as wicked and idolatrous, we ought, if consistent, to have condemned; and they could remark that we even permitted positive impediments to remain in the way of pacific conversion. They were led, therefore, to the supposition, that we were either indifferent to the matter altogether, or that we really designed to proceed by craft; and, as the former notion would be inexplicable to rude minds, they adopted the latter. The plain, simple truths of Christianity would not have alarmed them; but in the conduct of its professors they found cause for distrust, and they became terrified at the attributes which, for want of a better knowledge, they had themselves ascribed to it. The smallest amount of Christian teaching, openly and universally diffused, would have relieved them of the only apprehension they had ever entertained—that of forcible proselytism. Even those who could learn nothing else, would soon have learnt this—that one of the fundamental principles of this new religion was, that nobody could be made to embrace it against his will. This one conviction would have assured their minds; whereas, owing to the suppression of the truth, Christian teachers lived in constant terror of being taken for harbingers of violence; and Hindous invested the mild and assuasive precepts of Christianity with a hidden meaning, and with features only proper to the impostures and bigotry of Mohammedanism.

It was truly observed, in reference to this great question, that, “during a whole century of dominion, we had failed to persuade the natives of India that we had not, and never did have, any intention of forcing them to abandon their religion for our own. This simple fact was surely proof sufficient that our system, in this respect, had been wholly wrong. We overacted our part, and professed our policy of neutrality with such extreme earnestness, that it was not believed in. Had we allowed the truth to come out, we could not possibly have fared worse, and it is reasonable to suppose we might, have fared a great deal better. We might, at all events, by more manly and open dealing, have convinced the
Hindoo that Christianity was not a religion to be afraid of. As it was, we lowered ourselves in native eyes by timidly disguising the belief we professed to entertain, and exalted the fanaticism of the Brahminical zealots by first investing them with the power of the sword, and then showing our extreme anxiety to avoid giving them offence. Such relations between masters and servants could never be secure. To what extent the sepoys really believed in the reported designs against their caste, is more than we can tell; but there are some features of human nature which are the same everywhere; and one of these is quite sufficient to explain the insubordination of large bodies of men, armed, as they fancied, with irresistible strength, and feared, as they saw, by those whose office it was to control them.

“The great political result to be anticipated from the propagation of the gospel in India, is the removal of that bugbear which has hitherto been the terror of rulers and subjects together. The one thing which Hindoos dread, and which English governments have always dreaded their dreaming, is forcible intervention with their creed; and the one doctrine which should pervade every missionary address, is that of peace and good-will. Christianity needs only to be placed in its true light, instead of being regarded through the medium which our own timidity permitted to be formed. When the gospel is preached faithfully, one result at least will be certain; and that is, that no Hindoo will thenceforward believe his creed to be in danger from the violence of a Christian administration.”

With regard to the religious element to be invoked in the re-establishment of order, it was clearly the undoubted right, as it was also the positive duty, of England to assert herself in India as a civilised and Christian power; but, at the same time, it was equally clear, that the faintest suspicion of an official plan to Christianise and Europeanise the people, would again rouse all the fire of their jealous blood, and once more turn their seeming allegiance into vindictive hatred. It was most important, therefore, that if civilisation did put forth her influence, it must be with discretion: if religion laboured in the boundless field overshadowed by the traditions of seven thousand years, her ministers had need to consult the experience of the world, as well as the suggestions of their own pious and fervid gene-

rosity. It could not be denied, that the people of India, notwithstanding the lamentable mistake of 1857, had rights and feelings which were to be respected; and it was urged by some, that instead of granting them toleration, which “is the hypocrisy of those who dare not persecute,” we should loudly acknowledge their absolute equality in the eye of the law, and their undisputed right to perform the exercises of their several faiths. But a difficulty still presented itself. It was not demotic even by the advocates of this “absolute equality,” as regarded opposite creeds, that there was a point at which the principles of the imperial government must interfere with native privileges, when it became necessary, for the protection of society, to prohibit displays of gross indecency and cruelty, or the sacrifice of human life. It could be to the Christian government no hardship to tell a tribe of Brahmans that they should not burn alive a widow, scarcely yet risen out of girlhood; to hang a highway assassin, although his murderous hand was impelled by religious zeal; to prevent the immolation of youth to the deity of Hindoo vengeance; and to treat infanticide as a crime meriting condign punishment. Yet the Hindoos believed all these things essential to the due observance of their religious obligations; and it was not likely that, without compulsion, those practices would be abandoned, or that such compulsion would be looked upon in any other light than as acts of tyranny and oppression. Such, then, were among the hindrances that lay in the path of the government, and of the missionary zeal that aimed at the Christianising of near two hundred millions of people. It was evident that, with the opposite principles of Brahminism and Christianity in active and constant operation, there must be collisions; and, as no middle course could possibly exist that would satisfy the conscientious requirements of either, it seemed to be imperative, after all, that either the temporising policy that had hitherto characterised the government in the matter of native religions must be still pursued, or that recourse must be had to a more active agency than mere persuasion, before the idolatry of the land would yield to the peaceful exhortations of missionaries.

On the 26th of November, the London Gazette contained an announcement that the queen had directed letters-patent to be passed under the great seal, granting the
dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom to Major-general Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, knight-commander of the most honourable order of the Bath, lieutenant-colonel of the Bengal artillery, and to his heirs male. Also that her majesty had directed similar letters to pass under the great seal, granting the dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom to Major-general Henry Havelock, of Lucknow, knight-commander of the Bath, and to his heirs male. By another notification in the same Gazette, it was announced that the queen had been pleased to ordain that Isabella Neil, the widow of the late Colonel James George Neil, of the Madras fusiliers, should hold and enjoy the same style, title, place, and precedency, to which she would have been entitled had her husband, who fell in the gallant discharge of his duty in India, survived and been invested with the insignia of the order of the Bath, for which honour he had been worthily recommended to her majesty.

On Monday, the 7th of December, Mr. Ross Mangles, the chairman of the board of directors of the East India Company, with his colleagues, visited, for the last time, the grand nursery of their statesmen and civil servants at Haileybury—an omissions portent of fading sovereignty. On that day the chairman of the Company pronounced a funeral speech on an institution which, for the last half century, had supplied the mental machinery for the civil government of India. During the fifty years of its operation, no less than 2,055 students had passed through the college; and it was about to be extinguished at the very moment when its usefulness was powerfully attested by the number of its pupils, then, or but recently, holding high office, and who, in their several spheres, had earned for themselves the meed of public approbation.

The fund for the relief of sufferers by the mutiny had by this time reached to colossal magnitude, the subscription list amounting, in December, 1857, to upwards of £300,000; in respect to the application of which, the following communication was made by Lord Caanning to Alderman Finnis, chairman of the fund committee, and published in the Times newspaper of Wednesday, December 2nd.:

From the Governor-general of India to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

"Fort William, October 23rd.

"My Lord,—Your lordship's despatch of the 26th of August last, acquainted me that a public meeting was held at the Mansion-house, on the 25th of August, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with those who are suffering from the recent calamities in India; that a committee had been formed for the purpose of raising funds, to be placed at my disposal, for the immediate relief of the most urgent cases of distress; and that 20,000 rupees had been remitted as a first instalment, to be distributed as might be deemed advisable.

"Your lordship in the subsequent communication, dated the 9th ult., announces a further remittance of 80,000 rupees, and points out that the object of the fund raised by the committee, being more immediately for the relief of those who are not entitled to compensation from the government, it may be a question for further consideration how far, in the event of the government being authorised to administer full relief, the money may be made available for the benefit of those whose means of subsistence may have been impaired or annihilated.

"Your lordship also informs me of the gracious munificence with which the queen, the prince consort, and other members of the royal family, have contributed towards this benevolent object; of the friendly and prompt generosity of his majesty the emperor of the French, and the imperial guard; and of the liberality with which all classes of our own countrymen have come forward with aid for the occasion.

"Finally, your lordship inquires how, in my opinion, the proceeds of the fund now being collected in England, can in future best be applied to the purpose in view?

"I have first to express, my lord, on behalf of the government of India, of the whole European community in this country, and especially of those who have been sufferers by the sanguinary outrages and rapine, by which a large part of Hindostan has been, and is still unhappily afflicted, our grateful appreciation of the earnest, active, and wide-spread sympathy which your letter records, and I pray your lordship to convey the offer of our sincere thanks to those in whose name you write.

"Your lordship is aware, that soon after the first outbreak of mutiny in May last, and when the disastrous consequences which it could not fail to bring upon individuals became manifest, a committee was formed in Calcutta for the purpose of raising subscriptions to be devoted to the relief of the sufferers, and of distributing the funds thus raised in the most effective manner. The amount subscribed in India, up to this date, is 264,589r. 13s.; the amount expended, 91,594r. 13s.; and the amount remaining unexpended, in the hands of the committee, is 162,740r.

"The objects to which the expenditure of the sub-committee is at present directed, are the following:

1. Board and lodging, on arrival in Calcutta, for refugees who are without homes or friends to receive them. 2. Clothing for refugees. 3. Monthly allowances for the support of families who are not boarded and lodged by the sub-committee. 4. Loans to sufferers to provide furniture, clothing, &c. 5. Free grants to sufferers for the same purpose. 6. Passage and diet money for board river steamers to all who have not been provided with the same by the government. 7. Loans to officers and others, to pay for the passage of their families to England. 8. Free passage to England for the widows and families of officers and other sufferers, including travelling.
expenses to Bombay and Calcutta. 9. Education of the children of sufferers.

"This fund has been raised independently of the government, and is distributed by a sub-committee according to certain rules which have been laid down, subject to the approval of a general committee of subscribers at Calcutta.

"The mode in which the distribution is made is shown in the printed reports of the proceedings of the general committee, held on the 6th of August and 3rd of September last, copies of which have already been sent to England, and the measures of the sub-committee, so far as they are known to the government, have been guided by liberality and good judgment, and have given general satisfaction.

"The committee applied to the government for a grant of money in aid of the objects of the fund, but this was declined for the reasons set forth in the letter from the secretary to the government of India, dated the 21st inst. The assistance given by the government has been hitherto confined to the grant of a free passage, by the inland steamers, to all women and children proceeding from the interior to Calcutta.

"The spirit of resistance, violence, and bloodshed, though gradually yielding to the means which have been taken for its suppression, and especially to the bravery and endurance of our British troops, is not yet subdued; nor is the extent of the privation and suffering which it has already inflicted in distant parts of the country, cut off from communication with Calcutta, fully known to the government. It is therefore impossible to say how large may be the field over which eventually it will be necessary to distribute the funds which your lordship may transmit. At present no better course can be taken than that which the sub-committee have adopted in dealing with the funds at their disposal for the benefit of those who are within their reach. Thus course, therefore, the government of India will pursue in the first employment of the money received through your lordship, extending their operations to the distant parts of the presidency in which assistance is required, but which are not easily accessible to the sub-committee in Calcutta.

"In this view Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., the chief commissioner of the Punjab, has been desired to act as chairman of the committee for the purpose of affording relief to those who have suffered loss in the Punjab and the more northerly parts of the Upper Provinces, including the hill stations of Simla, Mussrooroe, and Nynce Tal. A sum of 10,000. has been placed at Sir John Lawrence's disposal for immediate purposes, and more will be remitted when required. Hereafter, when the full consequences of the rebellion have shown themselves, I shall be in a better position to inform your lordship as to the purpose to which the liberality of our countrymen at home can best be turned. In the meantime the money which has been remitted will remain in the Aga bank at the credit of the government, bearing interest at the same rate as is allowed by the bank on the deposits of the committee.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

"CANNING, Governor-general."

The following notice was issued by the home committee, in reference to the numerous applications for relief, which they received on behalf of the wives and families of soldiers who had recently embarked for India for suppression of the mutiny:

"November 30th.

"Many applications for relief having been made by or on behalf of the wives and children of soldiers who have gone to India with their regiments, this committee has, on several occasions, given their most careful and anxious consideration to the subject, and it has always been with one result—that it was not in the power of the committee to give the solicited relief.

"The question is, not whether relief ought or ought not to be given, but whether such relief can be properly given out of the fund which has been intrusted to this committee; and the decision of this question must entirely depend upon the understanding with which the fund was subscribed.

"We may confidently assert, that the prevailing idea which possessed the public mind at the time when the subscription was in active progress, was the destruction of life and property in India, and the distress occasioned by it. This feeling was so strongly reflected in the resolutions which were published by this committee on the 26th of September, embodying the conditions on which we were willing to administer such means of relief as might be placed at our disposal, that doubts were entertained whether the widows and orphans of the European soldiers serving in India, who might lose their lives by the casualties of war and climate, were intended to be included; and they were therefore expressly mentioned in the address which was subsequently published by our committee. On the other hand, the case of the wives and children who were left behind in this country (the fathers being still living) was repeatedly urged upon us, and the answer invariably returned was, that it did not come within the scope of our fund. We cannot therefore doubt, that when the fund was subscribed, no such appropriation of it was contemplated, and that our committee holds the funds in trust on that condition. How important this condition is, may be seen from the fact that, with a smaller number of wives and children of soldiers, upwards of 1,000,000 was expended during the late Russian war, by the association for the relief of wives and children of her majesty's soldiers and sailors serving in the East.

"Although the reasons why persons of this class were not included in the plan of the subscription, have no immediate bearing on the point now under consideration, it may be proper to adduce briefly to them. The object of the subscription was to relieve the distress caused by the mutinies in India. Now, the distress unhappily prevailing among the wives and children of the soldiers serving in India, cannot in any proper sense be said to be caused by the mutiny. It was caused by that condition of military life which makes it impossible that the wives and children of soldiers can accompany them on active service; and the case would have been the same whether the seat of war was India or Persia, or the Cape of Good Hope, or any other country. In the event of the pacification of India, regiments from Bengal might proceed to China; and, although the distress of the women would be in nowise diminished, it would obviously be impossible to contribute towards its relief from a fund which was subscribed for the relief of the distress caused by the Indian mutiny."

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"The wives and children of British soldiers fighting the battles of their country abroad, ought, of course, to be objects of the particular care of their countrymen and countrywomen at home; but the circumstances are such that assistance can be given in a more effectual manner, and with less probability of moral deterioration by local agency using funds usually raised, than by means of any general administration.

"The wives of the soldiers serving in India, several thousand in number, are residing in various parts of the United Kingdom. The majority of them probably already have the means of subsistence in the government allowance, in their own earnings, or in the help of their friends; some of them, no doubt, stand in need of other assistance. Who the persons of the latter class are, and the kind and degree of assistance that would be proper, is known in the respective localities, but could not be ascertained with nearly equal certainty by a central body like the Indian relief committee, whatever pains might be taken to sift the facts of the several cases. In truth, if it were open to all this large class of persons to apply for relief out of a general fund administered in London, a great relaxation of the ordinary means to industry and economy, besides other moral evils, must ensue. It therefore seems to be desirable, that whatever relief may be given, should be by means of funds locally raised, and through the agency of the established legal machinery, or of local associations formed in aid of it.

"T. Farry Woodcock, Hon. Sec."

The claims of the unfortunate families of the men suddenly transferred to the seat of war, were not, however, totally lost sight of, although they could not properly be associated with those of the actual sufferers for whom the relief fund was originated. Meetings were held in different parts of the country, and in the metropolis, on behalf of the wives and families of the soldiers on their way to India, and committees were formed to organise and carry out a plan for their relief. At one of these humane gatherings (over which the Earl of Shaftesbury presided), after some remarks from General Sir W. F. Williams, of Kars, who referred to the great destitution in which more than four hundred families of the royal artillery had been left in consequence of the sudden departure of the soldiers for India, the Rev. Thomas Harding stated the result of a recent movement at Woolwich, conducted by a committee of ladies, for relieving the distress alluded to. Major Vandebeeur then described the proceedings of the committee, and the mode in which relief had been afforded. The total amount of the subscriptions was stated to be £626 13s. 3½d.; and the following resolution was agreed to:—"That it is desirable an association be formed with a view of extending relief to the wives and families of our soldiers and sailors gone out to India; and that it be also of a more permanent character, for the purpose of directing its attention to the condition of the wives and children of our soldiers and sailors whenever they are removed on service, whether in war or peace, in distant and foreign countries; and that a committee be formed for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing resolution, and of organising a central board in London for receiving subscriptions and devising ulterior measures."

An extraordinary early session of the imperial parliament was opened by her majesty on the 3rd of December, 1857, as well on account of the grave disturbances that had occurred, and were still in progress in part of her Indian dominions, as also for the purpose of giving legislative sanction to the extraordinary measures of relief which had been necessitated by a season of commercial distress, consequent upon over speculation and incautious credit. The passages in the royal speech which had direct reference to Indian affairs, were the following:—

"While I deeply deplore the severe suffering to which many of my subjects in India have been exposed, and while I grieve for the extensive bereavements and sorrow which it has caused, I have derived the greatest satisfaction from the distinguished successes which have attended the heroic exertions of the comparatively small forces which have been opposed to greatly superior numbers, without the aid of the powerful reinforcements dispatched from this country to their assistance. The arrival of those reinforcements will, I trust, speedily complete the suppression of this widely-spread revolt.

"The gallantry of the troops employed against the mutineers, their courage in action, their endurance under privation, fatigue, and the effects of climate; the high spirit and self-devotion of the officers; the ability, skill, and persevering energy of the commanders, have excited my warmest admiration; and I have observed, with equal gratification, that many civilians placed in extreme difficulty and danger have displayed the highest qualities, including, in some instances, those that would do honour to veteran soldiers.

"It is satisfactory to know that the general mass of the population of India have taken no part in the rebellion, while the most considerable of the native princes have acted in the most friendly manner, and have rendered important services.

"I have given directions that papers relating to these matters shall be laid before you.

"The affairs of my East Indian dominions will require your serious consideration, and I recommend them to your earnest attention."

Upon this occasion the Earl of Derby expatiated very fully upon the various points incident to the mutiny, and com-
mented, in severe language, upon the many proofs of deficiency in judgment, knowledge, and energy, which he insisted had been displayed by the ministry in reference to the event; and specially he deprecated the ignorance and incapacity of Mr. Vernon Smith and the Board of Control. Among other grounds for censure, he also instanced the neglect in dispatching troops by the overland route, and the general failure of ministers either to comprehend or provide for the terrible emergency which had overtaken the Anglo-Indian empire.—The Earl of Ellenborough, supporting the views of Lord Derby, proceeded to criticise the conduct of the government in India and at home, in relation to the sepoy disturbances; and inquired if it was the intention of the government to bring in any measure to remodel the government, contending that the present was a most inopportune moment to revise the political organisation of India.—Earl Granville energetically defended the conduct of the home government and of Lord Canning; and stated that, as the present assembling of parliament was for a specific purpose, and would be of limited duration, it was not the intention of government to introduce any such measure.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli animadverted upon the conduct of the governor-general, as well as upon that of the home government; and strongly urged, that as ministers had doubtless some plan matured for the future government of India, they should lay it on the table of the house before Christmas, in order that it might be carefully considered during the recess.—Lord Palmerston replied to the remarks of the preceding speaker, and informed the house that it was the intention of government to propose for Sir Henry Havelock a grant of £1,000 a year, and that the East India Company intended to make a similar provision for Sir Archdale Wilson. The message in reference to General Havelock, was introduced by Lord Palmerston at the sitting of the 7th of December; and, on the following day, the house went into committee, and unanimously agreed to the proposition—a result that was announced amidst the cheers of all present. By a subsequent arrangement the pension was extended to two lives.

On the 11th of the month, Mr. Vernon Smith, in answer to a question respecting the transportation of a certain number of the Indian mutineers for the purposes of penal servitude in the West India colonies, said the subject had not escaped the notice of government, which felt that it was desirable, with regard to those parties who had not joined in the massacres, but had only identified themselves with the mutiny for purposes of plunder, that some punishment in the nature of transportation should be inflicted. In every case it was clearly impossible to inflict the punishment of death, and that of transportation would be invested with additional horrors, in consequence of the dread entertained by the high-caste Hindoos of a sea-voyage, by which alone they forfeited caste; but it was necessary first to ascertain what colonies would be willing to receive such persons; for it was not in the power of the state to force them upon a free community against the will of its members.

On Saturday, the 12th of December, parliament having received the royal assent to the Bank Issues Indemnity Bill, was adjourned by commission to Thursday, the 4th of February. Previous, however, to its separation, Lord Panmure embraced the opportunity afforded by a letter addressed to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge (as commander-in-chief), by Sir Colin Campbell, on his quitting Calcutta for the field in the previous October, to remove an impression that existed as to an alleged ill-feeling between the governor-general and Sir Colin, as commander-in-chief in India. The passages read to the house, and which entirely dispelled the erroneous impression, were as follows:—“Now that I am on the point of leaving Calcutta, I would beg, with the greatest respect to the governor-general, to record the deep sense of the obligations which I entertain towards his lordship. Our intercourse has been most cordial, intimate, and unreserved. I cannot be sufficiently thankful for his lordship’s confidence and support, and the kindly manner in which they have been afforded to my great personal satisfaction. One at a distance, not acquainted with the ordinary mode of transacting business in this country, could hardly estimate the gain to the public service which has thus been made; but I allude principally to my own feelings of gratification.”

His lordship, in concluding the observations with which the extract was connected, said:—“My lords, I have thought it my duty to make this statement to your lordships before parliament adjourns, in order
to set at rest, at once and for ever, the calumny which has been circulated, that between the governor-general and the commander-in-chief disagreements have existed."

In accordance with the statement made in the House of Commons, the East India Company took early steps to declare their recognition of the valuable services of their military servants engaged in the defence, or rather recovery, of their Indian possessions. A special general Court of Proprietors of East India stock, was held at their house in Leadenhall-street, on Wednesday, December the 15th, to confirm resolutions of the Court of Directors for certain honorary grants, when, after a spirited eulogy upon the merits of Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, the following resolution was proposed, and unanimously adopted:—"That, as a special mark of the sense which this court entertains of the skill, sound judgment, steady resolution, and gallantry of Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, Bart., Knight Commander of the Bath, in the operations which resulted in the storm and capture of Delhi, by which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the reputation of the British arms and nation has been nobly sustained, an annuity of £1,000 be granted to Sir Archdale Wilson, to commence from the 14th of September, 1857, the day on which Delhi was stormed."

At the same court, the respective claims of the late Brigadiers Neill and Nicholson to the grateful consideration of the Company, were eloquently submitted to the proprietors, with the following resolutions:—"That as a mark of the high sense entertained by this court of the services rendered by the late Brigadier-general Neill, on whom her majesty has been graciously pleased to confer the posthumous dignity of Knight Commander of the Bath, a special pension of £500 a-year be granted to the widow of that distinguished officer, in substitution for the pension to which Lady Neill is entitled under the regulations for the grant of pensions to the widows of officers killed in action with the enemy."

"That in recognition of the brilliant career and eminent services of the late Brigadier-general John Nicholson, on whom also her majesty has been graciously pleased to confer the posthumous dignity of Knight Commander of the Bath, a special grant of £500 per annum be made to the mother of that distinguished officer, in substitution for the pension to which that lady would be entitled under the regulations of the service."

An effort was made, by amendments, to increase the amount of these annuities to £750 per annum in each case; but, after an animated discussion, the amendments were rejected upon division, and the resolutions, as originally proposed, were agreed to.

In concluding the present chapter, which brings the home occurrences connected with the Indian revolt to the close of the year 1857, it is only just to remark, that the efforts of the British government, although at first dilatory through the imperfect idea formed of the emergency, were not ultimately unworthy of the magnitude of the crisis. Between the arrival of the first intelligence of the outbreak in July, and the end of December, more than 30,000 men had been dispatched to the aid of the Indian government, and landed at the various ports of debarkation; and the reserves and reliefs for so great a force had also been organised and forwarded. A commander of acknowledged ability was sent out to take the chief command of the army; and means had been adopted for facilitating the future dispatch of troops from England, by adopting the direct route of transit afforded by the Isthmus of Suez. The whole country was unanimous in a desire to support and to honour those brave men who had gallantly withstand the shock of rebellion, and preserved the empire which the arms and policy of their predecessors had won. No effeminate simulation of philanthropy was allowed to stand in the way of a righteous demand that the crimes of Meerut, of Delhi, and of Cawnpore, should be avenged. The true meaning of punishment had become intelligible to the nation at large; and, in the general belief, retribution had properly resumed its inseparable connection with guilt. The pious fortitude of suffering women—the deliberate and heroic sacrifices of men left to their own resources—had awakened all the admiring sympathies of a grave and thoughtful people; and the public conscience had become thoroughly imbued with the faith, till then confined to statesmen, that the dominion of England in India was just and beneficial to mankind. The same public conscience now demanded
that Englishmen in India should not appear ashamed of Christianity; and that, while tolerating the faith of others, they should firmly and unequivocally maintain the inviolability and purity of their own. The necessity for direct interference with the political and territorial government of India, had at length awakened the ministers of the crown to a sense of the danger incurred by further adhesion to a system by which the vast possessions of England in the East had hitherto been managed; and the demand was loud and unanimous

that the anomaly of a double government, each in its way supreme, yet each interfering with the other, should no longer be permitted to guide the destinies of India. With the close of 1857, the staff of territorial and political power was about to pass from the hands of those who, in the days of their might and glory, had wrested so many sceptres from the hands of others, and who now, in the hour of peril, had shown themselves incompetent to sustain the burden they had coveted, possessed, and neglected.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE APPROACHING CHANG; COMMUNICATION FROM LORD PALMERSTON TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS; ALARM AT THE INDIA HOUSE; PETITION TO PARLIAMENT; HONOURS FOR INDIAN HEROES; DEATH OF THE QUEEN OF OUDH; REASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT; THANKS TO THE INDIAN ARMY; THE PALMERSTON BILL FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA; COMPANY’S PETITION PRESENTED; DEBATE ON OUDE; DEBATE ON GOVERNMENT BILL; CHANGE OF MINISTRY; LORD DERBY’S INDIA BILL; DEBATES THEREON; BATTU, OR PRIZE-MONEY FOR INDIAN; PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION; PROCLAMATION OF THE QUEEN’S GOVERNMENT IN INDIA; HOME EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE INDIAN QUESTION.

Previous to entering upon the parliamentary history of 1858, as it refers to Indian affairs, it will be proper to observe, that at a quarterly general court of the East India Company, held in Leadenhall-street on the 23rd of December, the chairman of the Court of Directors announced that, on the previous Saturday, the deputy-chairman and himself had had an interview with the prime minister by appointment, when Lord Palmerston communicated to them that it was the intention of her majesty’s government to propose to parliament, as soon as it should again meet, a bill for the purpose of placing the British East India dominions under the direct authority of the crown. By this announcement it was evident the time had at length arrived when it was considered that the continuance of political and territorial power in the hands of a purely commercial institution, could no longer be conceded with a due regard to the safety and integrity of British power in the East. The intimation of their approaching doom was listened to by the Court in silence; and, after some routine business had been disposed of, the members separated, to meditate upon the fading glory of their house.

While the proposed measures of government for the consolidation of the empire were yet a secret to the general public, much discussion arose as to the affairs of India, and particularly in regard to the vast amount of patronage which, by the proposed assumption by the crown, would fall into the hands of its servants. Much real or affected alarm was expressed at the anticipated acquisition; and a consideration of the course which such patronage had hitherto taken, and of that to which it would probably be diverted, became a main feature in the arguments offered against interference with the existing institutions of India. It was urged that, up to the present time, India had been the field of the middle classes especially; and the service of the Company had provided this section of society with opportunities which few but those connected with aristocratic families, could find in the service of the crown. In England, as if by prescriptive right, the chief offices of administration, and the principal
posts in the army, fell mainly to the favourites of birth or fortune. In India, under the Company, either the civil or military profession might be pursued with encouraging prospects of success, apart from any hereditary advantages. Promotion under the crown depended very materially, and indeed almost as a rule, on rank and wealth; whereas, under the administration of the East India Company, it appeared to be attainable by merit only. It became, therefore, a question of importance, if the government of India was to be assimilated to that of the other dependencies of the crown of England, so far as to bring the patronage it involved under the direct control of the home administration, what would become of that fold which the middle classes had so long enjoyed, and in which it was undisputed they had displayed virtues and energies of the true popular stamp. The importance of this question was beyond a doubt; and its solution was one of the practical difficulties to be surmounted in any reconstruction of the Anglo-Indian government.

A system of patronage, merely as such, had always been an object of special jealousy to the people of England; and now that the question of concentration was raised in connection with it, it was essential to know in what the dreaded charm of Indian patronage consisted. It was well known that, in times past, it embraced the disposal of a certain number of appointments in the civil service, and the gift of a certain number of commissions in the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; but it was also a fact, that by regulations of some standing, the first appointments in the civil service had been thrown open to competition, and might therefore be put out of the question, as being removed from the grasp of any patrons whatever; the power of promotion necessarily resting with the local governments. As to the military service, the army of Bengal, which had equalled in magnitude those of the other two presidencies together, had now ceased to exist. Of the army of Bombay, a portion had succumbed to the influence of treason, and been disbanded; and it was the army of Madras alone that had generally preserved its fidelity. The deductions, therefore, already made from the aggregate of divisible patronage, were enormous; and the bugbear of former days was reduced to proportions of comparative insignificance. It was true the army of Bengal would again have to be formed and officered; but there were considerations attached to the military service in India, that rendered the evils of future patronage little other than imaginary; since, as far as service in that country was really concerned, there was no reason to suppose, whatever might be the constitution or administration of the army, that it would be sought for by any other class of men than those whose conditions and advantages had hitherto attracted. The sphere of duty would always be remote, the duty itself arduous, and the obligations considerable. A man selecting India as the field of his career, would henceforth have to labour hard at the acquisition of Indian languages, endure an Indian climate, and accept an Indian exile, whatever might be the form or denomination taken by the government under which he served; and such conditions were no more likely in time to come, than they had been in time past, to attract young gentlemen with pockets full of money, or pedigrees full of coronets. Indian service had, in fact, become too much of a reality to be looked upon as a pastime, and would task the labourer too severely to become an object of desire by the aristocracy, whose aspirations flowed in a different channel. This view of the case was warranted by the fact, that a battalion destined for an Indian station had always ceased to be considered by aristocratic triflers as offering an eligible resort; and thus, after a short period of exchanges and retirements, its officers would probably represent much the same class as those of a native regiment. A titled idler would shirk not merely the Indian service, but service in India, under whatever masters; and the field had been hitherto left open to less influential competitors, not because a commercial company kept the keys of the preserve, but because its attractions were not strong enough for those who had the privilege of choice. It was obvious that such conditions must survive any constitutional changes at home, and that they would remain in full force whether the government of India was double or single.

The intimation, by the chairman of the Court of Directors, of the approaching transfer of the governing powers of the East India Company, referred to in the opening of the present chapter, had the effect of exciting much feeling on the part of the proprietors of stock of the Company, as well as among the public generally; and meetings were frequent, for the purpose

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of discussing the merits of the question. Foremost among such proceedings were those of the Company, which certainly showed no disposition to yield without a struggle to the circumstances that threatened to annihilate its power and cast its prestige, as the ruler of India, to the winds. On the 13th of January, therefore, a special general Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, for the purpose of considering the communication addressed to the Court of Directors by the government, respecting the continuance of the powers of the Company; and the following resolution was submitted for adoption:—"That the proposed transfer of the governing powers of the East Indin Company to the crown is opposed to the rights and privileges of the East India Company; is fraught with danger to the constitutional interests of England; is perilous to the safety of our Indian empire; and calls for the resistance of the corporation by all constitutional means." The meeting, after considerable discussion, was adjourned without coming to a decision as to the resolution proposed. On the 20th of the month the Court again assembled; when, previous to resuming the adjourned debate on the resolution, the chairman laid the following correspondence with her majesty's government before the proprietors. The first communication is from the chairman to Viscount Palmerston, in reference to his lordship's intimation on the 19th of December.

"East India House, Dec. 31st, 1857.

"My Lord,—It has been our duty to communicate to the Court of Directors and to the Court of Proprietors the intimation which your lordship has made to us of the intention of her majesty's government to propose to parliament a bill for the purpose of placing the government of her majesty's East Indian dominions under the direct authority of the crown.

"The contemplated change involves of necessity the abolition, as an instrument of government, of the East India Company—the body by whom, and at whose sole expense, without any demand on the national exchequer, the British empire in India has been acquired, and is maintained; and, although the Court of Directors have not been furnished with information as to the grounds on which her majesty's ministers have arrived at their determination, or as to the details of the scheme by which it is proposed to supersede the existing home government of India, they nevertheless feel it due to themselves and to the constituent body which they represent, to lose no time in offering a few observations which immediately suggest themselves; and they are persuaded that a frank expression of their sentiments cannot be otherwise than acceptable to her majesty's ministers in their further consideration of this important subject.

"The Court were prepared to expect that a searching inquiry would be instituted into the causes, remote as well as immediate, of the mutiny in the Bengal native army. They have themselves issued instructions to the government of India to appoint a commission in view to such an inquiry; and it would have been satisfactory to them if it had been proposed to parliament not only to do the same, but to extend the scope of inquiry to the conduct of the home government, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the mutiny could, wholly or partially, be ascribed to mismanagement on the part of the Court acting under the control of the Board of Commissioners. But it has surprised the Court to hear that her majesty's government, not imputing, so far as the Court are informed, any blame to the home authorities in connection with the mutiny, and, without intending any inquiry by parliament, or awaiting the result of inquiry by the local government, should, even before the mutiny was quelled, and whilst considerable excitement prevalled throughout India, determine to propose the immediate supersession of the authority of the East India Company, who are entitled, at least, to the credit of having so administered the government of India, that the heads of all the native states and large communities of the population, amidst the excitement of a mutinous soldiery, inflamed by unfounded apprehensions of danger to their religion, have remained true to the Company's rule.

"The Court would fail in their duty to your lordship and to the country if they did not express their serious apprehension that so important a change will be misunderstood by the people of India. The Court are by no means insensible to the value attached to the name of the crown. But the Company are already trustees for the crown; and the announcement of a great change in the system of government which has existed from the first moment of our possession of India is calculated to excite alarm, the more especially if inaugurated at a time when the government on the spot finds it difficult to give free action to the retributive justice so eminently due to the guilty, without danger to the innocent, and also when public opinion in this country has been so excited as to press for the abandonment of the policy which the Company have strictly observed, of abstaining from all authoritative interference with such of the religious customs and prejudices of the natives as are not abhorrent to humanity.

"The Court submit, that if any such change as that which your lordship has indicated be thought desirable, it should be introduced in a time of tranquillity, when the circumstances of India and its population could be regarded without prejudices, and with calm and deliberate consideration, and when it would not, in the minds of the natives, be directly connected with the recent calamitous events.

"In approaching the question of the necessity for making a change, we are requested to state that the Court would most gladly co-operate with her majesty's government in introducing any reforms into the existing system which might tend to greater simplification and promptitude with equal security. The Court have always shown themselves ready to acquiesce in any changes which were deemed likely to prove conducive to the general welfare, although such changes may have involved important privacies to themselves. They need only refer to their partial relinquishment of trade in 1813; to its total
abandonment, and the placing of the Company's commercial charter in abeyance, in 1833; to the transfer then to India of all their large commercial assets, and of their undoubted territorial claims and possessions; and more lately to their concurrence in the measure by which their body was reconstituted, and reduced to its present number. Although four years have not yet elapsed since the last change, yet the Court, animated by the same anxiety for the welfare of India, would be prepared, without a moment's hesitation, to rely upon the integrity of her Majesty's Government, and to acquiesce in their action, if satisfied that a system could be devised better calculated than the present to advance the interests of the British empire there. They would, however, remark that in the inquiry which took place in 1852 and 1853, before the legislation of the latter year, the question of the constitution and working of the home Government was thoroughly sifted and completely exhausted, and that therefore it was not unreasonable to expect that the arrangement of 1853 would have been subjected to the test of a more lengthened experience.

The nature of the measure which her Majesty's Government have in contemplation have not yet been made known to the Court. They trust that it will not be attempted to administer the government by means of a single functionary. Such a proposal would, in their judgment, involve a practical impossibility. The mass of business perpetually arising requires much knowledge, long experience, and a division of labour; and, so far as the Court can form an opinion, the duties would not be safely discharged if subject only to the check of parliament.

"The Court are aware that the double government of the Company and the Board of Control is deemed to be objectionable; but whatever may be its defects, and although its working may be clogged by a control of all the details, so minute as hardly to have been contemplated by the legislature, yet in its results they sincerely believe that the system, possessing as it does a moral check, works, on the whole, advantageously for India. The Court do not deny that the system is susceptible of improvement; but they think it important to bear in mind that there can be no effective check without a second authority of some kind; and further, that the objection which is taken to the principle of double government is to reality the case of the Company, whose duties are rather those of a deliberative than of an executive body.

"It is the opinion of the Court that an intermediate, non-political, and perfectly independent body, in concurrence with her Majesty's Government, is an indispensable necessity, without which there can be no adequate security for good government; and, as at present advised, the Court do not see that it will be possible to form such a body, if its members are to be wholly nominated by the crown. They abstain, however, from offering any further observations to your lordship until they are placed in possession of the details of the proposed measure, which they trust may be communicated to them at the earliest possible period.—We have, &c.,

(Signed) "R. D. Mangles—F. Currie."

The Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, K.G., &c."

To this communication on the part of the Company, the following reply was forwarded by Lord Palmerston:—

"Piccadilly, Jan. 18th, 1858.

"Gentlemen,—I have had the honour of receiving your joint-letter of the 31st of December, upon the subject of the measure which it is the intention of her Majesty's Government to propose with reference to the future system to be established for the government of India; and I beg to assure you that the observations and opinions which you have therein expressed, will be duly considered by her Majesty's Government.

"I forbear from entering at present into any examination of those observations and opinions; first, because any correspondence with you in such matters would be most conveniently carried on through the usual official channel of the president of the India Board; and, secondly, because the grounds on which the intentions of her Majesty's Government have been formed, and the detailed arrangements of the measure which they mean to propose, will best be explained when that measure shall be submitted to the consideration of parliament.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

(Signed) "PALMERSTON."

"R. D. Mangles, Esq., Sir F. Currie, &c."

The chairman then informed the meeting that the Court of Directors had prepared a petition to the imperial parliament against the proposed measure, which was read by the secretary as follows:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

"The humble petition of the East India Company, sheweth.—That your petitioners, at their own expense, and by the agency of their own civil and military servants, originally required for this country its magnificent empire in the East;

"That the foundations of this empire were laid by your petitioners, at that time neither aided nor controlled by parliament, at the same period at which a succession of administrations under the control of parliament were losing to the crown of Great Britain another great empire on the opposite side of the Atlantic.

"That during the period of about a century, which has since elapsed, the Indian possessions of this country have been governed and defended from the resources of the nation without the smallest cost to the British exchequer, which to the best of your petitioners' knowledge and belief, cannot be said of any other of the numerous foreign dependencies of the crown.

"That it being manifestly improper that the administration of any British possession should be independent of the general government of the empire, parliament provided, in 1783, that a department of the imperial government should have full cognizance of, and power of control over, the acts of your petitioners in the administration of India; since which time the home branch of the Indian government has been conducted by the joint councils and on the joint responsibility of your petitioners and of a minister of the crown.

"That this arrangement has at subsequent periods undergone reconsideration from the legislature, and various comprehensive and careful parliamentary inquiries have been made into its practical operation; the result of which has been on each occasion a renewed grant to your petitioners of the powers exercised by them in the administration of India.

"That the last of these occasions was so recent as

1853, in which year the arrangements which had existed for nearly three-quarters of a century, were, with certain modifications, re-enacted, and still subsist.

"That, notwithstanding, your petitioners have received an intimation from her majesty's ministers of their intention to propose to parliament a bill for the purpose of placing the government of her majesty's East Indian dominions under the direct authority of the crown, a change necessarily involving the abolition of the East India Company as an instrument of government.

"That your petitioners have not been informed of the reasons which have induced her majesty's ministers, without any previous inquiry, to come to the resolution of putting an end to a system of administration which parliament, after inquiry, deliberately confirmed and sanctioned less than five years ago, and which, in its modified form, has not been in operation for more than twenty-fi...tive years. The bill, by means of which the proposal is made compels your petitioners to regard it as arising from the calamitous events which have recently occurred in India.

"That your petitioners challenge the most searching investigation into the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the causes, whether remote or immediate, which produced that mutiny. They have instructed the government of India to appoint a commission for conducting such an inquiry on the spot; and it is their most anxious wish that a similar inquiry may be instituted in this country by your honourable house, in order that it may be ascertained whether anything, either in the constitution of the home government of India, or in the conduct of those by whom it has been administered, has had any share in producing the mutiny, or has in any way impeded the measures for its suppression; and whether the mutiny itself, or any circumstance connected with it, affected the course of the arrangements under which India is at present administered.

"That were it even true that these arrangements had failed, the failure would constitute no reason for divesting the East India Company of its functions, and transferring them to her majesty's government; for, under the existing system, her majesty's government have the deciding voice. The duty imposed upon the Court of Directors is to originate measures and frame drafts of instructions. Even had they been remiss in this duty, their remissness, however discreditable to themselves, could in no way absolve the responsibility of her majesty's government, since the minister for India possesses, and has frequently exercised, the power of requiring that the Court of Directors should take any subject into consideration, and prepare a draft despatch for his approval. Her majesty's government are thus, in the fullest sense, accountable for all that has been done, and for all that has been forborne or omitted to be done. Your petitioners, on the other hand, are accountable only in so far as the act of omission has been promoted by themselves.

"That under these circumstances, if the administration of India had been a failure, it would, your petitioners apprehend, have been somewhat unreasonable to expect that a remedy would be found in annih...
people of India. To them—however incorrectly the name may express the fact—the British government in India is the government of the East India Company. It is the peace and prosperity of the Company that will for some time to come mean the abolition of the whole system of administration with which the Company is identified. The measure, introduced simultaneously with the influx of an overwhelming British force, will be coincident with a general outcry, in itself most alarming to their fears, from men of power and consequence in this country, as well as of English opinion in India, denouncing the past policy of the government on the express ground that it has been too forbearing, and too considerate towards the natives. The people of India will at first feel no certainty that the new government, or the government under a new name, which it is proposed to introduce, will hold itself bound by the pledges of its predecessors. They will be slow to believe that a government has been destroyed, only to be followed by another which will act on the same principles, and adhere to the same measures. They cannot suppose that the existing system of administration will be swept away without the intention of reversing any part of its policy. They will see the authorities, both at home and in India, surrounded by persons vehemently urging radical changes in many parts of that policy; and interpreting, as they must do, the change in the instrument of government as a concession to these opinions and feelings, they can hardly fail to believe that, whatever else may be intended, the government will no longer be permitted to observe that strict impartiality between those who profess its own creed and those who hold the creeds of its native subjects, which hitherto characterised it; that its strongest and most deeply rooted feelings will henceforth be treated with much less regard than heretofore; and that a directly aggressive policy towards everything in their habits, or in their usages and customs, which Englishmen deem objectionable, will be no longer confined to individuals and private associations, but will be backed by all the power of government.

"And here your petitioners think it important to observe, that in abstaining as they have done from all interference with any of the religious practices of the people of India, except such as are abhorrent to humanity, they have acted not only from their own conviction of what is just and expedient, but in accordance with the avowed intentions and express enactments of the legislature, framed in order that regard should be had to the civil and religious usages of the natives; and also, 'that suits, civil or criminal, against the natives' should be conducted according to such rules 'as may accommodate the same to the religion and manners of the natives.' That their policy in this respect has been successful, is evidenced by the fact that, during a military mutiny, said to have been caused by unfounded apprehensions of danger to religion, the heads of the native states and the masses of the population heard from the mouth of the British government. Your petitioners need hardly observe how very different would probably have been the issue of the late events, if the native princes, instead of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion, had put themselves at its head, or if the general population had joined in the insurrection. It is true that both these contingencies would have occurred if any real ground had been given for the persuasion that the British government intended to identify itself with proselytism; and it is the honest conviction of your petitioners that any serious apprehension of a change of policy, on the part of the Company, with respect would be likely to be followed, at no distant period, by a general rising throughout India.

"That your petitioners have seen with the greatest pain the demonstrations of indiscriminate animosity towards the natives of India on the part of our countrymen in India and at home, which have grown up since the late unhappy events. They believe that these sentiments to be fundamentally unjust; they know them to be fatal to the possibility of good government in India. They feel that if such demonstrations should continue, and especially if weight be added to them by legislating under their supposed influence, no amount of wisdom and forbearance on the part of the government will avail to restore that confidence of the governed in the intentions of their rulers, without which it is vain even to attempt the improvement of the people.

"That your petitioners cannot contemplate without dismay the doctrine now widely promulgated, that India should be administered with an especial view to the benefit of the Englishman, or that in its administration any advantages should be sought for her majesty's subjects of European birth, except that which they will necessarily derive from their superiority of intelligence, and from the increased prosperity of the people, the improvement of the productive resources of the country, and the extension of commercial intercourse. Your petitioners regard it as the most honourable characteristic of the government of India by England, that it has acknowledged no such distinction as that of a dominant and a subject race; but has held that its first duty was to the people of India. Your petitioners feel that a great portion of the hostility with which they are awailed, is caused by the belief that they are peculiarly the guardians of this principle, and that, so long as they have any voice in the administration of India, it cannot easily be infringed; and your petitioners will not conceal their belief that their exclusion from any part of the government is likely, at the present time, to be regarded in India as a first successful, attack on that principle.

"That your petitioners, therefore, most earnestly represent to your honourable house, that even if the contemplated change could be proved to be itself advisable, the present is a most unsuitable time for entertaining it; and they most strongly and respectfully urge on your honourable house the expediency of at least deferring any such change until it can be effected at a period when it would not be, in the minds of the people of India, directly connected with the recent calamitous events, and with the feelings to which those events have either given rise, or have afforded an opportunity of manifestation. Such postponement, your petitioners submit, would allow time for a more mature consideration than has yet been given, or can be given in the present excited state of public opinion. Various questions connected with the organisation of a government for India, and would enable the most competent minds in the nation calmly to examine whether any new arrangement can be devised for the home government of India, uniting a greater number of the conditions of good administration than the present, and if so, which among the numerous schemes which have been or may be
sufficient weight from its constitution, and from the relation it occupies to the minister, to be a substantial barrier against those inroads of self-interest and ignorance in this country from which the government of India has hitherto been comparatively free, but against which it would be too much to expect that parliament should of itself afford a sufficient protection.

That your petitioners cannot well conceive a worse form of government for India than a minister with a council whom he should be at liberty to consult or not at his pleasure, or whose advice he should be able to disregard without giving his reasons in writing, and in a manner likely to carry conviction. Such an arrangement, your petitioners submit, would be really liable to the objections in their opinion erroneously urged against the present system. Your petitioners respectfully represent that any body of persons associated with the minister, which is not a check, will be a screen. Unless the council is so constituted as to be personally independent of the minister; unless it feels itself responsible for recording an opinion on every Indian subject, and pressing that opinion on the minister, whether it was advised by the council or by the minister, when he overrules their opinion, is bound to record his reasons—their existence will only serve to weaken his responsibility, and to give the colourable sanction of prudence and experience to measures in the framing of which those qualities have had no share.

That it would be vain to expect that a new council could have as much moral influence and power of asserting its opinion with effect as the Court of Directors. A new body can no more succeed to the feelings and authority which their antiquity and their historical antecedents give to the East India Company, than a legislature, under a new name, sitting in Westminster, would have the moral ascendancy of the Houses of Lords and Commons. One of the most important elements of usefulness will thus be necessarily wanting in any newly-constituted Indian council, as compared with the present.

That your petitioners find it difficult to conceive that the same independence, in judgment and act, which characterises the Court of Directors, will be found in any council all of whose members are nominated by the crown. Owning their nomination to the same authority, many of them probably to the same individual minister whom they are appointed to check, and looking to him alone for their reappointment, their desire of recommending themselves to him, and their unwillingness to risk his displeasure by any serious resistance to his wishes, will be motives too strong not to be in danger of exercising a powerful and injurious influence over their conduct. Nor are your petitioners aware of any mode in which that injurious influence could be guarded against, except by conferring the appointments, like those of the judges, during good behaviour; which, by rendering it impossible to correct an error once committed, would be seriously objectionable.

That your petitioners are equally unable to perceive how, if the controlling body is entirely nominated by the minister, that happy independence of parliamentary service which has hitherto distinguished the administration of India, and the appointment to situations of trust and importance in that country, can be expected to continue. Your
petitioners believe that in no government known to history have appointments to offices, and especially to high offices, been so rarely bestowed on any other considerations than those of personal fitness. This characteristic, but for which in all probability India would long since have been lost to this country, is, your petitioners conceive, entirely owing to the circumstance that the dispensers of patronage have been persons unconnected with party, and under no necessity of conciliating parliamentary support; that consequently the appointments to offices in India have been, as a rule, left to the unbiased judgment of the local authorities; while the nominations to the civil and military services have been generally bestowed on the middle classes, irrespective of political considerations, and in a large proportion on the relatives of persons who had distinguished themselves by their services in India.

"That your petitioners therefore think it essential that at least a majority of the council which assists the minister for India with its advice, should hold their seats independently of his appointment.

"That it is, in the opinion of your petitioners, no less necessary that the order of the transaction of business should be such as to make the participation of the council in the administration of India a substantial one. That to this end it is, in the opinion of your petitioners, indispensable that the despatches to India should not be prepared by the minister and laid before the council, but should be prepared by the council, and submitted to the minister. This would be in accordance with the natural and obvious principle that persons, chosen for their knowledge of a subject, should suggest the mode of dealing with it, instead of merely giving their opinion on suggestions coming from elsewhere. This is also the only mode in which the members of the council can feel themselves sufficiently important, or sufficiently responsible, to secure their applying their minds to the subjects before them. It is almost unnecessary for your petitioners to observe, that the mind is called forth into more vigorous action by being required to propose, than by being merely called on to assent. The minister has necessarily the ultimate decision. If he has also the initiative, he has all the powers which are of any practical moment. A body whose only recognised function was to find fault, would specify what function fell into disrepute and on that occasion, in conducting the government of India was not really desired; that they were only felt as a clog on the wheels of business. Their criticism on what had been decided, without their being collectively consulted, would be felt as important as a mere delay and impediment, and their office would probably be seldom sought but by those who were willing to allow its most important duties to become nominal.

"That with the duty of preparing the despatches to India would naturally be combined the nomination and control of the home establishments. This your petitioners consider absolutely essential to the utility of the council. If the officers from whom they work are in direct dependence upon an authority higher than theirs, all matters of importance will in reality be settled between the minister and the subordinates, passing over the council altogether.

"A third consideration to which your petitioners attach great importance, is, that the number of the council should not be too restricted. India is so wide a field, that a practical acquaintance with every part of its affairs cannot be found com-

bined in any small number of individuals. The council ought to contain men of general experience and knowledge of the world, also men specially qualified by financial and revenue experience, by judicial experience, diplomatic experience, military experience; it ought to contain persons represent with the varied social relations, and varied institutions of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and the native states. Even the present Court of Directors, reduced as it is in numbers by the act of 1853, does not contain all the varieties of knowledge and experience, desirable in such a body; neither, your petitioners submit, would it be safe to limit the number to that which would be strictly sufficient, supposing all the appointments to be the best possible. A certain margin should be allowed for failures, which, even with the most conscientious selection, will sometimes occur. Your petitioners, moreover, cannot overlook the possibility, that if the nomination takes place by ministers at the head of a political party, it will not always be made with exclusive reference to personal qualifications; and it is indispensable to provide that such errors or faults in the nominating authorities, if they are only occasional, shall not seriously impair the efficiency of the body.

"That while these considerations plead strongly for a body not less numerous than the present, even if only regarded as advisers of the minister, their other office, as a check on the minister, forms, your petitioners submit, a no less forcible objection to any considerable reduction of the present number. A body of six or eight will not be equal to one of eighteen in that feeling of independent self-reliance which is necessary to induce a public body to press its opinion on a minister to whom that opinion is unacceptable. However unobjectionable in other respects so small a body may be constituted, reluctance to give offence will be likely, unless in extreme cases, to be a stronger habitual inducement in their minds than the desire to stand up for their convictions.

"That if, in the opinion of your honourable house, a body can be constituted which unites the above enumerated requisites of good government in a greater degree than the Court of Directors, your petitioners have only to express their humble hope that your endeavours for that purpose may be successful. But if, in enumerating the conditions of a good system of home government for India, your petitioners have, in fact, enumerated the qualities possessed by the present system, then your petitioners pray that your honourable house will continue the existing powers of the Court of Directors.

"That your petitioners are aware that the present home government of India is reproached with being a double government, and that any arrangement by which an independent check is provided to the discretion of the minister will be liable to a similar reproach. But they conceive that this reproach originates in an entire misconception of the functions devolving on the home government of India, and in the application to it of the principles applicable to purely executive departments. The executive government of India is, and must be, seated in India itself. The Court of Directors, which represents an executive as a deliberative body. Its principal function, and that of the home government generally, is not to direct the details of administration, but to scrutinise and revise the past acts of the
HISTORY OF THE

[AD. 1858.

Indian government—to lay down principles and issue general instructions for their future guidance—and to give a defined nature to the political measures, which are referred home for approval. These duties are more analogous to the functions of parliament than to those of an executive board; and it might almost as well be said that parliament, as that the government of India, should be constituted on a plan different from the boards. It is considered an excellence, not a defect, in the constitution of parliament, to be not merely a double but a triple government. An executive authority, your petitioners submit, may often with advantage be single, because promptitude is its first requisite. But the function of passing a deliberate opinion on past measures, and laying down principles of future policy, is a business which, in the estimation of your petitioners, admits of and requires the concurrence of more judgments than one. It is no defect in such a body to be double, and no excellence to be single, especially when it can only be worse so by cutting off that branch of it which, by previous training, is always the best prepared—and often the only one which is prepared at all—for its peculiar duty.

"That your petitioners have heard it asserted that, in consequence of what is called the double government, the Indian authorities are less responsible to parliament and the nation than other departments of the government of the empire, since it is impossible to know on which of the two branches of home government the responsibility ought to rest. Your petitioners fearlessly affirm that this impression is not only groundless but the very reverse of the truth. The home government of India is not less, but more responsible than any other branch of the administration of the state, inasmuch as the president of the Board of Commissioners, who is the minister for India, is as completely responsible as any other of her majesty's ministers, and, in addition, his advisers also are responsible. It is always certain, in the case of India, that the president of the Board of Commissioners must have either commanded or sanctioned all that has been done. No more than this, your petitioners would submit, can be known in the case of the head of any department of her majesty's government. For it is not, nor can it rationally be supposed that any minister of the crown is without trusted advisers; and the minister for India must, for obvious reasons, be more dependent than any other of her majesty's ministers upon the advice of persons whose lives have been devoted to the subject on which their advice has been given. But in the case of India, such advisers are assigned to him by the constitution of the government, and they are as much responsible for what they advise as he is for what he ordains; while, in other departments, the minister's only official advisers are the subordinates in his office, men often of great skill and experience, but not in the public eye—often unknown to the public even by name; official reserve precludes the possibility of ascertaining what advice they give, and they are responsible only to the minister himself. By what application of terms this can be called responsible government, and the joint government of your petitioners and the India Board an irresponsible government, your petitioners think it unnecessary to ask.

"That, without knowing the plan on which her majesty's ministers contemplate the transfer to the crown of the servants of the Company, your petitioners find themselves unable to approach the delicate question of the Indian army, further than to point out that the high military qualities of the officers of that army have unquestionably sprung, in a great degree, from its being a principal and substantive army, holding her majesty's commissions, and enjoying equal rank with her majesty's officers; and your petitioners would earnestly deprecate any change in that position.

"That your petitioners, having regard to all these considerations, humbly pray your honourable house that you will not give your sanction to any change in the constitution of the Indian government during the continuance of the present unhappy disturbances, nor without a full previous inquiry into the operation of the present system. And your petitioners further pray that this inquiry may extend to every department of Indian administration. Such an inquiry your petitioners respectfully claim, not only as a matter of justice to themselves, but because when, for the first time in this century, the thoughts of every public man in the country are fixed on India, an inquiry would be more thorough, and its results would carry much more instruction to the mind of parliament and of the country than at any preceding period."

During the reading of the above important protest, the several passages which referred to the successful efforts of the East India Company in adding an empire to the dominions of the British crown, to the advantages which that empire had derived from their government, the efficiency of all their departments, and more especially to their objections to leave the appointment of the controlling body and the higher offices in the hands of ministers, were loudly cheered by the Court. Ultimately, the petition was ordered to be printed preparatory to the opening of the session; and the further consideration of the resolution submitted to the Court on the 18th of January, was again adjourned.

An incident occurred about the beginning of 1855, which established a very considerable and acceptable deviation from the practice that had hitherto existed with regard to the bestowal of honours for services rendered to the country. Previous to the outbreak of the Indian rebellion, it had been the custom to confer titles and distinctions for services in the field at the end of a campaign, or even of a war, when hope had been long deferred, and when, too often, some of the most worthy were beyond the reach of mortal praise; but in this Indian war, by a judicious exercise of discretion on the part of the advisers of the sovereign, it became usual to confer honours on the deserving while their meritorious deeds were yet fresh, and their names were in the mouths of all men. The course of events had, in fact, become so
rapid, and leader after leader had been struck down so suddenly by the sword, or by disease or exhaustion, that the old practice would have been little better than a mockery: and even under the improved system that had been introduced in this respect, honours too frequently became posthumous. The baronetcies conferred on General Havelock, as soon as the official despatches of his last achievement reached home, proved to have been granted too late; and it became evidently necessary that the queen’s government should lose no time in rewarding military merit. As an earnest of this intention, immediately upon the receipt of Sir Colin Campbell’s despatches with the report of Colonel Inglis, describing the defence of the residency at Lucknow, the latter gallant officer was promoted to the rank of major-general; and the Gazette of the 19th of January announced, that the baronetcies which was to have been conferred upon the late Sir Henry Havelock, had been granted to the eldest son, and, in default of direct issue, to the other sons of the deceased general; and by the same authority it was declared, that the widow of the general had been raised by the queen to the rank which would have been her’s if her husband had lived to receive the dignity intended for him.

The discussions at the India House upon the resolution and petition proposed for adoption, on the 13th and 20th of January, continued by successive adjournments to the 28th of the month, when both were unanimously adopted; and the necessary steps were ordered to be taken for the presentation of the petition as soon as parliament should meet.

It has already been stated that, in the autumn of 1856, the queen-mother of Oude, with two princes of the royal family, arrived in England, for the purpose of submitting in person, to the queen and parliament, their complaints of the wrong to which their country and family had been subjected by the East India Company in the annexation of the kingdom of Oude. Some time after her majesty’s arrival in this country, an audience was obtained of the queen, whose reception of the royal supplicant for justice was represented at the time as having been gracious and cordial. Shortly after this incident, petitions were presented by the royal strangers to both houses of parliament, meeting with the result already described. The queen of Oude continued to reside near the metropolis, in a kind of semi-state, attended by a numerous retinue, until tidings of the revolt of the Bengal army, and the suspected complicity of her son, the king of Oude, in an insurrectionary movement, reached this country, accompanied by the announcement of his imprisonment in Fort William. She immediately appealed to both houses of parliament, denying the imputation against the loyalty of her son and family, and prayed for redress and for permission to communicate with the imprisoned king. The mode in which this appeal of a queen and mother was received by the hereditary legislators of the British empire, has already been recorded.† It is only necessary to repeat, that its reception was objected to upon the ground of informality; and the appeal of an aggrieved and suffering princess, who had endured the perils of a long and hazardous voyage from her native country, to seek justice at its fount upon earth, was necessarily withdrawn.

From this time the royal strangers remained in comparative obscurity, until the queen obtained permission to leave the country, with her son and grandson, on a visit to Mecca; and for that purpose reached Paris, en route for Egypt. Here the unfortunate lady—whose health had been destroyed by disappointment, anxiety, and sorrow—was overtaken by death on the 23rd of January. Preparations for the obsequies were made in accordance with the rites of her religion; and the funeral nostrils, and repeatedly anointed the body with odorous oils and essences. The body was afterwards wrapt round with bands of fine muslin, and the whole covered with a crimson cloth embroidered in gold. After this had been done, the religious service commenced. The females, whether relatives of the deceased or ladies of the palace, and afterwards the officers and servants, entered successively into the chamber where the body was laid out, and where two priests recited the prayers prescribed by the religion in which the princess had lived. The females uttered deep groans, and the men showed every sign of grief. No light was burning in the
took place on the 27th of the month. The remains of the queen, deposited in a coffin of peculiar shape, were placed in a hearse drawn by six horses caparisoned in white. The hearse was covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, and surrounded with white draperies, bearing the letter "M;" thirteen mourning coaches followed the hearse. Mirza Hasmat Le-
kendal Bahadoor (the youngest son of the deceased), and Mirza Hadar (her grandson), walked close after the hearse. The Hin- doos who formed the queen’s suite followed in the mourning carriages. Two priests belonging to the religion professed by the queen of Oude, were in the proces-
sion. The cortège left the Rue Laffitte, and followed the Boulevards to Pere la Chaise, where the corpse was interred in the Mussulman cemetery, being the first grave opened in that ground. The coffin, previous to the interment, was carried into the mosque, where prayers were recited by the priests. At this moment the Indian followers gave way to loud lamentations. The queen’s age was stated to be fifty-three.

The princes of Oude, after assisting in the ceremonial, returned to London, and were soon lost sight of amongst the shifting masses of which metropolitan society is composed. But few months, however, intervened before attention was again directed to the hapless family; two out of the three princes having followed the late queen to a European grave.

On Thursday, the 4th of February, parliament met, pursuant to adjournment from the 12th of December. On the 6th, a bill was introduced by Mr. V. Smith, to empower the East India Company to raise £10,000,000 by way of loan, for the service of the government of India; and on the 8th, Baron Panmure in the upper house, and Viscount Palmerston in the Commons, severally moved the thanks of parliament to the gover-

war expatiated with much eloquence upon the courage, coolness, and administrative

talent displayed through a period of terrible exigency by the governor-general of India; virtues of which the existence was ques-
tioned by the Earl of Derby, who regretted that "the terms of the resolution were so framed, as to include in the vote of thanks certain persons holding high office in India; and he objected to any formal expression of approval as regarded the governor-general, whom the noble lord considered it would be time enough to thank when he had thoroughly overcome the difficulties created by his misadministration."—In the lower house, Mr. Disraeli suggested the omission of Lord Canning’s name from the resolu-
tion; and in default of such omission, declared his intention to move the previous question, and get rid of the vote of thanks altogether.—In the Lords the motion was carried with unanimity; and in the Com-
mons, after a short but sharp discussion, in which the conduct of the governor-general was impugned by one party, and strenuously defended by the other. Mr. Disraeli withdrew his opposition, and the resolution was put and carried nem. con.

On the following day, Earl Grey in the Lords, and Mr. T. Baring in the Commons, presented the petition from the East India Company, of which a copy has already been inserted in this volume.* No dis-
cussion took place upon this occasion in the lower house, the document being simply laid on the table. At length, on Friday, February 12th, Lord Palmerston moved for leave to bring in a bill for transferring from the East India Company to the crown the government of her majesty’s dominions in the East Indies. He brought forward this measure, he said, not out of any host-

tility to the Company on the ground of any delinquency on their part, or as implying any blame or censure on that body, which had done many good things for India, and whose administration had been attended with great advantages to the population under their rule. The Company’s political

authority, he observed, had not been con-

ferred; it had grown up gradually and acci-
dentally from small beginnings—factories

On his forehead he wore a diadem ornamented with diamonds and rubies; and all the officers and ser-

vants prostrated themselves before him. He was conducted into the chamber where the body was lying, and evinced marks of the deepest affection; but he did not accompany the funeral procession.

* See ante, p. 427.
extending to districts, and districts being enlarged into provinces. When, however, their commercial privileges were withdrawn, the Company became but a phantom of what it was, and subsided into an agency of the imperial government, without, however, responsibility to parliament, or any immediate connection with India. He pointed out the obvious inconveniences incident to the double government by the Board of Control and a Court of Directors elected by a body consisting of holders of East India stock. He admitted that a system of check was beneficial, but check and counter-check might be so multiplied as to paralyse action; and he thought it was desirable that this cumbersome machinery should be reduced in form to what it was in fact, and that complete authority should vest where the public thought complete responsibility should rest, instead of nominally in an irresponsible body, ostensibly a company of merchants. The bill would be confined to a change of the administration at home, without any alteration of the arrangements in India, the intention being to alter as little as possible, consistently with the great object in view, the establishment of a responsible government for India, as for other territories of the crown. He proposed that the functions of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors should cease, and that there should be substituted a president and council for the affairs of India, the president to be a member of the cabinet, and the counci\llors to be named by the crown, eight in number, who should be appointed for eight years. It was proposed that the decision of the president, who would be the organ of the government, should be final; but that if the councillors dissented from his opinion, they should have the right to record their opinion in minutes; and on matters concerning the Indian revenue, it was intended that the president should have the concurrence of four councillors. He proposed that the council should have the power of distributing the business among themselves; that the president should be placed upon the footing of a secretary of state, and that the councillors should have salaries of £1,000 a-year. It was proposed that while all the powers now vested in the Court of Directors should be transferred to this council, all appointments in India now made by the local authorities should continue to be so made; that the president should be authorised to appoint one secretary capable of sitting in that house; but it was not proposed that the councillors should be capable of sitting in parliament. There was one matter of constitutional difficulty which, he remarked, had always been the foundation of an objection to this change—namely, the patronage. With regard, however, to the local appointments, they would continue to be made in India. Members of the local councils likewise would be made by the governor-general. Arrangements had already been made by which writershps were obtained by open competition, and this system would be continued. Cadetships had hitherto been divided between the Court of Directors and the president of the Board of Control, and it was proposed to leave them to the president and council. The final appointment of both would depend upon their efficiency in India. A certain portion of the cadetships would be reserved for the sons of Indian officers. There would, therefore, be no additional patronage thrown into the hands of the government which could provoke the slightest constitutional jealousy. As the president and council would possess the powers of the existing secret committee, it was proposed that, in any case where orders were sent to India involving the commencement of hostilities, they should be communicated to parliament within one month. The revenues of India would, of course, be applied solely to the purposes of the Indian government, and auditors would be appointed to examine the expenditure of the revenue, and their audit would be laid before parliament. In conclusion, Lord Palmerston replied to anticipated objections, expressing his conviction that the change he proposed, while it strengthened the power of England in India, would, on the other hand, better enable the government to discharge those duties towards the people of India which it was intended that this nation should perform.—Mr. T. Baring, in moving, by way of amendment to the motion, a resolution, "that it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India," dwelt upon the extent and formidable character of the proposed change, the alarm which it would excite in the minds of the people of India, and the power which it threw into the hands of the government. No charge, he observed, had been made against the East India Company; and he entreated the house to pause before it adopted the plan in the present state of affairs in India.—Sir E. Perry thought, on
the contrary, that this was the fittest and most opportune moment for introducing a measure of this kind; that the mind of the British public and the attention of parliament were now occupied with Indian affairs; and all accounts from India showed that some great change was anticipated there. His opinion was, that the present system was an effete, useless, and cumbersome machine, which had not accomplished the object which it was intended to effect, the Court of Directors being now a mere caput mortuum, while the Board of Control escaped responsibility. —Mr. Milnes considered that no facts had been put forward to show that the progress of events in India had been checked by the action of the double government, or that it had contributed to the mutiny. In his opinion, India would not be better governed by the despotism of a cabinet minister. He had expected that Lord Palmerston would have offered some plea for the measure; but he had been disappointed. —Mr. W. Vansittart insisted that before a change was proposed, an inquiry into the causes and circumstances of the late outbreak in India was imperatively demanded.

—Mr. Ayrton said that, having gone to India with every prejudice in favour of the government of the East India Company, he had come to the conclusion, after a residence there, that the continuance of the rule of that remnant of a trading company was not only highly inexpedient, but impossible. He disputed the allegations in the Company’s petition, which, he said, put forth misstatements and arrogant pretensions. —The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the petition of the East India Company had received fully as much praise as it deserved, and that a public document like that ought not only to be distinguished by composition and style, but should be based upon undeniable facts and cogent reasoning. There were two main assumptions in that document; one, that the East India Company had acquired our Eastern empire; the other, that their government was the best government that the civilised world had ever produced. With respect to the first, assuming that the acquisition of territory in India, had been advantageous to the country, he disputed the doctrine that it had been acquired by the policy of the East India Company; it had been acquired by Clive, Hastings, and other Indian conquerors, and by governors appointed by the crown, in spite of repeated instructions of the trading company not to acquire territory. In examining the other assumption, Sir C. Lewis traced the history of parliamentary control of Indian administration from the Regulating Act of 1773, and read an extract from the well-known resolutions moved by Mr. Burke in 1784, containing a fearful picture of the Company’s government of that day; and he asserted that there existed evidence damnum of the Company as a political body from 1758 to 1784, showing that no civilised government on the face of the earth was more corrupt, pernicious, and rapacious. All that could be said in favour of the East India Company dated, he observed, from the year 1784, after they had been subjected to parliamentary control. The establishment of the Board of Control totally altered the constitution of the Company as a political body, placing them, as regarded their governing powers, in a purely subordinate position. In 1818 the trading monopoly of the Company was taken away; and, in 1833, the whole of their trading powers were abolished, and they were merely retained as a political engine subordinate to the crown. In 1833 further changes were made in the constitution of the Court of Directors; and the fallacy in the petition consisted in supposing the East India Company to be one and indivisible, and that they had remained unchanged from the battle of Plassey to the last renewal of their charter. He agreed that there was no ground for imputing blame to the Company as to the origin of the mutiny; but the present state of things had brought under the consideration of the executive government the clumsiness, inefficiency, and complexity of the present form of the home government of India. It was a composite body, the parts acting and reacting upon each other, defined by act of parliament, and which parliament could at any time remodel; and he thought it would be more satisfactory if parliament would fix the executive authority for Indian affairs in this country, with full responsibility, upon the ministers of the crown. He then reviewed briefly the details of the proposed plan, pointing out its relative and positive advantages; and, with regard to the question of patronage, on which Mr. Fox’s India Bill was wrecked, he contended that it could not be said that this bill would confer any increase of patronage upon the crown. —Mr. Mangles, in replying to the chancellor of the
A.D. 1858.] INDIAN MUTINY. [DEBATE INTERRUPTED.

exchequer, defended the allegations in the Company's petition, and quoted testimony borne by Lord Macaulay to the character of the Company's government prior to 1784. He argued strongly against the proposed measure on account of the time, and the effect which the change might produce upon the natives of India. It was, he said, most desirable, if such a change as that proposed was to be made, that it should be introduced at a time when India was tranquil, when the minds of the people were not alienated from each other, and especially when the native population were not distracted by the apprehension that their religious opinions were to be strongly and violently interfered with. The debate was adjourned, at the close of Mr. Mangles' speech, upon the motion of Mr. Roebuck, until the following Monday, when that honourable gentleman resumed it by remarking that, in the acquisition of India, we had broken through almost every rule of morality, that we had exhibited great valour and intelligence, but not great virtue. In framing a plan of government that would be capable of maintaining order, and conducing to the happiness of the people, there were, he observed, three courses open for choice, viz., that of maintaining the present double government, or handing back the entire authority to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, or adopting the bill of Lord Palmerston. With respect to the first course, the double government destroyed all responsibility. As to the second, there had never been a worse government known to the world than that of the Court of Directors, as testified by Lord Macaulay, a great defender of the Company; they were not, therefore, the persons he would trust with the government of India. There remained only the bill in question, which, with certain changes indicated by him, he thought would be the best home administration for India. If this was the right course, he begged the house not to be frightened by a cry of opposition, but to adopt it at once.—Sir H. Rawlinson observed that the change of the government of India was two-fold; in England, by the abolition of the double government, and in India by the proclamation of the queen's name. To show the complex and dilatory machinery of the double government at home, he described what he termed the gestation of an Indian despatch; and he asked whether there could be a more obstructive and unbusiness-like system. The sooner the double government, therefore, was done away, in his opinion, the better. With respect to the change in India, he believed that, with the exception of a very small section of the covenanted civil servants, the European community and the officers of the Indian army would prefer the government of the crown to that of the Company. In considering the effect of the change upon the natives of India, he observed that, among the great mass of the population, owing to their docility and susceptibility, individual character and influence had more effect than any abstract question of government. But among the educated classes it was different; he believed that they understood the distinction between the crown and the Company as well as we did, and he never heard a doubt of their preferring the government of the former. With regard to the most important question—that of the time, it was his honest opinion that it was favourable for the change, and that the proclamation of the queen's name would produce good effects. By approving the principle of the bill, and deprecating delay, however, he did not commit himself to an unqualified approval of its details, there being parts to which he could not assent.—Sir J. Walsh argued that the double government contained useful elements; that it brought local knowledge to bear upon the supreme board. Nothing was so simple as absolute power; but Englishmen desired checks and limitations, which involved complexity and delay. He complained of the extent of the patronage which the bill would vest in the government, who would have the disposal of a revenue of £30,000,000, with only a phantom of control on the part of that house. The consequence of the measure would be, that public opinion would be brought to bear upon the ministry, and might force upon them a line of policy, with respect to the extension of Christianity in India, that would lead to the destruction of our empire, and he therefore would vote for the amendment.—Several other members followed in the same strain, and at 1 A.M. the house adjourned upon the motion of Colonel Sykes.

On the 16th, the progress of the discussion upon Lord Palmerston's bill was interrupted by Mr. H. Baillie, who had a motion on the paper to call the attention of the house to the causes which had led to the rebellion in her majesty's dominions in the
verdant, by the showers of His grace and mercy, the garden of the wealth and prosperity of your majesty, the ornament of the throne of grandeur and exaltation. Let it not remain beneath the veil of secrecy and concealment, or be hidden from the light-reflecting mirror of your mind, that lately much discussion has been carried on between the Court of Directors of exalted dignity and myself, by means of a written correspondence, touching the recent treaty of the 11th of September, 1837. Now, taking into consideration that the expense entailed by the auxiliary force—viz., sixteen lacs (£160,000 sterling) per annum, might be the cause of interrupting the administration and amelioration of your kingdom, the said expense became the subject of their grave deliberations. From the period you ascended the throne your majesty has, in comparison with times past, greatly improved the kingdom; and I have, in consequence, been authorised by the Court of Directors to inform you, that ‘if I think it advisable for the present, I may’ relieve your majesty from part of the clause of the treaty alluded to, by which clause expense is laid upon your majesty.

"Hoping that your majesty may continue to rule your country, as you have hitherto done, with justice, equity, and anxiety for the welfare of your subjects,"

"I am, &c.—AUCKLAND."

If Lord Dalhousie’s statement, that the home government disavowed the treaty as soon as they heard of it, were correct, the declaration made by Lord Auckland, in July, 1839, and just quoted by him, was either a deliberate fiction, or a gross and scandalous concealment of the facts from the king. It was impossible to reconcile the opposite statements made by the two governors-general; and it was necessary, not only for the vindication of Lord Dalhousie, but to relieve the memory of Lord Auckland from the dishonouring suppositions which at present attached to it, that these extraordinary discrepancies should, if possible, be explained.

His lordship then proceeded to detail the policy subsequently adopted to cover the undeclared rejection of the treaty by the Court of Directors, which he stigmatised as a species of Old Bailey chicanery, by which the lives and property of men might be swindled and juggled away.—Mr. Mangles, as a member of the Court of Directors, professed himself ready to take his full share of responsibility for the annexation of Oude, which he believed was a just and necessary measure. The government of Oude, from the commencement of the reign of the family now deposed, had been, he said, the worst in the world, uniting all the vices of an Asiatic government, while the people were controlled by the iron hand of European civilisation. He dwelt upon the violations of the treaty; upon the warnings given to the king; upon the neglect with which representations were treated by him; and upon the lawless condition of the country—which fully justified, in his opinion, the extreme measure of annexation. With regard to the treaty of 1837, it was the fact, as stated by Lord Dalhousie, that it was disallowed by the Court of Directors; although it was true that Lord Auckland did not tell the king of Oude that the whole of that treaty had been abrogated. He did not believe that the annexation of Oude had any appreciable effect upon the mutiny; and he read a letter from Sir John Lawrence, stating as his opinion, that although it was possible the king of Oude might have had something to do with the mutiny, the Hindoo population of Oude were in favour of the annexation, and that the mutiny sprang from the sepoyos themselves. Mr. Mangles mentioned instances in which natives had maintained the authority of government at stations deserted by the civil officers, and asked whether these facts were compatible with the notion that it was a rebellion; in his opinion, it was a military mutiny from the beginning.—Colonel Sykes, likewise a director of the Company, spoke of the disorganisation of the Oude territories, which were governed, he said, by an ignorant and voluptuous king, who took no part in public affairs. Districts were farmed out to officers, who paid or retained the revenue in proportion to their powers of retention.

The most extraordinary speech delivered in the course of this important and interesting debate, was made by General Thompson, member for Bradford, who thus delivered himself of a torrent of accusation and invective. "He was not," he said, "himself an eminent man; but he knew hundreds of men who thought they could discern the causes of the late insurrection, and who wondered that practical statesmen did not do the same. The mistake of firing the native army with the natives of Oude had
INDIAN MUTINY. [EXTRAORDINARY SPEECH.

been adverted to; but other causes had been in operation for a series of years. High authorities had said that, in order to enable men to rule in India, it was necessary that there should be no interference with the religion of the natives, and that the increase of European colonists or planters should be discouraged. They rightly said that an interference with the religion of the natives would be resented by them as it would be by Englishmen at home, and that the introduction of colonists would lead to that horrible war of races which could only end in the extermination or subjugation of the weaker party. The continual irritation caused by religious bodies in India had something to do with it. Being 'to the manner born,' he knew the strength as well as the infirmity of these bodies. He rejoiced over their strength, and lamented their infirmity; which was, that when the precept of doing to others as they would be done unto was in question, they always made an exception in the case, in which 'I by myself' was one party, and the other was a person of a different creed. The planter or colonist spirit in India had long been increasing. It was a grievance among men of this stamp when a man of Indian complexion rose to station and position, and their organs had recently insisted that every native ought to pay a mark of respect to a European on passing him, which was a clear demonstration of Virginian plantership.

Was there no danger in such a spirit, when a handful of Europeans were engaged against 150,000,000 native inhabitants? There had been much irritation in the native army, and a great and well-founded suspicion that efforts were being made to injure them in their religion. The colonel of a native regiment having made attempts to convert his men to Christianity, a sepoy had been induced, under the influence of liquor, to shoot the adjutant’s horse. He was hanged; perhaps very properly: but the native officer, who was charged with not having been nimble enough in arresting this sepoy, was hanged also. In his opinion, if the colonel had been substituted for the native officer, a great act of substantial justice, if not of sound policy, would have been performed. The soldiers of a native cavalry regiment, who were a sort of yeomen, were ordered to put greased cartridges in their mouths; which was sentencing them to lose their standing and reputation with their family and friends, and which, in short, was about as great a mixture of insult and injury as if a party of our dragons had been sent to the veterinary surgeon to undergo the operation usual with cavalry horses. The native soldiers respectfully declined, as would have been the case in our own regiments; and then eighty-five of these unhappy men were ordered to be imprisoned in irons, and set to work on the roads for ten years. Upon this moderate and delicate sentence being pronounced, the rest of the regiment turned out, and the mutiny began. Men were caught, hunted, blown from guns, hung, and otherwise executed in consequence; and then, forsooth, wonder was expressed that in a town where the native party had the upper hand, reprisals were made. Reprisals never did much good. Nevertheless, it was in the nature of man to make them. If an Alva or a Tilly had been in similar circumstances, he would have known, that to do what was done by us at Delhi, to wait until 500 persons were upon the magazine before blowing it up, would have been an act which, whether praiseworthy or not, would have certainly been followed by the destruction of as many of his own party as were in the hands of his enemy. He would, doubtless, have told his adherents they might be thankful that their brethren had died like martyrs; but he would never have complained of their destruction as a hardship. How many things had since then been done in India calculated to prevent the possibility of the insurrection subsiding? He declared that if he were placed in a position in which his chief aim should be to shoot down, hang, burn, destroy, and do everything in his power to prevent the recovery of the British dominion, he should do exactly the deeds which had been done, if he had had the examples we had set to teach him, because many of the things which had been done in India were such as would never have entered the mind of any ordinary man. He referred to the slaughter of the native princes at Delhi. He could not, without infringing on the rights of conscience, designate that act by any other name than one of the foulest murders and atrocities recorded in human history. ('Oh! Oh!') He could assure the honourable gentleman who said 'Oh!' that in parts of this country a very different sound was raised on finding that this great dishonour had been done to the English name—a dishonour which would never be got over while history lasted. He had seen three different accounts of this affair, two of
ENGLAND—THE BILL RESUMED.] HISTORY OF THE

which, professing to be exculpatory of those concerned, introduced the words 'emissaries' and 'negotiations.' There could be no doubt that these unhappy princes had been deceived. A British officer in these days was tantamount to an executioner. The cloth had been dishonoured; our officers had in person adjusted the rope—they had seen that it slipped easily—the thing had not been done by another hand—it was a commissioned hand that had done it. They boasted, too, that they had tortured their victims, and talked of how they had hanged them. He was unwilling to go into details, because there were those who could not answer for themselves; for now both the tortured and the torturer were before their God. He believed that the Brahmin would have the best of it. Pictority and mankind in general would judge severely of all those acts, and we should have the shame and disgrace left for us. It was, in truth, a sore evil and affliction. Indeed, he sometimes wondered what any one of us could have done that such men should have been de creed to be our countrymen. Ay, and the torturers with glee recounted how they had 'hung them like fun! He begged pardon for making such a quotation in Mr. Speaker's presence, but it showed the kind of men who had got the upper hand in India. And with all this before them, our statesmen were still doubting what could have been the possible cause of this Indian insurrection! There was a time when the opinion was once declared, that it was very unbecoming to look into causes. If those causes were now in continued action, it would not, he thought, be so very imprudent to look into and recognise them. He had, therefore, to thank the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Baillie) for having brought forward this question; and he would be most happy if, in the opinion of any honourable member present, he should be thought to have thrown any light upon the subject." The gallant general resumed his seat amidst the derisive laughter of the house.—Mr. Palk had been prepared to hear wild theories enunciated on points of policy on the other side of the house, but he had certainly never expected to have his feelings so outraged as by the speech to which they had just listened. He had never expected that those who had polluted and butchered the wives and daughters of our officers, who had tortured and murdered infants, who had outraged every feeling of humanity, would find a defender in that house. Least of all had he expected that one who had held a distinguished command over regiments which owned the sovereign of this country, would have raised his voice in what was still a Christian house of parliament to defend the atrocities of the sepoy in India. He was afraid to trust himself to speak further on such a subject, so strong was his indignation. He bowed at once with deference to those who were much older than himself, and who had much greater experience; but, with the name he bore, he should be wanting in those feelings which, he believed, actuated every gentleman in that house, and every man who represented any constituency, if he sat quiet and did not enter his protest against a speech which, he trusted, would never be copied in that assembly.

After some observations from other members, the motion of Mr. Baillie was agreed to, and the house adjourned, without resuming the consideration of the bill for the government of India.

On the 18th of February, the debate on Lord Palmerston's bill for the future government of India, was resumed by Colonel Sykes, who strongly objected to the change proposed, and defended the administration of the Company. He was followed by Sir Charles Wood, who contended that, since 1784, the Court of Directors had not been the exclusive and independent government of India; and that, by the act of 1853, which he had introduced, the Court ceased to be an independent body, one-third of the members being nominees of the crown. It was not then deemed expedient to make a more extensive change; but he had stated that, on some future occasion, a further alteration might be necessary, and that the then measure was calculated to render the change easier. It was left open to parliament at that time, without breach of faith, or any inconsistency with the act of 1853, to do that which many thought was then indispensable—namely, to govern India in the name of the queen. Altogether, considering that the delays and shortcomings which had led to the present crisis, were attributable to the double government, he contended it would be wise to place the control of India at once, and especially at this time, in the hands of the crown, and carry it on in the name of the sovereign.—Sir E. Bulwer Lytton characterised the measure as audacious.
incomplete, and unconsidered. He declared that political changes among Orientals were always suspected; and argued, that the peculiar state of India at the present time, and the circumstances under which the measure had been brought forward, would aggravate suspicion, and increase the evils it professed to remedy.—Mr. Willoughby, an East India director, spoke warmly in support of the Company’s government, and protested against the charges of inefficiency and neglect that had been brought against it.—Lord John Russell urged an immediate settlement of the question as to a system of government which would best secure the welfare of a great empire, and the happiness of millions of people.—Mr. Disraeli followed his lordship in the debate, and said, if he had thought a change in the direction recommended by her majesty’s ministers would draw the inhabitants of Hindostan nearer to this country, and improve their condition, he was not of opinion that the operation of this measure would produce that effect; quite the contrary. There was one subject which had been lost sight of in this discussion—namely, the financial part of the question. It was idle to pretend that there would be, after the proposed change, any distinction between the finances of India and those of England; that if the exchequer of India was empty, that of England would not be liable. If this be true, before the house agreed to the introduction of this bill, it should ask what were to be the financial relations between England and India. At this moment, there was a deficit in India of about £2,000,000, and that deficiency would be necessarily doubled and quadrupled. Before the house and the country incurred this responsibility, they ought to know the resources of India, and how they were to be managed. What was wanted was a total change in the local administration of India itself. The revenue derived from the land could not be increased, and it was raised in a manner which rendered it precarious. Reviewing the projected scheme of home government for India, he insisted that it would be incompetent to grapple with the details of Indian administration; that the president must trust to the governor-general, who, with a supremacy of power that would exalt him above all control, must become a despot. The expenditure would increase every year; and the question would be, not of losing India, but of ruining England.

The financial question, he repeated, must be met; and how, he asked, were we, who found so much difficulty in adjusting our expenditure to our means, to provide for an enormous deficiency in India? The affairs of India had hitherto not created much interest in the house and in the country, because Englishmen had never had to pay for India. That illusion would now be at an end.—Lord Palmerston, in reply, observed that Mr. Disraeli had endeavoured to frighten the house by a financial difficulty. Nothing, however, was more contrary to the fact. The bill would make no change in this respect; the distinction between the two exchequers would remain, but would be made more clear and precise. Upon the general question, he said he could understand that those who approved the existing system should desire its continuance; but he could not understand how those who pronounced it to be defective should, nevertheless, wish to prolong its existence at a period when vigour and unity of action were so much required.

The house then divided upon the amendment of Mr. Baring, “That it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India;” which being negatived by a division of 318 to 173, leave was given to bring in the bill; a result which was popularly considered as expressing the feelings of the country through parliament, which held itself answerable for the possession and government of the Indian portion of the empire, as well as of the more integral division of it, and did not consider itself excused for misgovernment by the mere intervention of an inscrutable Court of Directors. As to the idea of danger from the change meditated, that danger had already presented itself when the revolution commenced. The bill in question, therefore, would rather register a great fact than effect a great transformation. Nothing in the way of destruction had been left to be accomplished; for when the great Bengal army mutinied, the East India Company, as a political institution, had died by its own hand.

The text of the “Bill for the better Government of India,” introduced by Lord Palmerston, was as follows:—

Whereas by an act of the session holden in the 16th and 17th years of her majesty, chapter 95, “to provide for the government of India,” the territories in the possession and under the government of the East India Company were continued under such
government, in trust for her majesty, until parliament should otherwise provide, subject to the provisions of that act and of other acts of parliament, and the property and rights in the said act referred to are held by the said company in trust for the crown for the purposes of the said government: and whereas it is expedient that the said territories should be governed by and in the name of her majesty: be it therefore enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows: that is to say,

Transfer of the Government of India to Her Majesty.—I. The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said company in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said company, and all rights vested in or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said company in relation to any territory shall become vested in and be exercised on behalf of her majesty; and for the purposes of this act India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

II. India shall be governed by and in the name of her majesty, and all rights in relation to any territories which might have been exercised by the said company if this act had not been passed, shall and may be exercised on behalf of her majesty as rights incident to the government of India; and all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India, and all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the said company if this act had not been passed, shall be received for and in the name of her majesty, and shall be applied and disposed of for the purposes of the government of India. And by the expiration of his term of office, shall be capable of being forthwith reappointed.

III. Real and personal property of the company to vest in her majesty for the purposes of the government of India.

IV. The appointments of governor-general of India, fourth ordinary member of the council of India, and governors of presidencies in India, now made by the court of directors with the approbation of her majesty, and the appointment of advocate-general for the several presidencies, now made with the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall be made by her majesty by warrant under her royal sign-manual; the appointments of the ordinary members of the council of India, except the fourth ordinary member, shall be made by the governor-general of India, subject to the approbation of her majesty; and the appointments of the members of council of the several presidencies shall be made by the governors of such respective presidencies, subject to the like approbation; and all such appointments shall be subject to the qualifications now by law affecting such offices respectively: provided always that it shall not be lawful for the governor-general of India, or any other person provisionally to supply any vacancy which may subsequently happen in the office of member of council, unless the pleasure of her majesty be previously signified for that purpose; but any person appointed by such governor-general or governor respectively, subject to her majesty's approbation, to fill an actual vacancy in such office, shall be entitled to sit and act as a member of the respective council, and shall have the emoluments and advantages of such appointment in the meantime until her majesty's pleasure may be signified in relation to such appointment.

President and Council for Affairs of India.—V. For the purposes of the government of India under this act, a council shall be established, to consist of a president and eight other members, and to be styled, "the president and council for the affairs of India," and it shall be lawful for her majesty, from time to time, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, to appoint a person to be, during her majesty's pleasure, president of the council for the affairs of India, and by like warrants to appoint eight other persons to be ordinary members of such council; and of the persons to be first appointed such ordinary members two shall be appointed for four years, two for six years, two for eight years, and two for ten years (such respective terms to be computed from the date of their appointment); and every person to be appointed an ordinary member of council shall be a person who has been a director of the said company, or has been for ten years at least in India, in the service either of the crown or of the said company, or has been for fifteen years at least resident in India.

VI. Every ordinary member of council appointed to fill a vacancy occasioned by the expiration of the term of office of an ordinary member shall be appointed for the term of eight years, to be computed from such expiration; and every such ordinary member appointed to supply the place of an ordinary member whose office has become void otherwise than by the expiration of his term of office, shall be appointed for the remainder of the term of office of such last-mentioned ordinary member; and every person ceasing, or who, but for reappointment, would cease, to be an ordinary member of council by the expiration of his term of office, shall be capable of being forthwith reappointed.

VII. It shall be lawful for her majesty to remove any ordinary member of council from his office, upon an address of both houses of parliament.

VIII. The president for the time being shall be capable of being elected and of sitting and voting as a member of the house of commons; and in case the person who immediately before the commencement of this act is the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India be appointed the first president of the council established under this act, and be at the time of such appointment a member of the house of commons, he shall not by reason of such appointment vacate his seat in parliament.

IX. There shall be paid to the president the like yearly salary as that for the time being paid to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, and to each ordinary member of council the yearly salary of £1,000.

X. Four members of council may form a board.

XI. In case at any board at which the president is present there is a difference of opinion on any question, the determination of the president shall be final; and no act of such board shall be done at any board in the absence of the president shall require the sanction or approval in writing of the president, or of one
of her majesty's principal secretaries of state; and
in case of difference of opinion on any question
considered by any board, the president may require
that his opinions, and the reasons for the same, be
entered in the minutes of the proceedings; and any
ordinary member of council who may have been
present at the board may require that his opinion,
and any reasons for the same that he may have,
shall be entered in the board, he entered in like manner.
XII. Provided always, that no grant whatever by
way of increase of the actual charge for the time
being upon the revenues of India, no appointment
by the president and council to any office or em-
ployment on the establishment of the president and
council, shall be made without the concurrence of the
president and four at least of the ordinary members of council;
but this enactment shall not extend to appointments
made during any recess held within one year from the
beginning of the April which shall be mentioned in
section 41 of the said act of the 16th and
17th years of her majesty; but such appointments
may be made at any board.
XIII. During vacancy of office, &c., of president,
his powers to be exercised by secretary of state.
XIV. Arrangement of the business of the council.
XV. Establishment of president and council to be
fixed by order of her majesty in council.
XVI. One secretary may sit in the House of Com-
mons.
XVII. Appointment of officers and their sala-
ries, &c., for officers of President and Council.—XVIII. Presi-
dent and council to exercise powers now exercised
by the Company or Board of Control.
XIX. A specified number or proportion of the
cadetships to be given to sons of civil and military
servants.
XX. All appointments to offices, commands, and
employments in India, which by law or under any
regulations, usage, or custom are now made by any
authority in India, shall continue to be made in
India by the like authority.
XXI. Existing provisions to be applicable to pres-
ident and council.
XXII. Orders and dispatches which may now be
sent through secret committee may be sent by or to
the president alone.
XXIII. When any order is sent to India, direct-
ing the actual commencement of hostilities by her
majesty's forces in India, the fact of such order
having been sent shall be communicated to both
houses of parliament within one month after the
sending of such order, if parliament be sitting, and
if parliament be not sitting, then within one month
after the next meeting of parliament.
XXIV. All orders and communications of the
president and council which shall be sent to India
shall be signed by the president or one of her ma-
jesty's principal secretaries of state.
XXV. Powers of sale and purchase and contract-
ing given to president and council.
XXVI. Warrants, &c., under royal sign-manual,
relating to India, to be countersigned by the president.
Application of Revenues.—XXVII. Dividend of
the Company, and existing and future debts and lia-
BILITIES and expenses, charged on revenues of India.
XXVIII. Revenues remitted to Great Britain, and
money raised in Great Britain, to be paid to pres-
dent in council.

XXIX. Cash balance of the Company at the Bank
transferred.
XXX. Stock account to be opened at the Bank.
XXXI. Stock standing in the name of the Com-
pany transferred.
XXXII. Power to grant letter of attorney for
sale, &c., of stock and receipt of dividends, given to
president and council.
XXXIII. Exchange bills and like securities
transferred to president and council.
Accounts.—XXXIV. Audit of accounts in Great
Britain.
XXXV. President and council to make regula-
tions for audit of accounts in India.
XXXVI. Accounts to be annually laid before
parliament.
Existing Establishments and Regulations.—
XXXVII. The military and naval forces of the East
India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian
military and naval forces of her majesty, and shall
be under the same obligations to her majesty
as they would have been under to serve the said
Company, and shall be liable to serve within the
same territorial limits only, for the same terms only,
and to be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances,
privileges, and advantages as if they had continued
in the service of the said Company; such forces, and
all persons hereafter entering in or entering the
same shall continue and be subject to all acts of
parliament, laws of the governor-general of India in
council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regu-
lations, and provisions relating to the East India
Company's military and naval forces respectively, as
if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces
respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles,
regulations, and provisions been mentioned or re-
ferred to, instead of such forces of the said Company,
and the pay and expenses of and incident to her
majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be
detracted out of the revenues of India.
XXXVIII. Forces paid out of revenues of India
not to be employed out of Asia.
XXXIX. Form of attestation, &c., on future en-
listments, to be as directed by her majesty.
XL. Servants of the Company to be deemed ser-
vants of her majesty, &c.
XLI. All orders and regulations of the Court of
Directors or Board of Control to remain in force.
XLII. All functions and powers of courts of pro-
prieters and courts of directors of the said Company
in relation to the government of India, and all
appointments of such of the directors of the said
Company as have been appointed by her majesty,
shall cease, and the yearly suma payable to the
chairman, deputy-chairman, and other directors of
the said Company, shall cease to be payable; and
after the passing of this act, all powers vested in her
majesty of appointing directors of the said Company
shall cease and determine.
XLIII. Board of Control abolished.
XLIV. Existing officers on home establishment of
the East India Company and of commissioners for the
affairs of India transferred to the president and
council.
XLV. Records of the Company to be delivered to
the president and council.
Actions and Contracts.—XLVI. The president
and council shall and may sue and be sued by
the name of the "president and council for the affairs
of India," as if they were a body corporate.
XLVII. President and council to come in the
place of the Company with regard to pending suits, &c.
XLVIII. Contracts, &c., of the Company to be enforced by and against president and council.
XLIX. No member of the said council shall be personally liable in respect of any such contract, covenant, or engagement of the said Company as aforesaid, or in respect of any contract entered into under the authority of this act, or other liability of the said president and council in their official capacity; but all such liabilities, and all costs and damages of the said president and council in respect thereof, shall be satisfied and paid out of the revenues of India.

Saving of certain Rights of the Company.—I. It shall be lawful for the president and council to pay to the said Company, out of the revenues of India, such annual sum as her Majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, may direct, for defraying the expenses of and incident to the payment to the proprietors of the capital stock of the said Company of their respective shares of the dividend on such stock, and of keeping the books of the said Company for transfers, and otherwise in relation to such stock.
LI. Nothing herein contained shall affect the right of the said Company to demand the redemption of the dividend on their capital stock secured by the said act of the 3rd and 4th years of King William the Fourth; and all the provisions of the said act concerning the security fund thereby created shall remain in force, save that when the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India is required in relation to the disposal of the said security fund, the approbation of the president and council for the affairs of India shall be required.

Commencement of the Act.—LI. Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect on the expiration of thirty days after the passing thereof.

By the proposed bill the question of Indian reform became wonderfully simplified. The changes actually proposed were so few, so obviously called for, and so evidently calculated to expedite the transaction of affairs, and improve the administration of India, that it became a matter of difficulty to meet them with any valid objection. The only question, indeed, raised by the leader of the opposition in this matter (Mr. Baring), being simply, and solely, “whether the present was the proper time for entertaining such a measure;” and there was no ground whatever for deprecating the interference of parliament by any appeal on the score of the rights, privileges, or deserts of the East India Company, which stood acquitted, by the ministerial admissions, of any such special misrule or misconduct as might have directly provoked the intervention of the imperial legislature. The reforms proposed had long been contemplated as among inevitable events: they had been deferred from various considerations; but the necessity had acquired such urgency from the existing rebellion, that further procrastination by the government was impossible. The necessity for immediate action was established by the strongest arguments; one of which, based upon the cumbrous machinery of the double government, exhibited it as a positive clog upon business—a plain, tangible impediment in the way of dispatch; and such it had ever been found when a necessity for prompt and vigorous action arose. It is true Mr. Baring challenged the government to state “whether they had been impeded in any of their measures by the Company;” but that was not the species of impediment complained of. It was not asserted that the directors wilfully opposed the action of the ministry, but that the ministry found the co-ordinate functions of the Court of Directors a serious drawback on the efficiency of their own acts; and the struggle then shaking India to its centre, so completely exposed the defects of the co-administrative organisation, that suffrance was no longer endurable.

Besides this, the arguments to be drawn from the then actual position of India, and the probable sentiments of its population, told decidedly, as far as they had been ascertained, in favour of immediate legislation, and not against it. It was urged by the opponents of the measure, that the Hindoo mind would be seriously disturbed by the announcement, ill-understood, of a proposed change in the government under which it had existed for a century; that the natives would associate this change of government with some projected and mysterious change of policy, and would anticipate therein some diminution of the toleration and indulgence with which their institutions had been theretofore regarded. But this was merely conjectural; and it was equally fair to anticipate impressions diametrically opposite, as being equally likely to be produced. But admitting that any political or administrative revolution might operate with uncertain effect on the Asiatic mind, it was still hardly possible that a better season for such changes could be selected than one at which the commotion was already so deep and universal as scarcely to admit of aggravation. As regarded the grand objection to the assumption of the direct government of India by the crown on the score of patronage, the bill altogether disposed of it. By its provisions the civil service was assigned to the
public at large; and the military service, besides being greatly circumscribed in amount, instead of affording patronage to the crown, gave it to the new council, after reserving a portion of the appointments for the sons of public servants in India, whether military or civil. In India itself, it was proposed that the local appointments should continue to be made as they had been, with the exception that certain officers formerly nominated by the Court of Directors, were thenceforth to be nominated by the governor-general. In fine, the effect of the proposed measure tended to establish the fact, that the government would gain no such addition of patronage as ought to excite jealousy; that the actual administration of Indian affairs would be scarcely interfered with; but that the authority of the crown, long since theoretically recognised as paramount, would in future be practically exercised without the impediments of a circuitous machinery, and with such a direct responsibility to parliament and the public, as was necessary for the permanent welfare of British India and its teeming millions.

The bill of Lord Palmerston had, as we have seen, reached its first stage, when, on Friday, the 19th of February, an unfavourable division of the Commons, on the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," led to a change in the cabinet, and, for a time, put a stop to further legislation on Indian affairs. The announcement of the resignation of her majesty's ministers was made by Viscount Palmerston, in his place in parliament, on Monday, the 22nd of February; and, the same evening, the Earl of Malmesbury, in the House of Peers, informed their lordships that the Earl of Derby, in obedience to the command of her majesty, was then occupied in forming an administration.

On the following Friday, the new ministry, under the leadership of the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli, took their places in parliament; and after some merely formal business had been alluded to, the houses adjourned until the 12th of March, for the necessary re-election of those members who had accepted office under Lord Derby's administration. On that day, therefore, parliament again assembled; and, on the order of the day for the second reading of the Government of India Bill, Viscount Palmerston said he understood that the government intended to bring in a bill of their own upon the subject. He, however, was unwilling to drop the measure he had introduced, until the house should be enabled to see the bill of the new government, and therefore proposed that the second reading of his bill should be postponed until Thursday, the 22nd of April. The motion was agreed to without any discussion. On the 16th, Mr. Disraeli, in explaining the general policy of the new government, said, with respect to Indian affairs—"We were opposed to the introduction of the bill of the noble lord (Palmerston), upon the ground that it was inopportune in the present state of India, and that it was unwise to weaken the influence of the government in a country where revolt was raging; but, after the vote of this house in favour of that interference, we consider it a duty to deal with the question; and, at present, it is the intention of the government to lay upon the table a bill for the government of India."—On the 11th of March, Mr. Rich, member for Richmond (Yorkshire), called the attention of the house to the treatment of the mutinous sepoys, and other insurgents in India, and adverted to reports of cruelties and mutilations attributed to them, which he believed to be exaggerations or altogether without foundation; observing, that "we had only heard one side," and in referring to the probable causes of the mutiny, he censured strongly the conduct of the Indian government in the matter of the cartridges, asking why no inquiry had taken place in relation to the proceedings at Meerut, which had so much to do with the outbreak; and insisting that it was not a preconcerted revolt, but arose from a combination of circumstances, which, with due prudence, might have been averted. He commended the instructions of Lord Canning with reference to the treatment of the insurgents and deserters, and referred to published statements which showed, he thought, that some of our officers had not acted in accordance with the spirit of those instructions. He concluded with moving for copies of any report or despatch relative to the protection afforded by Maun Sing and others to fugitive Europeans at the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny; of any instructions given to officers in command of troops as to the treatment of mutinous sepoys or deserters; and, as to natives of Oude, not being sepoys, found in arms within the territory of Oude.—The motion was seconded by General Thompson.

—Mr. Baillie expressed his surprise that,
upon such a motion, Mr. Rich should have entered upon a general discussion of the origin and causes of the Indian mutiny. With respect to the manner in which martial law had been carried out, the proper authority to execute that law, he observed, was the commander-in-chief in India. Sir C. Campbell was fully aware of the views of the governor-general; and he (Mr. Baillie) thought that few of the excesses to which Mr. Rich had referred had taken place. He had no objection to the production of the papers asked for.—Mr. W. Vansittart differed from Mr. Rich. All India, he said, was looking with anxiety to see whether the outrages committed by the sepoys would be avenged. Lord Canning, he thought, had carried his conciliatory policy too far.—Mr. Buxton, on the contrary, thought that Lord Canning ought to be supported, not in sparing the guilty, but in keeping down the exasperation naturally felt by those on the spot. The dreadful stories of mutilations by the sepoys had turned out, upon investigation, almost, if not entirely, without foundation. He read reports of excesses stated to have been committed by subordinate officers in India, showing, he said, a spirit not to be trusted; and he asked whether the house was prepared to lay down the principle that it was right to hang in cold blood men who fought to free their fatherland from the stranger, or for disaffection to our rule.—Mr. Mangles thought that Mr. Rich had made more excuses for the sepoys than they were fairly entitled to. As to the cartridges, the fact was, he said, that the greased cartridges were not issued to any native regiment, as a regiment, in our provinces. The cartridges at Meerut were the same as had been used by the troops without remonstrance for years. He declared that the statements of excesses which had appeared in the newspapers were exaggerations, and some of them inventions; and that so long as Lord Canning remained at the head of the Indian government, the country might be assured that no system of indiscriminate punishment would be adopted. Distinction would be made between offences, and justice would be tempered with mercy.—Captain Scott mentioned acts of atrocity perpetrated by the sepoys upon an English officer and his sister in Oude.—Mr. Adams observed, that a scant measure of justice had been dealt out to British officers in India, who, upon the authority of odd scraps cut out of news-
had represented a British army encamped on hostile territory, and waging regular war, the capture of the city would have entitled the victors to prize-money from the spoils it might contain. But then Delhi was not, in the strictly legal sense of the term, an enemy’s capital, nor were its contents an enemy’s property. The riches and public stores of the place were, it was contended, all our own. Our own munitions of war filled the arsenal; our own rupees were accumulated in the treasury; and even the private property in the streets and houses was that of our own subjects. In the phraseology, therefore, of international jurists, there was no enemy in the case—no belligerent, at whose expense either plunder or prize-money could be acquired. Certain battalions, in British pay, had revolted, and seized a town upon British territory; they were subdued, after a tremendous struggle, by other British troops; but both armies were composed of subjects of the same sovereign. The war might be called a civil war, or a servile war; but it was not a war of the kind to which the ordinary usages of warfare, as regards prize-money, could be held to apply. Further, it was urged that the city being nominally our own, a right could not possibly be acquired by our own troops over the treasures it contained, any more than if, at any other Indian town or station, a dozen laces of rupees which had been seized by a mutinous garrison, were recovered by a company of European troops opportunely arriving; in which case it would not be argued that the soldiers were entitled to divide the silver on the spot! And so, in the present instance, it was held that no title to prize-money existed, or could be created. Such was the substance of the case, as urged against the claims of the soldiers; but how disgraceful did it look when estimated by the known practical deserts of the conquerors! If the struggle was really so divested of all those attributes which confer glory and gain upon military success; if it was nothing more than a mere suppression of domestic disturbances, by which nothing could be won, it might have been asked on what principle it was held to require any acknowledgment at all? Why were the thanks of parliament voted to the troops engaged? Why was the general in command raised, with the approval of all, to a baronetcy; and not only to a baronetcy, but to one with a title taken from this very city? What could be the meaning of Sir Archdale Wilson of Delhi, if that same Delhi was not a city conquered from the enemy? Again, upon looking at the whole course of public proceedings in the matter, it was unquestionable that the struggle symbolised and expressed by the one critical operation of the siege of Delhi, occupied in the minds of Englishmen such a place as had scarcely ever been taken by any incident even of European war. The anxieties of the nation were profoundly absorbed in the tremendous struggle between a handful of our countrymen and an army of mutineers, on which an empire depended. We put up prayers in our churches; we held a solemn fast; and we raised subscriptions without stint. As long as the issue was in suspense, public anxiety was unbounded; and when at length the victory fell, against the most terrific odds, to British valour, it seemed there would be no bounds to the gratitude of the nation. The instincts of the country, in this matter, outstripped the deliberations of the authorities, and deemed the rewards of the government parsimoniously bestowed; but if all this was reasonable, what became of the argument about war and no war? How could a war, manifestly regarded in such a light while raging, be described as no war when we came to consider the recompense of the conquering troops? What consistency was there in beginning to award honours and rewards, and then, in stopping half-way down? Either there should have been no acknowledgments at all, or they ought to have included the private soldiers’ share in the form of prize-money and medals. No one would have hesitated over this alternative. All should have shared, or all should have been withheld.

But admitting that the government treasure found in the coffers at Delhi did not become the lawful spoil of that government’s troops, yet how much ought to have been considered fairly due to those troops from their government, for the recapture of the city? Surely more than thirty-six shillings per man! Besides, the very allowance, miserable as it was, destroyed the whole argument against a greater one. Either the troops were engaged upon an unrecognisable service (in which case the donation of eighteen rupees was improper), or their exploits admitted of recognition and estimate (in which case the offer was contemptible). The true question, after all, was not merely what were the technical rights
of the captors of Delhi, in and over certain lacs of rupees; but what ought to be done for men who, at the cost of most heroic endurance and valour, had saved the British empire in Hindostan, by converting a contingency of disastrous ruin into a campaign of imperishable renown.

Neither the East India Company or the home government were insensible to the fact of the utter disproportion between the services rendered by the army and the recompense awarded; and, at a quarterly general court of the Company, held in Leadenhall-street, on the 25th of March, the chairman of the Court of Directors stated, in reply to a question upon the subject, that an arrangement had been come to for settling the question in a manner which he believed would be satisfactory alike to the court, the country, and the army itself. There had not occurred the slightest difference of opinion between her majesty’s government and the Court of Directors on the subject, nor had any reluctance been shown by either party to do ample justice to the army engaged in the capture of the city of Delhi. The governor-general had granted six months’ batta to the troops. That was considered by some to be a very niggardly grant, and opprobrium had been cast upon the governor-general for having made it. But that was unjust, for it was all he was competent to grant under the orders of the Court of Directors. It should be remembered that all prize-money was in the gift of the crown. The East India Company had no power to grant a shilling. What, then, had been agreed upon was this—that all which could be justly considered prize, viz., all the property that had belonged to the mutineers and rebels, should be distributed among the captors; but that the property which had previously belonged to the government, and which had only been recovered, should not be so distributed. Everything taken from the mutineers would be prize. Besides that, the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the government, had granted another six months’ batta, in compensation for that which could not be justly regarded as prize; such as the property of the government, and also of those loyal subjects who had behaved faithfully and well. It would be unjust to grant the property of the latter as prize, after having already suffered so much. There would also be a medal struck, and given to the men who served in the army at Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore—not three medals, but one medal for the three victories; and clasps would be granted for all services in the field. At the same court, the chairman also gave notice that it was the intention of the Court of Directors to propose a grant of £1,000 a-year to the eldest son of the late Sir Henry Lawrence, with remainder to the second son in succession.

At length, on Friday, the 26th of March, Mr. Disraeli (chancellor of the exchequer), in his place in the House of Commons, moved for leave to bring in a bill to transfer the government of India from the East India Company to the queen. The right honourable gentleman began his address with a justification of the administration of which he was a member, for now introducing the measure, after having opposed such a proceeding when submitted to parliament by the preceding ministry; and said that the vote by which the House of Commons had declared, by an overwhelming majority, that in its opinion the government of India should be transferred to her majesty, appeared to the present ministry to be conclusive as to one point—namely, the termination of the authority of the East India Company—an institution which, though it had fallen, having for some time rested on a foundation that was sapped and hollow, had in its day done great service to the country. The task of devising a proper substitute was full of difficulties, and could only be accomplished with the assistance of parliament. He then proceeded to describe the form of the home government for India which was embodied in the bill. It was proposed, in the first place, that there should be a high officer of state—a minister of the crown, who should occupy the rank and fulfil the duties of a secretary of state, to be president of a council of India. That council would consist of eighteen persons, half to be nominated by warrant from the crown, under the royal sign-manual; the other moiety to be elected. It was proposed that each of the nine nominated members should represent some great interest in India; so that, in fact, they would be representative men. They would be appointed in this manner: each of the presidencies would be represented by a member of its civil service who had served ten years; one in the Upper Provinces of India, or in the countries under the authority of the governor-general of India; another in the Lower Provinces of Bengal; a
third for Madras, and a fourth for Bombay. The fifth member would have a peculiar qualification. It was thought that there should be in the council of India a member possessing personal experience of the character and feelings of native princes, as resident or political agent at a native court. The other four nominated members, it was proposed, should represent the military services—one, with a service in India of five years, for the queen’s army; and each of the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, to be represented by an officer who had served at least ten years. It was intended to introduce into the bill itself the names of the nominated members; so that, in the first instance, they would have not only royal, but parliamentary sanction. Another portion of the council of India was to be chosen by popular election. The number of the elected members would be this: they must be men who had served her majesty or the Indian government in any branch of the Indian service whatever for ten years, or who had resided in India for fifteen years. They would be chosen by a constituency constituted thus: every person who had borne the commission of her majesty or of the government of India for ten years, resident in this country, or who had been in the civil service of either for the same period, or who was a resident proprietor of £2,000 capital stock of an Indian railway or of public works, or possessed of £1,000 of India stock, would have the power of voting for the election of these four members of the council. The number of the electors, it was estimated, would amount to 5,000 persons. As to the other five elected members, their qualifications would be this: they must have been engaged in the commerce of India, or in the export of manufactured articles either for at least five years, or resident in India for at least ten years. Their election would be confided to the principal seats of trade and industry in this country; one would be elected by each of the following cities—London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast. The constituency to return these members, the government was of opinion, should be the parliamentary constituencies of these places respectively. Mr. Disraeli then read the names of the members of the council to be inserted in the bill, and proceeded to detail the forms of procedure and general duties which the council of India would have to fulfil. The minister for India would have the power of dividing the council into committees, exercising over them a general supervision, and the power to call a meeting of the council. It would likewise be in the power of six councillors to call a council by application in writing to the secretary of state for India. The members of council would not have a seat in parliament, and their salary would be £1,000 a-year. With respect to the exercise and distribution of the patronage, the result would be that there would not be the least alteration. Virtually, the patronage exercised by the East India Company would be exercised in the same way by the council of India. As to the army of India, there would be no change except what resulted from the general scope of the bill, which would, however, contain a clause that would facilitate any future changes in this respect. With regard to the finances, the bill would fix upon the revenues of India alone the expense of the government of India; the accounts would be laid before parliament, and there would be a sufficient audit. But, having said this, he was bound to add, that the relations of this country with the Indian finances remained a source of anxiety; and he believed that the time would soon arrive when parliament must give its serious attention to this subject. Notwithstanding the ability of the administrators of India, the state of its finances had always been involved in obscurity and perplexity; and it would be the duty of ministers to recommend to her majesty (and a clause was inserted in the bill to that effect) to authorize a royal commission to visit India, to investigate the financial condition of every part of our establishments there, and to report generally on the whole subject. Without touching upon details, these, he said, were the principal features of the bill. The plan, he observed in conclusion, was the first ever introduced to parliament for establishing a council of India, which combined, with knowledge and public spirit, complete independence. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in the bill, which was granted; and the bill was read a first time, and ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday, the 12th of April.

In the course of the debate, or rather conversation, that ensued upon this motion, Viscount Palmerston gave his cordial assent to it, reserving the opinion which a consideration of the details of the bill might
lead him to entertain of its merits; and Mr. Mangles said, he was persuaded, that after temporary feelings and jealousies should have passed away, it would be universally acknowledged, that the East India Company had deserved well of their country, and that whenever their powers and functions might expire, they would leave to England a noble legacy. As the representative of that great corporation, and as believing that the government of India had been on the whole a good and beneficial one, it would be his duty to oppose the introduction of any bill intended to take from the Company a power which had been so well exercised. But he was bound to state, at the same time, that if it should be the will of parliament to deprive the Company of its functions, he and his colleagues would be prepared, in the fulfilment of their duty to the people both of England and of India, to give their most cordial assistance in rendering the new system of government as good and as efficient as possible.

Numerous enquiries and suggestions were advanced by various members during the evening; in reply to which, the chancellor of the exchequer said, "he had been asked what were to be the duties of the council; and he had to observe upon that point, that the duties of the council were to be the transaction of all business connected with the government of India, that could be transacted in England. They would have the entire transaction of that business; and from the details laid before him, he thought that it would require that which would be exacted from the members of council—the total devotion of their time. No gentleman would be a member of the council who was an active member of a profession, or engaged directly or indirectly in trade or commerce. Of course, with respect to those members who were elected, that rule could not apply; and it was desirable that the council should contain some persons who were familiarly acquainted with the commerce and trade of the country. With respect to the qualifications for members of the council in consequence of residence in India, that applied to all the dominions under the authority of the governor-general; and therefore the Punjab and Scinde were included. He had been asked whether the council was to sit and transact business in Cannon-row. The honourable member who made that inquiry was not so familiar as himself with the quantity of business that must be transacted, and the space required for its transaction. He could assure the honourable gentleman, that the building in Cannon-row would not be able to hold the council. Where, ultimately, the members of council might be collected together, it was not for him to say. No doubt, they would be able to place themselves in some convenient locality; but, for the present, the council must transact its business in Leadenhall-street. Some honourable gentlemen seemed to think that, under the bill, the whole military patronage of India would be handed over to the Horse-guards. Certainly, he must have conveyed his meaning in very ambiguous phraseology if he were misunderstood on that point; but he thought he had clearly stated that the patronage of the military establishment, added to the cadetships, was to be distributed among the council, and by them distributed among the people in the same way as was now done by the Board of Directors. An honourable member had suggested that the members of the council should be elected by ballot. When the people of this country should be unanimous for the adoption of the vote by ballot, the government would then give the honourable member's suggestion the gravest consideration."

Of the relative merits of the two bills thus before the country, there were of course opinions as various as the shades of political principle or party tactics could supply. From the multiplicity of such, the following comparative view, as taken by the Daily News of 31st March, appeared to be the most luminous, and impartial also. After premising that the task of legislating for India must be approached in dispassionate mood, and under the deep sense of moral responsibility which beset so momentous an undertaking, the writer proceeded thus:—

"The bill presented to the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, is the first that calls for notice. The radical vice of that measure is the immense amount of irresponsible power and patronage which it entrusts to the ministers of the crown for the time being, and the inadequate security it affords for the appointment of capable men in India. The bill proposes that the home government of India shall be exclusively vested in a council, composed of a president and eight members, nominated by the crown—the president to hold office during pleasure; the other councillors for a
certain term of years. This council and its president are to be a corporation for the management of Indian affairs. In them are to be combined all the power at present exercised by the directors of the East India Company and the Board of Control conjointly. Except with regard to such affairs as are at present conducted by the secret committee, all business is to be transacted in council. But when the president is present, he may disregard the opinion of the majority of the council, and follow his own if in opposition to it. And he may do the same with regard to any resolution adopted by a majority of the council in his absence, on the condition of his putting his own and their reasons upon record. In two cases only is it necessary that his determination should be sanctioned by the assent of four other members of council; when matters of finance, or when the exercise of patronage is in question. Thus, the whole administration and patronage of India—with some inconsiderable exceptions— is proposed to be vested in nine nominees of the crown, one holding office so long as it suits the arrangements of his political party, the rest for a term of years. Neither the public of India nor of England are to have any voice in the nomination of this council. It is, indeed, liable to be called to account for its actions in parliament; and with a view to this, it is proposed that the president and one secretary appointed by him may have seats in the House of Commons. But parliament has always had the power of examining into and controlling the government of India; and how many days of each session, on an average, have been given to the affairs of India since India was ours? It is an arrant farce to speak of the dread of parliamentary responsibility as likely in the slightest degree to influence the proceedings of the proposed council for India. The common sense of the nation has declared, that the only way to prevent the president and his council from becoming mere tools of the crown and its ministers, is to resort to the elective principle for the appointment of at least a moiety of the council. It is also felt, that for the purposes of intelligence and independent deliberation—as also for an adequate supply of working committees—eight councillors and a president are too few.

"These defects the government which has succeeded Lord Palmerston's, profess to have remedied in their amended bill.
and to make whatever amendments, on this combination of the best parts of both measures, may appear to the said committee advisable."

A special general court of the Company was held on Wednesday, the 7th of April, at which the proposed grant of £1,000 per annum to the eldest son of the late Major-general Sir Henry Lawrence, was adopted by the proprietors; and the chairman then submitted to the meeting the two bills then before parliament for the future government of India; and also a lengthy and elaborate report upon their respective merits. The provisions of each bill were discussed seriatim; and the report concluded thus:

"From this review of the chief provisions of the bills, which embody the attempts of two great divisions of English statesmen to frame an organ of government for India, it will probably appear to the proprietors that neither of them is grounded on any sufficient consideration of past experience, or of the principles applicable to the subject; that the passing of either would be a calamity to India; and that the attempt to legislate while the minds of leading men are in so unprepared a state, is altogether premature.

"The opinion of your directors is, that by all constitutional means the passing of either bill should be opposed; but that if one or the other should be determined on, for the purpose of transferring the administration, in name, from the East India Company to the crown, every exertion should be used in its passage through committee to divest it of the mischievous features by which both bills are now deformed, and to maintain, as at present, a really independent council, having the initiative of all business, discharging all the duties, and possessing all the essential powers of the Court of Directors. And it is the Court's conviction that measures might be so framed as to obviate whatever may be well founded in the complaints made against the present system, retaining the initiative of the council, and that independence of action on their part which should be regarded as paramount and indispensable."—The report having been adopted, Mr. Arlutchnot proceeded to discuss the merits of the two bills. It was clearly the duty of the Court of Directors to use all the means in their power to prevent the passing of either of the bills; but, as that perhaps was not possible, the next best thing they could do was to assist the legislature in passing such a measure
as would best provide for the good of India. If either bill must be accepted in its present shape, he should prefer to accept that of the late government. It would be better to have one authority than the crude and ill-considered plan proposed by the present government. He objected to the mode of appointing the council, and also to the subordinate position which that council was to hold. In every respect the measure was susceptible of great improvements. It appeared to him that the House of Commons had determined to abolish the East India Company. The Court ought to bow to that decision, and, as far as they could, to aid in obtaining the best possible measure for the future government of India.—The chairman said it was distinctly stated in the report which had been read, that if it should be the evident pleasure of parliament and of the country to proceed with the bill for transferring the government of India from the Company to the crown, the directors would feel it their duty to use their best energies to make the bill as perfect as possible.—Mr. Sergeant Gaselee said he had no great predilection for Lord Palmerston; but of the two bills before parliament he thought Lord Palmerston’s was the best. The bill of Lord Derby was one of a most cumbersome and complicated character. It preserved all the vices of the old Company without retaining any of its virtues. He objected to the appointment of a council. He thought it would be much better to throw the whole responsibility upon the ministers, who might be assisted by a competent number of clerks. Such was the system in the imperial government; and surely that which was good for England was good for India. The bill proposed by Lord Derby’s government was most impracticable. It was said to be the concocition of a noble lord of great Indian experience; but he (Sergeant Gaselee) deprecated that Indian experience. It was always tinctured by prejudices and jealousies arising from the different branches of the service in the several presidencies. The bill was so complicated, that he doubted whether even one cabinet, not to say one man, could have devised its machinery. Let them look to the good of India alone, irrespective of party. His suggestion was, that the collective wisdom of the Court of Directors, assisted by Sir J. Melville and Mr. Mill, should prepare a scheme worthy of the Company, and show to the country that they could give up their government with dignity and honour.

The second reading of the Government of India Bill had been, as before stated, fixed for Monday, the 12th of April; but, upon that day, on the question for going into committee of supply being put, Lord John Russell took the opportunity to suggest that, on account of the great and decided objections urged against the provisions of that bill, it would save much valuable time, and facilitate the decision of the house, if government were to proceed to carry their views on the subject into effect by resolutions, instead of by the more formal and dilatory process of submitting each clause of the bill to the consideration of the whole house. His lordship observed, that the course he proposed involved considerable discussion; but, when the resolutions were agreed to, very little debate need take place on the bill as a whole; and there would be great difficulty in discussing, in a committee of the whole house, the many important questions which, from the wording of the clauses, were mixed up with points of inferior and subordinate interest.—The chancellor of the exchequer fully appreciated the difficulty pointed out by the noble lord, and was quite willing, if the house considered it expedient, to adopt the course suggested—to proceed by resolutions instead of by bill; and as the noble lord possessed in that house an authority which no one could more deservedly exercise, it would be more agreeable to himself (Mr. Disraeli) if the noble lord would propose the resolutions; although, if necessary, he (Mr. Disraeli) would not shrink from the responsibility of doing so. Lord John Russell considered the question was one that ought not to be taken out of the hands of her majesty’s government, and declined the honour of proposing the resolutions. After a short discussion, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that he would prepare and place the resolutions upon the table of the house as speedily as possible.

A special general court of the East India Company was held at their house in Leadenhall-street, on the 18th of the month, when the following resolution, in reference to the two bills and to the report of the Court of Directors, was unanimously adopted:

"That this Court concur in the opinion of the Court of Directors—that neither of the bills now

* See preceding page.
before parliament is calculated to secure good govern-
ment in India; and they accordingly authorize and
request the Court of Directors to take such
measures as may appear to them advisable for re-
sisting the passing of either bill through parliament,
and for introducing into any bill for altering the
constitution of the government of India, such con-
ditions as may promise a system of administration
calculated to promote the interests of the people
of India, and to prove conducive to the general
welfare."

On the 20th of April, a series of resolu-
tions affirmative of the policy proposed to
be adopted in the future government of
India, were laid upon the table of the House
of Commons by the Right Hon. Benjamin
Disraeli, who then moved that they should
be printed for the consideration of members,
previous to a motion for their adoption as
a basis for further legislation on Indian
affairs. The resolutions were as follow:

"1. That as the territories under the government
of the East India Company are by law to remain
under such government only until parliament shall
otherwise provide, this house is of opinion that it is
expedient that the transfer of such government to
the crown should now take place, in order that the
direct superintendence of the whole empire may be
placed under one executive authority.

"2. That for this purpose it is expedient to pro-
vide that her majesty, by one of her principal secre-
taries of state, shall have and perform all the powers
and duties relating to the government and revenues
of India which are or may be now exercised and
performed by the East India Company, or by the
Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the
said Company, either alone or with the approbation
of the commissioners for the affairs of India.

"3. That such secretary of state shall be respon-
sible for the government of India, and the transac-
tion of business in the United Kingdom relating
thereto, in the same manner and to the same ex-
tent as any of her majesty's principal secretaries of
state are responsible in the several departments over
which they preside.

"4. That, in order to assist such secretary of state
in the discharge of his duties, it is expedient that a
council be appointed of not less than twelve nor
more than eighteen members.

"5. That, in order to secure the greatest amount of
knowledge and experience in the management of
the affairs of India, it is advisable that the principal
portion of the members of the council shall have
served in India for a term of years to be limited by
statute.

"6. That, with a view to the efficiency and inde-
pendence of the council, it is expedient that it
should be partly nominated and partly elected.

"7. That the members of the nominated portion
of the council shall be selected by her majesty, sub-
ject, as a general rule, to the qualification above
expressed, and one-half, at the least, of the elected
members shall possess the like qualifications.

"8. That the members of the elected portion of
the council shall be chosen by a constituency com-
posed of persons who have previously held military
commissions or civil appointments in India, in her
majesty's service or in that of the government of
India, or who possess a direct interest in, an
amount to be specified, in some property charged or
secured on the revenues or territories of India.

"9. That the council shall be presided over by
the secretary of state, or by some member of the
council to be nominated by him as vice-president.

"10. That arrangements shall be made from time
to time, by the secretary of state and the council, for
the meetings of the council, for the mode of pro-
cedure at such meetings, and for the distribution
and transaction of business.

"11. That all despatches, letters, orders, and
communications shall be addressed to the secretary
of state, and shall be open to the inspection of every
member of the council, except such as are now by
law addressed to the secret committee of the Court
of Directors.

"12. That the recommendation of persons for
first appointments shall be made to her majesty by
the secretary of state, with the concurrence of the
council; and the same rules shall be observed in
the making of such recommendations as have been
followed by the Court of Directors in the making
of such appointments.

"13. That, for the purpose of ascertaining the
fitness of persons for the several appointments for
which they may be so recommended, the same rules
for the examination of cadets and of clerks shall be
adhered to which are now followed by the Court of
Directors of the East India Company, until the same
be altered by the secretary of state and council of
India.

"14. That provision shall be made for transferring
to the crown all the real and personal property of
the Company, except their capital stock, and the
dividend thereon, so as to vest the same in her
majesty, for the purposes of the government of India;
for continuing the charge on the revenues of India
alone of the dividend on the capital stock of the
said Company until the redemption thereof, and of
all the territorial and other debts and engagements
which are payable by the Company out of the re-
venues of India; for auditing the accounts of the
home government of India, under the direction of
her majesty's treasury; for laying such accounts
annually before parliament; and for securing the
preference given by the 3rd and 4th William IV.
to the dividends on the capital stock of the said
Company, and the right of the said Company to
demand the redemption of such dividends, and their
right on the security fund, undiminished and un-
affected by the transfer to the crown of the direct
government of her majesty's Indian possessions."

Tracing the progress of the Indian gov-
ernment question towards a settlement, we
find, on the 26th of the month, a petition
was presented by the Earl of Albemarle, in
the upper house of parliament, from the
municipality and inhabitants of Birming-
ham, praying for the immediate establish-
ment of an equitable system of government
for India; upon which occasion his lordship
expressed his entire disapproval of the
ministerial plan; and said, from all he had
read, and all he had heard, he felt quite
confident that her majesty's ministers were
not competent to frame a scheme for the government of India which would be satisfactory to that country, would be compatible with the principles of the constitution, and would tend to promote what ought to be the whole and sole object of every government—namely, the prosperity and welfare of the governed. In the course of the same evening, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that, on the following Friday, the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider the act of the Queen, which provided for the government of India, when he would formally propose the resolutions he had already laid upon the table of the house. The right honourable gentleman discussed at some length the relative merits of the two bills then before the house, and naturally gave the palm to the one introduced by the administration of which he was himself a member; and, deprecating the hostile opinions that had been expressed with reference to it, he urged upon the house that, unless an efficient council were appointed as provided for in his bill, equal in knowledge and experience to the Court of Directors, it would be better not to disturb the existing machinery.—After some severe remarks by Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone said he did not think that, after the decision of the house in February in favour of terminating the existing form of government for India, the best mode of proceeding was by resolutions, which had the effect of making a new commencement of the work. No progress had been made in the settling of this question since it was first introduced; and Lord Palmerston seemed to imply that the present session would not see its settlement. Looking at the state of public affairs and of public opinion upon this subject, he respectfully protested against affirming the motion before the house. He had heard from Mr. Doreali an ingenious and elaborate defence of his bill; but whatever scruples he felt towards the measure had not been removed by it. In neither plan, however, could he see any elements of a good scheme; and there was great difficulty in attempting to govern by one people another people separated not only by distance, but by blood and by institutions. The Court of Directors had been practically a body protective of the people of India, and there ought not to be a less efficient provision for that object. He looked in vain, however, he said, in either plan for any protective power that could be compared with the Court of Directors. There should be a protection afforded to the people of India against the ignorance, error, or indiscretion of the people and parliament of England.—Mr. Gregory (Galway) said he considered the house had not sufficient information to legislate upon the subject; and moved as an amendment—"That at this moment it is not expedient to pass any resolutions for the future government of India." The amendment was seconded, and gave occasion for a lengthened discussion; but was eventually withdrawn.

The public mind now began to show symptoms of weariness with this protracted question; and it was by many considered peculiarly disgraceful both to parliament and the country, that the House of Commons should have spent half a session in working its way to a scheme of Indian government, and then break down with a confession of its own utter incompetence to handle the subject. It was urged, that if the change originally proposed was either unimportant or complex; if it related only to the construction of a department, or to the forms of office, then it would not greatly signify whether a bill which few understood or cared for was pressed or postponed. But the change originally proposed, and then accepted by all parties in the house, was at the same time supremely important and perfectly intelligible; being simply the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the crown, and the adoption of measures necessary to carry out that change; and it was considered, that were the house then, after returning again and again to the work, and after finally resolving on a course especially designed to secure unanimity, suddenly to bethink itself that it would be better to do nothing—not only would it weaken the hands of the authorities in India, and the energies of the army in that quarter, but the people of India and of the whole civilised world would conclude that we had at last discovered either our political depravity or our national decrepitude. Such, it was contended, would have been the effect of the course advocated by the member for Oxford university. He protested against the resolutions and against both of the bills, upon the extraordinary ground that they provided no protection for the people of India against the ignorance, indiscretion, and errors of the
there stated that Lord Canning’s proclama-
tion from Allahabad, of the 14th of March,
addressed to the people of Oude upon the
reduction of Lucknow, was disapproved of
in toto by her majesty’s government; and
he wished to know if that statement had
the sanction of the colleagues of the right
honourable gentleman.—The Earl of Ellen-
borough (president of the council of India),
in reply, stated that there had been no
communication whatever between himself
and the members of the other house as to
the terms of the answer which had been
given. The right honourable gentleman
who had given the answers to which Earl
Granville referred, had read the letter
which had been written in regard to that
proclamation, and was competent to speak
upon the matter. The proclamation and
the letter of the government should be laid
on the table on the following day.

Accordingly, on Friday, the 8th of May,
the Earl of Ellenborough stated to their
lordships, that he proposed to place before
them the proclamation of the govern-
general to the people of Oude,* a letter
from the secretary to the government of
India to the chief commissioner of Oude,
by which that proclamation was accom-
panied,† and extracts of a letter from the
secret committee of the East India Com-
pany to the governor-general in council.

On looking carefully through the latter
document, he found there were a few para-
graphs which it would be inconvenient to
make public. Those paragraphs would not
appear; but their lordships might rest
assured that the substance of the despatch
would be placed in their hands. Lord
Ellenborough then moved for the produc-
tion of the papers mentioned.

Earl Granville had asked for these papers
because he thought it was important that
some explanation should be given by the
government with regard to the course they
had thought it right to take upon the
information of Lord Canning’s despatch
reaching them. He had heard, since the
intention to produce the despatch had
been arrived at, that it had been in
the hands of independent members of par-
liament, and that a copy of it had been
shown at the Reform Club. Therefore, as
the noble lord only thought it right now to
give portions of that despatch, he regretted
that the government had not kept the
other portions of it within their own

* See ante, p. 276.
† Ibid., p. 277.
bosoms. He (Lord Granville), in common with their lordships, of course only knew so much of the circumstances of this proclamation as had appeared in the public prints; and looking at that proclamation as it there appeared, he certainly must say, that it seemed to him consistent with the principles which Lord Canning had there-fore carried out. He must add, that the proclamation appeared to him to place a strong weapon in the hands of the government, by means of which they might use their influence upon those of the inhabi-tants of Oude who might be disposed to stand out, but who yet, upon a force of this kind being brought into operation against them, would rather trust to the clemency of the government than run the risk of the confiscation of their estates. But what he wished most particularly was this—to be understood as not in any way venturing to express any approval or disapproval of the proclamation—in fact, he could not properly do so, for he was per-fectly unacquainted with the circumstances of the case, except as they appeared in unauthorised sources of information. The public prints state that the proclamation was accompanied by instructions from Lord Canning as to the mode of putting it into force. He presumed that those instruc-tions would be placed before them; and he considered the course adopted by the gov-ernment altogether unprecedented. They had not merely passed censure on the con-duct of Lord Canning hastily, and, as he thought, without full information even be-fore they had received an official copy of the document; but had promulgated in England (whence it would at once be for-warded to India) their own secret despatch, with which even the directors of the Com-pany had only been made acquainted that morning. The consequences, he apprehended, would be the resignation of the governor-general—an event, in his opinion, fraught with serious injury to India, as depriving that country of the services of a statesman who had, under most peculiar circumstances, displayed consummate skill, and acquired among the nations an exalted reputation for justice and firmness.—The Earl of Derby explained the principles on which the government had acted. They believed that the proclamation, which threatened an almost general confiscation of the land in Oude, would drive the great-landowners to despair, and tend to exas-perate and prolong the contest in that province. The inhabitants of Oude ought not to be treated like mutinous sepoys. In writing to Lord Canning, however, they had studiously avoided using any expres-sion calculated to necessitate his resigna-tion. They had not even required him to recall his proclamation; simply intimating their wish that, in acting upon it, he should to a wide extent mitigate its severity.—The Duke of Argyll believed the government had fully admitted the principle that the government of India should be in India, yet it had taken the first opportunity to throw over the governor-general, and that in the most offensive manner.—The Earl of Ellenborough remarked, as to the despatch being in the hands of certain members of parliament, that it had been given to Earl Granville, at his own request, as an act of courtesy. In the course the government had taken, it had been influenced more by regard to the welfare of India than con-sideration for Lord Canning. No govern-ment deserved to stand a day that did not mark with disapprobation the general con-fiscation of land threatened by the procla-mation. He did not desire the return of Lord Canning, neither did he fear it; the government would not have done its duty had it acted otherwise.—Earl Grey strongly condemned the course taken by the govern-ment; and, rejecting the idea that it was the attempt of a weak ministry to obtain a little cheap populariry by a few well-turned phrases in favour of justice and moderation, could only ascribe it to some extraordinary inadvertence it was impossible to explain.

—The motion was then affirmed, and the papers in question were eventually laid upon the table.

The proclamation of the governor-gene-ral, with the letter accompanying it to the commissioner of Oude, are inserted in ac-cordance with their respective dates.* The secret condemnatory despatch of Lord El-lenborough, in extenso, was as follows:

* See pp. 267 and 277, ante.

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commissioner in Oude, which letter enclosed a copy of the proclamation to be issued by the chief commissioners, as soon as the British troops should have command of the city of Lucknow, and conveyed instructions as to the manner in which he was to act with respect to different classes of persons, in execution of the views of the governor-general.

3. The people of Oude will see only the proclamation.

4. That authoritative expression of the will of the government informs the people that six persons, who are named as having been steadfast in their allegiance, are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; that others in whose favour like claims may be established will have conferred upon them a proportionate measure of reward and honour; and that with these exceptions the proprietary right in the soil of the province is consecrated to the British government.

5. We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinherison of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace.

6. We are under the impression that the war in Oude has derived much of its popular character from the rigorous manner in which, without regard to what the chief landholders had become accustomed to consider as their rights, the summary settlement had, in a large portion of the province, been carried out by your officers.

7. The landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

8. Whatever may be your ultimate and undiscovered intentions, your proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their native sovereign, has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling.

9. We cannot but in justice consider that those who reign in Authority in Oude are under very different circumstances from those who have acted against us in provinces which have been long under our government.

10. We dethroned the king of Oude, and took possession of his kingdom, by virtue of a treaty which had been subsequently modified by another treaty, under which, had it been held to be in force, the course we adopted could not have been lawfully pursued; but we held that it was not in force, although the fact of its not having been ratified in England, as regarded the provision on which we rely for our justification, had not been previously made known to the king of Oude.

11. That sovereign, and his ancestors, had been uniformly faithful to their treaty engagements with us, however ill they may have governed their subjects.

12. They had more than once assisted us in our difficulties, and not a suspicion had ever been entertained of any hostile disposition on their part towards our government.

13. Suddenly the people saw their king taken from amongst them, and our administration substituted for his, which, however bad, was at least native; and this sudden change of government was immediately followed by a summary settlement of the revenue, which, in a very considerable portion of the province, deprived the most influential landholders of what they deemed to be their property: of what certainly had long given wealth, and distinction, and power to their families.

14. We must admit that, under these circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oude have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation.

15. Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

16. You have acted upon a different principle. You have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck with what they will feel as the severest of punishment the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

17. We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

18. We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

19. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people; there cannot be contentment where there is a general confiscation.

20. Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong; and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired.

In the copy of the despatch laid before the House of Lords, the paragraphs in italics (9 to 13, inclusive) were omitted; but it happened that, in the copy presented to the House of Commons by the secretary to the Board of Control, the despatch had been given unmitigated; and hence the double dilemma in which ministers were placed by the inadvertency of two of their colleagues. In addition to the papers laid on the table by Lord Ellenborough, the following copy of a letter from the secret committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the governor-general of India in council, relative to the policy to be pursued towards the natives of provinces lately in a state of hostility, was also produced:—

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-general of India in Council.

March 24th, 1858.

'The telegram from Calcutta, dated the 22nd ult., which arrived this morning, conveys intelligence
of the concentration of the force under the commander-in-chief, and of that under Jung Bahadur, upon Lucknow; and we trust we may indulge the expectation that, ere this, that city has been evacuated by the rebels, and that no considerable corps remains united against us in the field.

"2. If this happy result should have been attained, it will be very satisfactory to us to learn that you have deemed yourself sufficiently strong to be enabled to act towards the people with the generosity as well as the justice which are congenial to the British character.

"3. Crimes have been committed against us which it would be a crime to forgive, and some large exceptions there must be, of the persons guilty of such crimes, from any act of amnesty which could by granted; but it must be as impossible as it would be abhorrent from our feelings to inflict the extreme penalty which the law might strictly award upon all who have swerved from their allegiance.

"4. To us it appears that, whenever open resistance shall have ceased, it would be prudent, in awarding punishment, rather to follow the practice which prevailed after the conquest of a country which has defended itself to the last by desperate war, than that which may perhaps be lawfully adopted after the suppression of mutiny and rebellion—such acts always being exempted from forgiveness or mitigation of punishment as have exceeded the license of legitimate hostilities.

"5. While we may be unable to forget the insanity which, during the last ten months, has pervaded the army and a large portion of the people, we should at the same time remember the previous fidelity of a hundred years, and so conduct ourselves towards those who have erred as to remove their delusions and their fears, and re-establish, if we can, that confidence which was so long the foundation of our power.

"6. It would be desirable that in every case the disarming of a district, either by the seizure of arms or by their surrender, should precede the application to it of any amnesty; but there may be circumstances which would render expedient a different course of proceeding. Upon these exceptional cases you and the officers acting under your orders must decide.

"7. The disarming of a district having been effected, with exceptions under your license in favour of native gentlemen whose feelings of honour would be affected by being deprived of the privilege of wearing arms, and of any other persons in whom you may confide, we think the possession of arms should be punished in every case by a severe penalty; but unless the possession of arms should be combined with other acts leading to the conclusion that they were retained for the perpetration of crimes, that penalty should not be death. Of course the possession of arms by Englishmen must always remain lawful.

"8. Death has of late been too common a punishment. It loses whatever terror it might otherwise have when so indiscriminately applied; but, in fact, in India there is not commonly a fear of death, although there ever must be a fear of pain.

"9. In every amnestiated district the ordinary administration of the law should, as soon as possible, be restored.

"10. In carrying these views into execution, you may meet with obstructions from those who, mad-

This letter, it will be observed, refers to events in March, already recorded in previous chapters of this work;* but, for obvious reasons, its existence was unknown to the public, until produced in obedience to a resolution of the House of Lords in May, 1858.

On Monday, the 10th of May, the Oude proclamation and the secret despatch (Lord Ellenborough's, of the 19th of April, 1859) again came under discussion in the House of Lords; and the Earl of Shaftesbury gave notice that, on the following Friday, he would move a resolution condemnatory of the publication of the secret despatch of the government to Viscount Canning. The indignation excited by the unworthy attempt to insult the governor-general and paralyse his efforts, was not confined to the House of Lords only. The measure was felt by the country as unwise and uncalled for, and prompted rather by personal motives than by a consideration for the interests of India. The expression of public dissatisfaction was general; and notice of a vote of censure upon the government, on account of the secret despatch, was given in the Commons on the 10th of May, by Mr. Cardwell, the member for the city of Oxford.

A further complication of the difficulty in which government had become entangled in this matter, was occasioned by a statement of Lord Granville, that the late president of the Board of Control (Mr. Vernon Smith) had, some time previously, received a private letter from the governor-general, in which his lordship stated, that he considered his proclamation to the people of Oude required an explanatory despatch; but that, owing to the great pressure of business, he had not been able then to send it. This communication, from inadvertence or design, had been withheld by the late president from his successor at the Board of Control; and Lord Ellenborough and the present government felt they had just grounds of complaint at the unusual reserve, by which, it was contended, the noble

* See ante, pp. 270; 276; 278.

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 earl had been placed in a false position with respect to the governor-general’s proclamation; and the occasion was seized to divert at least a portion of the popular censure from the existing government.

On Tuesday, the 11th of May, the Oude proclamation, the secret despatch condemning it, and the private letter from Lord Canning to Mr. Vernon Smith, again became the subjects of a discussion in the House of Lords, which derived additional interest from an announcement made by the Earl of Ellenborough, that he had tendered the resignation of his office, as president of the India Board, to her majesty, and that it had been accepted. His lordship was succeeded in office by Lord Stanley.

The vote of censure, of which notice had been given by Lord Shaftesbury, was embodied in the following resolutions, which were moved by the noble earl on the 14th of May:—

"1. That it appears from papers laid upon the table of this house, that a despatch has been addressed by the secret committee of the Court of Directors to the governor-general of India, disapproving a proclamation which the governor-general had informed the Court he intended to issue after the fall of Lucknow.

"2. That it is known only from intelligence that has reached this country by correspondence published in newspapers, that the intention of the proclamation has been issued, and with an important modification, no official account of this proceeding having yet been received; that this house is therefore still without full information as to the grounds on which Lord Canning has acted; and his answer to the objections made to his intended proclamation in the despatch of the secret committee cannot be received for several weeks.

"3. That under these circumstances this house is unable to form a judgment on the proclamation issued by Lord Canning, but thinks it right to express its disapprobation of the premature publication by her majesty’s ministers of the despatch addressed to the governor-general, since this public condemnation of his conduct is calculated to weaken the authority of the governor-general of India, and to encourage those who are now in arms against this country."

In the discussion that ensued, Lord Ellenborough vindicated the course he had taken and the language adopted, for which he claimed the entire responsibility, and deprecated further reference to the subject in the existing state of Indian affairs. Several peers spoke for and against the resolutions, which ultimately were rejected by a majority of nine.

On Friday, the 14th, Mr. Cardwell, pur-
policy distinguished by a wise and discriminating generosity. You are exhorted to temper justice with mercy; and, except in cases of extreme criminality, to grant an amnesty to the vanquished. In the sentiments expressed by the secret committee we entirely concur. While there are some crimes which humanity calls upon you to punish with the utmost severity, there are others of a less aggravated character which it would be equally unjust and impolitic not to pardon and to forget.

3. The offenses with which you will be called upon to deal are of three different kinds. First, high crimes, instigated by malice prepense, and aggravated by treachery and cruelty. Secondly, offenses the results rather of weakness than of malice, into which it is believed that many have been drawn by the contamination of example, by the fear of opposing themselves to their more powerful countrymen, or by the belief that they have been compromised by the acts of their associates, rather than by any active desire to embarrass the existing government. And, thirdly, offenses of a less positive character, amounting to little more than passive connivance at evil, or at most, to the act of giving such assistance to the rebels as, if not given, would have been forcibly extorted, and which, in many cases, it would have been death to refuse to bodies of licentious and exasperated mutineers.

4. It is the first only of these offenses, the perpetrators of which, and their accomplices, it will be your duty to visit with the severest penalty which you can inflict; and it is, happily, in such cases of exceptional atrocity that you will have the least difficulty in proving both the commission of the offense and the identity of the offender. In the other cases you might often be left in doubt, not only of the extent of the offense committed, but of its actual commission by the accused persons; and, although we are aware that the retribution which may be righteously inflicted upon the guilty may be in some measure restricted by too much nicety of specification, and that, in dealing with so large a mass of crime, it is difficult to avoid the commission of some acts of individual injustice, we must say that in the utmost proportion the accusation may be made to confine, within the smallest possible compass, these cases of uncertain proof and dubious identity, even though your retributory measures should thus fall short of what in strict justice might be inflicted.

5. As soon as you have suppressed the active hostility of the enemy, your first care will be the restoration of public confidence. It will be your privilege, when the disorganised provinces shall no longer be convulsed by intestine disorder, to set an example of toleration and forbearance towards the subject people, and to endeavour, by every means consistent with the security of the British empire in the East, to allay the irritation and suspicion which if suffered to retain possession of the minds of the native and European inhabitants of the country, will eventually lead to nothing less calamitous than a war of races.

6. In dealing with the people of Oude, you will doubtless be guided by special considerations of justice and of policy. Throughout the recent contest we have ever regarded such of the inhabitants of that country as, not being sepoys or pensioners of our own army, have been in arms against us, as an exceptional class. They cannot be considered as traitors, or even rebels; for they had not pledged their fidelity to us, and they have not become our subjects. Many, by the introduction of a new system of government, had necessarily been deprived of the maintenance they had latterly enjoyed; and others feared that the speedy loss of their means of subsistence must follow from the same course of events. It is necessary that such persons should avail themselves of the opportunity presented by the distracted state of the country, to strike a blow for the restoration of the native rule, under which the permitted disorganisation of the country had so long been to them a source of unlawful profit. Neither the disdained soldiers of the late native government, nor the great talookdars and their retainers, were under any obligation of fidelity to our government for benefits conferred upon them. You would be justified, therefore, in dealing with them as you would with a foreign enemy, and in ceasing to consider them objects of punishment after they have once laid down their arms.

7. Of these arms they must for ever be deprived. You will doubtless, in prosecution of this object, address yourself, in the first instance, to the case of the great talookdars, who so successfully defied the late government, and many of whom, with large bodies of armed men, appear to have sided the efforts of the mutinous soldiery of the Bengal army. The destruction of the fortified strongholds of these powerful landholders, the forfeiture of their remaining guns, the disarming and disbanding of their followers, will be among your first works. But, whilst you are deprivinig this influential and once dangerous class of people of their power of openly resisting your authority, you will, we have no doubt, exert yourselves by every possible means to reconcile them to British rule, and encourage them, by liberal arrangements made in accordance with ancient usages, to become industrious agriculturists, and to employ in the cultivation of the soil the men who, as armed retainers, have so long wasted the substance of their masters, and desolated the land. We believe that these landholders may be taught that their holdings will be more properly and more safely guarded by government, capable of maintaining the peace of the country, and severely punishing agrarian outrages, than under one which perpetually invites, by its weakness, the ruinous arbitration of the sword.

8. Having thus endeavoured, on the re-establishment of the authority of the British government in Oude, to reassure the great landholders, you will proceed to consider, in the same spirit of toleration and forbearance, the condition of the great body of the people. You will bear in mind that it is necessary, in a transition state from one government to another, to deal tenderly with existing usages, and sometimes even with existing abuses. All precipitate reforms are dangerous. It is often wiser even to tolerate evil for a time than to alarm and to irritate the minds of the people by the sudden introduction of changes which time can alone teach them to appreciate, or even, perhaps, to understand. You will be especially careful, in the readjustment of the fiscal system of the province, in the imposition of unaccustomed taxes, whether of a general or of a local character, pressing heavily upon the industrial resources, and affecting the daily comforts of the people. We do not estimate the successful administration of a newly-acquired province.
according to the financial results of the first few years. At such a time, we should endeavour to conciliate the people by wise concessions, and to do nothing to encourage the belief that the British government is more covetous of revenue than the native ruler whom it has supplanted."

In the House of Lords, on Tuesday, the 1st of June, Earl Granville observed, that it had been stated by a member of her majesty's government, that a telegraphic message had been sent to Lord Canning subsequent to the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, conveying an assurance that the former nobleman, in his important position, the government-general of India, should receive the support of her majesty's government; and he (Lord Granville) wished to know if there would he any objection to the production of that communication. He also desired to know whether the government had any objection to the production of the vote of confidence of the directors of the East India Company, transmitted to Lord Canning, and of the despatch covering that vote? With regard to the first question, the Earl of Derby said, the only communication that had taken place was contained in a telegraphic message sent by him to Lord Canning, with a view to its over-taking the mail which had gone out on the 10th of May. It was a personal communication; because he had no right to enter into any official communication with Lord Canning. In that communication, he informed him of the change that had taken place in the government by the resignation of Lord Ellenborough; the regret of the government that the secret despatch which his noble friend had addressed to him had not been made public; and expressed the determination of the government to give him the most cordial support in their power. It also expressed the hope of the government, that while they approved the policy laid down in the secret despatch of the 10th of April, Lord Canning would not in practice find it greatly to differ from the policy recommended by his (Lord Derby's) noble friend in the former despatch. It would not be possible to produce the private communication alluded to; but with regard to the despatch, and the vote of confidence passed by the Court of Directors, there would not be the least objection to lay those on the table immediately.

The following are the documents referred to by Lord Granville upon this occasion:

"Political Department, May 18th (No. 2)."

"Our Governor-general of India in Council."

1. The secret committee has communicated to us the governor-general's secret letter, dated the 6th of March, 1858, with its enclosures, consisting of a letter addressed to the chief commissioner of Oude, dated the 3rd of March, and of the proclamation referred to therein, which was to be read by Sir James Outram to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude as soon as the British troops should have possession or command of the city of Lucknow.

2. We have also received communication of the letter addressed to your government by the secret committee, under date the 16th of April last, on the subject of the drought of the proclamation.

3. Our political letter of the 5th of May has apprised you of our strong sense of the distinction which ought to be maintained between the revolted sepoys and the chiefs and people of Oude, and the comparative indulgence with which, equally from justice and policy, the insurgents of the province (other than sepoys) ought to be regarded. In accordance with these views, we entirely approve the guarantee of life and honour given by the proposed proclamation to all taluksdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who should make immediate submission, surrender their arms, and obey the orders of the British government, provided they have not participated in the murder of Englishmen or Englishwomen.

4. We are prepared to learn that in publicly declaring that, with the exception of the lands of six persons who had been steadfast in their allegiance, the proprietors in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, the governor-general intended no more than to reserve to himself entire liberty of action, and to give the character of mercy to the confirmation of all rights not prejudicial to the public welfare, the owners of which might not, by their conduct, have excluded themselves from indulgent consideration.

5. His lordship must have been well aware that the words of the proclamation, without the comment on it which we trust was speedily affixed by your actions, must have produced the expectation of much more general and indiscriminate dispossession than could have been consistent with our policy. We shall doubtless be informed, in due course, of the reasons which induced the governor-general to employ those terms, and of the means which, we presume, have been taken of making known in Oude the merciful character which we assume, must still belong to your views. In the meantime, it is due to the governor-general that we should express our entire reliance that, on this as on former occasions, it has been his firm resolution to show to all whose crimes are not too great for any indulgence, the utmost degree of leniency consistent with the early restoration and firm maintenance of lawful authority.

"We accordingly have to inform you that, on receiving communication of the papers now acknowledged, the Court of Directors passed the following resolution:

"Resolved. — That, in respect to the despatch from the secret committee to the governor-general of India, dated the 19th ult., with the documents therein alluded to, and this day laid before the Court of Directors, this Court desires to express its continued confidence in the governor-general (Lord Canning), and its conviction that his measures for
the pacification of Oude and the other disturbed districts in India, will be characterised by a generous policy, and by the utmost clemency that is found to be consistent with the satisfactory accomplishment of that important object."—We are, &c.,

"E. CURRIE,
"W. J. EASTWICK," &c.

The adjourned debate, in committee, on the Indian resolutions was resumed on Monday, the 7th of June, and continued, at intervals, until Thursday, the 17th of the month, when, with several amendments, they were reported to the house, and leave was given to bring in a bill for the future government of India.

With regard to the proceedings of government and the legislature in reference to this important subject, as they were connected with the several propositions of the late and existing government, the following remarks of the Times very succinctly expressed the popular opinion. That journal, in an editorial article of the 21st of June, observed—"For the third time we have come to a full stop in the matter of Indian legislation, and found ourselves compelled to begin over again. Lord Palmerston's bill could not get on because Lord Palmerston was turned out of office; Lord Derby's bill could not get on because of its intrinsic absurdity; and now the resolutions, that were to have settled everything, have come to a dead lock, and cannot by any means be induced to carry us a single step further. The wastage of time that has been incurred is, we believe, unequaled, even in the annals of that most apt contrivance for the expenditure of human life—the House of Commons. It is now more than two months since the infelicitous ingenuity of Lord John Russell originated the clever scheme of stopping short in the middle of a bill, in order to settle, if possible, by a collateral investigation, what the contents of that bill ought to be. The thing was done and decided on at once by one of those sudden and impulsive movements which have made the present House of Commons the wonder, if not always the admiration, of its constituents. With the same kind of dash with which it threw out the late ministry and "fell spontaneously to pieces on the proposition to censure Lord Ellenborough's despatch, the House of Commons, which had previously allowed the introduction of two bills, resolved by acclamation to drop them both, in order to relieve itself from the definiteness of the issues involved, and to expiate freely on the wider field of resolution. Everybody, except the house itself, saw at once the full extent of such a step. It relieved the government from all responsibility, and threw it upon the house at large. It was to go into committee on a bill the principle of which had not been decided upon. It was to come to a number of decisions, none of which were final or binding, and every one of which might be reconsidered whenever the real time for settling matters arrived. It gave tempting opportunity for delay, and encouraged, to an unprecedented extent, the faculty of wandering as far as possible from the point in debate. However, the price has now been paid. We have lost two months of the session. We have filled our columns to repulsion with long and irrelevant speeches. Let us see what we have got in exchange. That the government was to be vested in the crown and placed in the hands of a responsible minister was conceded before the debate began, so that on that point there was no difference on either side. The resolutions embodying these two propositions were therefore merely formal, and made no advance whatever. The first point decided was, that the new council should not be less than twelve, nor more than fifteen—a whimsical conclusion by which nobody feels himself bound, and which will probably be more heartily contested than any point in the forthcoming bill. The house will very likely adhere to the decision at which it has arrived; but the debate will only furnish new grounds for argument, and provide the advocates of the smaller and of the larger number with better and more accurate knowledge of the strength and weakness of their respective positions, and equip them with new arms for attack and defence. Not much has been gained, therefore, either in point of time or knowledge by affirming this proposition, the narrow limits of which give it an air of pedantry and dogmatism ridiculously inconsistent with its really tentative and indeterminate character. The next proposition which the house has established is, that part of the members of the council shall be nominative and part elective. This proposition was accepted by the house in a fit of enthusiastic devotion to the will of the minister, which, we must say, he had scarcely earned. Lord Ellenborough's bill, as our readers will recollect, contained two methods of election—one by five chosen parliamentary constituencies, the other by 485
preference shareholders in stock and railways, merchants, Indian officials, and so forth. In this respect the bill differed as widely as possible from the council proposed by Lord Palmerston, which was wholly nominated by the crown. The first wave that broke over the ministerial ship carried away the five constituencies, to appear no more; and it soon became evident that the proposed Indian constituency was utterly repugnant to almost every one, its own proposers and advocates not excluded. What, then, was to be done? Formally to reject the elective principle was to destroy almost the whole difference between the resolutions and Lord Palmerston’s bill, and to admit that a second time government had failed in finding the right principle, and, in its eagerness to find grounds of difference from its antagonists, had taken up an untenable position. On the other hand, to retain the words as they stood, threw upon government the duty of finding some species of election—an undertaking which held out no chance of success. The government were perplexed between admitting themselves to be wholly wrong, and taking up a position which they could not support. Candour pleaded for the one course, pride and consistency for the other. The government did not hesitate, having made up its mind to give up the elective principle, to obtain from the house a pledge that it should be carried out. This answered very well for one evening, and the affirmation of the principle was carried by a large majority, amid tremendous cheers. From that moment the fate of the resolutions was sealed. The house could not be asked to rescind what it had done, and neither it nor the ministry had the slightest idea of giving effect to the proposition which they had affirmed. Here, then, things had arrived at a point where it was possible to go no further without contradicting what had been decided upon. The manner in which ministers met this untoward position, was to sketch out a scheme of alternate nomination and self-election, and, without venture to propose it, to proceed to resolutions on different and less important matters. Then the patience of the house at last gave way, and it was agreed to drop the proceeding by resolution with the same precipitancy and the same unanimity with which the plan had been adopted.

“Thus is but a sorry account of the labour of so many weeks; but it is actually all that has been done—all the assistance that has been afforded towards the construction of the bill by many nights of debate upon the resolutions. A number of members of council has been declared by approximation which nobody seems inclined to adopt, and a principle of election has been laid down from which everybody distinctly dissents. Such are the solid foundations we have gained for the future bill. We are to have an election, only there is to be no constituent body: and the council itself seems likely to be rejected from dislike to the principle of co-optation, and also of election. It seems not improbable that the seven elected members may disappear altogether for want of electors, and leave us nothing but the eight nominated members of Lord Palmerston’s bill. Such a result would be worthy of the course hitherto taken. Let us, at any rate, rejoice that we are at last free from these weary resolutions, and about to advance, however slowly, in the course of practical law-making, when, it is to be hoped, we shall have more of purpose and less of empty declamation.”

A third bill for the better government of India, known as Lord Stanley’s Bill, was at length, on the 22nd of June, printed for the consideration of the members of both houses of parliament. The following is an abstract of the provisions of Bill No. 3:

The preamble states, that it is expedient that the territories in the possession of the East India Company should be governed by and in the name of her majesty.

By clause 1, the government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company; and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in, or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by, the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in and be exercised on behalf of her majesty; and for the purposes of this act India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

II. India shall be governed by and in the name of her majesty; and all rights in relation to any territories, which might have been exercised by the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall and may be exercised on behalf of her majesty as rights incidental to the government of India.

III. Save as herein otherwise provided, one of her majesty’s principal secretaries of state shall have and perform all such or the like powers and duties in anywise relating to the government or revenues of India, and all such or the like powers over all
officers appointed or continued under this act, as might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company.

IV. After the commencement of this act any seat of her majesty's principal secretaries of state for the time being, and any four of the under-secretaries for the time being to her majesty's principal secretaries of state, may sit and vote as members of the House of Commons; but not more than four such principal secretaries, and not more than four such under-secretaries, shall sit as members of the House of Commons at the same time.

Clause 5 provides, that if the person who immediately before the commencement of the act is the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India be appointed a principal secretary of state, he need not vacate his seat in the House of Commons. By clause 6, the salaries of one secretary of state and his under-secretaries, are to be paid out of the revenue of India. Clause 7 states that a council of India is to be established, to consist of fifteen members. Clauses 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16, refer to the mode by which the members of the council are to be selected, the compensation which vacancies are to be filled up, the time of the tenure of office, the salaries, and other particulars.

XVII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to grant to any secretary, officer, or servant on the home establishment of the said Company, or on the establishment of the said commissioners, who in consequence of such reduction as aforesaid by the secretary of state, or under such order in council, is not retained on the establishment of the council of India, any compensation either by way of a gross or annual payment, as, having regard to the circumstances, may seem just.

Clause 18 states to retiring allowances to officers. XIX. The council shall, under the direction of the secretary of state, and subject to the provisions of this act, conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India and the correspondence with India; but every order or communication sent to India shall be signed by one of the principal secretaries of state, and—save as expressly provided by this act—every order in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India under this act shall be signed by such secretary of state; and all despatches from governments and presidencies in India, and other despatches from India, which this act had not been passed should have been addressed to the Court of Directors or to their secret committee, shall be addressed to such secretary of state.

XX. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state to divide the council into committees for the more convenient transaction of business, and from time to time to rearrange such committees, and to direct what departments of the business in relation to the government of India under this act shall be under such committees respectively, and generally to direct the manner in which all such business shall be transacted.

XXI. The secretary of state shall be the president of the council, and it shall be lawful for such secretary of state to appoint from time to time any number of any committee to be vice-president thereof, and any such vice-president may at any time be removed by the secretary of state.

Clauses 22 and 23 define the mode of proceeding to be adopted at meetings of the council.

XXXIV. Every order or communication proposed to be sent to India, and every order proposed to be made in the United Kingdom by the secretary of state, under this act, shall be submitted to a meeting of the council, be placed in the council-room for the perusal of all members of the council during seven days before the sending or making thereof, except in the cases hereinafter provided.

XXV. If a majority of the council record as aforesaid their opinions against any act proposed to be done, the secretary of state shall, if he do not defer to the opinions of the majority, record his reasons for acting in opposition thereto.

XXVI. Provided that where it appears to the secretary of state that the dispatch of any order or communication, or the making of any order, is urgently required, the communication may be sent or order given, notwithstanding the same may not have been submitted to a meeting of the council or deposited for seven days as aforesaid, the urgent reasons for sending or making the same being recorded by the council; and the reasons thereof being given to every member of the council, except in the cases hereinafter mentioned.

XXVII. Provided, also, that all such orders and communications as might, if this act had not been passed, have been sent by the commissioners for the affairs of India, through the secret committee of the Court of Directors to governments or presidencies in India, or to the officers or servants of the said Company, may, after the commencement of this act, be sent to such governments or presidencies, or to any officer or servant in India, by the secretary of state, without having been submitted to a meeting or deposited for the perusal of the members of the council, and without the reasons being recorded or notice thereof given as aforesaid.

XXVIII. Any despatches to Great Britain which might, if this act had not been passed, have been addressed to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, may be marked "Secret" by the authorities sending the same, and such despatches shall not be communicated to the members of the council, unless the secretary of state shall so think fit and direct.

Clauses 39, 30, 31, 32, and 33, regulate the manner in which appointees to offices in India are to be made. Appointments now made in India to continue to be made there.

By clause 34 there is to be a competitive examination for cadetships in the engineers and artillery.

Clauses 35, 36, and 37, relate to the removal of officers by her majesty, and the disposal of the real and personal estate of the Company.

XXXVIII. The dividend on the capital stock of the said Company, secured by the Act of the 3rd and 4th years of King William IV., chap. 86, until the redemption thereof, and all the bond, debentures, and other debt of the said Company in Great Britain, and all the territorial debt, and all other debts of the said Company, and all sums of money, costs, charges, and expenses, which, if this act had not been passed, would, after the time appointed for the commencement thereof, have been payable by the said Company out of the revenues of India, in respect or by reason of any treaties, covenants, contracts, grants, or liabilities then existing, and all
expenses, debts, and liabilities which, after the commencement of this act, shall be lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the government of India, and all moneys raised under this act, shall be charged and chargeable upon the revenues of India alone, as the same would have been if this act had not been passed, and such expenses, debts, liabilities, and payments as last aforesaid had been expenses, debts, and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company, and all moneys raised by the said Company, and such revenues shall not be applied to any other purpose whatsoever; and all other moneys vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in her majesty under this act, or to be received or disposed of by the council under this act, shall be applied in aid of such revenues.

XXXIX. Such part of the revenues of India as shall be from time to time remitted to Great Britain, and all moneys of the said Company in their treasury or under the care of their cashier, and all other moneys in Great Britain of the said Company, or which would have been received by them in Great Britain if this act had not been passed, and all moneys arising or accruing in Great Britain from any property or rights vested in her majesty by this act, or from the sale or disposition thereof, shall be paid to the council, to be by them applied for the purposes of this act; and all moneys to be paid to the council, except as hereinafter otherwise provided, shall be paid into the Bank of England, to the credit of an account to be opened by the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be entitled "The Account of the Council of India."

Clauses 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45, relate to the transfer of stock, the disposal of exchequer bills, and the power of borrowing money.

XLVI. All provisions now in force in anywise relating to the offence of forgery, or altering, or offering, uttering, disposing of, or putting off, knowing the same to be forged or altered, any East India bond, with intent to defraud, shall extend and be applicable to and in respect of any bond, debenture, or security issued by the council of India under the authority of this act.

By clause 47, the present system of issuing warrants for payments is to be continued.

XLVII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to appoint from time to time a fit person to be auditor of the accounts of the council, and to authorise such auditor to appoint and remove from time to time such assistants as may be specified in such warrant.

By clause 48, the council accounts are to be annually laid before parliament.

By clause 50, commissioners may proceed to India to inquire into the finances and accounts.

LI. The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of her majesty, and shall be under the same obligation to serve her majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regarded promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company: such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same, shall continue and be subject to all acts of parliament, laws of the governor-general of India in council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations, and provisions, been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company; and the pay and expenses of and incident to her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

Clause 52 makes provision for persons hereafter entering her majesty's Indian forces.

Clause 53 provides that servants of the Company are to be deemed servants of her majesty.

By clause 54, all orders of the Court of Directors or Board of Control are to remain in force.

LV. All functions and powers of Courts of Proprietors and Courts of Directors of the said Company in relation to the government of India, and all appointments of such of the directors of the said Company as have been appointed by her majesty, shall cease, and the yearly sums payable to the chairman, deputy-chairman, and other directors of the said Company, shall cease to be payable, and all powers vested in her majesty of appointing directors of the said Company shall cease and determine.

LVI. The appointments and powers of appointment of commissioners for the affairs of India shall cease and determine.

Clauses 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64, refer to existing contracts and pending suits, and continue certain rights of the Company.

LV. Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect upon the expiration of thirty days after the day of the passing thereof.

LXI. This act shall be proclaimed in the several presidencies and governments of India as soon as conveniently may be after such act has been received by the governor-general of India; and until such proclamation be made, all acts, matters, and things done, ordered, directed, or authorised in India in the name of the East India Company, or otherwise in relation to the government of India, shall be as valid and effectual as if this act had not been passed.

The most meritorious feature in this measure of Lord Stanley's, consisted in the fact that it was the bill of Lord Ellenborough divested of its most prominent and startling absurdities. The territories of the East India Company were by it to be vested in the Queen; and in her name the future government was to be carried on. The responsible minister for such government, it was proposed should be a fifth secretary of state: so that, after all the verbiage exhausted upon the subject of an official title, the government adhered to the original proposition rather than to the designation of president. From this point the bills materially diverged from each other. The three great constituencies—the proprietors of East India stock, the guaranteed railway shareholders, and the retired valetudinarians from the East—were thrown overboard; the
qualifications followed the constituencies; the nicely-balanced machinery so artistically designed by Mr. D Lauriell, by which every presidency, every service, every trade, and every condition was to be represented, was also swept away, leaving behind only the simple provision that the major part of the council must be persons who had resided ten years in India, while the remainder need possess no qualification at all. Then, it will be observed, the number follows the qualification. The council was to consist of fifteen instead of eighteen, as Lord Ellenborough proposed, or eight, as intended by Lord Palmerston. Of this fifteen, eight would be nominated by the crown, and seven by the present East India directors, from their own body. Lord Palmerston’s bill, with certain very narrow exceptions, vested all the powers created by it, in the president and council: Lord Stanley’s gave some powers to the secretary of state; others to the council in their own right; and again, others to the council, under the direction of the secretary of state—an arrangement admirably adapted to lead to confusion, if not to collisions. The council would be called together at the will of the secretary of state, or on the requisition of five of its members; and was not, therefore, an ordinary consultative body, but only to be convoked on extraordinary occasions; and, upon the whole, it was objected that the bill involved two principles inconsistent with each other—the responsibility of the minister and the independent action of the council—and would not meet the requirements of the crisis which had called for legislative interference.

On the 23rd of June a quarterly general court of the East India Company was held at their house in Leadenhall-street, when, after some routine business had been disposed of, the chairman (Sir F. Currie) stated, the court had been made special for the purpose of laying before the proprietors a resolution unanimously passed by the Court of Directors on the 9th instant, granting to Sir Colin Campbell an annuity of £2,000. The directors having been informed that her majesty intended to confer a peerage on Sir Colin Campbell for his services in the relief and capture of Lucknow, and in the restoration of British supremacy in that city and in Oude, had felt it to be their duty to propose a grant to him, by which he might be able to support that dignity. The resolution was as follows:

Resolved unanimously.—With reference to the gracious intention of her majesty to confer upon General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., commander-in-chief in India, the dignity of the peerage, that as a special mark of the high sense entertained by the East India Company of the eminent services of Sir Colin Campbell, in planning and conducting the several brilliant military operations which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, resulted in the rescue of the garrison of the residency at Lucknow, and in the restoration of British supremacy in that capital and in Oude, an annuity of £2,000, commencing from the date of the final occupation of Lucknow, be granted to Sir Colin Campbell for the term of his natural life, subject to the approval of the general Court of Proprietors, and to the approval and confirmation of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India.”

The resolution was agreed to; and the chairman then said, that the Court of Directors had received a letter from the president of the Board of Control, announcing that her majesty had been pleased to confer the dignity of a baronetcy on Sir James Outram, one of their own officers, whose name did not come before the court for the first time. He had, therefore, much pleasure in proposing the following resolution:

“Thhat, as a special mark of the high sense entertained by the East India Company of the services of Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., in the course of his long and brilliant career, and more particularly those connected with the memorable defence of the residency at Lucknow, the occupation and defence of the important post of Alumbagh, and the final conquest of Lucknow, under the command of General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., and with the view of enabling him to maintain the dignity of a baronet, which her majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon him, Sir J. Outram be granted an annuity of £1,000 for the term of his natural life, commencing from the date of the final occupation of Lucknow.”

This resolution having been seconded in a warm eulogium upon the services of Major-general Outram, was also adopted by the meeting; and notice was given that, at the next court, a motion would be submitted for extending the annuity to the eldest surviving son of Sir James.

The chairman then laid before the proprietors a draft of the Bill No. 3, for the better government of India, which had been received the day but one previous; and said that, as the president of the Board of Control expected to send the bill to the House of Lords by the 2nd of July, no time must be lost by the court in considering what steps should be taken.

The second reading of the Bill No. 3, was moved in the House of Commons by Lord Stanley, on Thursday, the 24th of June, and carried after a short discussion.
On the following evening the house went into committee on the bill, when the 1st and 2nd clauses were agreed to without debate; but the amendments proposed to the subsequent clauses, as they progressed through committee, were so extensive as almost to constitute a new measure. A lengthened series of observations and suggestions, in aid of the efforts of her majesty's ministers to provide for the better government of India, was also submitted to the consideration of the legislature by the Board of Directors of the East India Company; which, on the 24th of June, were printed with the votes of the House of Commons. On the 8th of July, the bill, as amended, was read a third time, and passed; and, on the following evening, it was introduced to the House of Lords, and read a first time; the second reading being appointed for the 15th of the month. Upon the introduction of the bill, the Earl of Shaftesbury presented the following petition from the East India Company, against its passing into a law:

"1. That at the commencement of the present session of parliament your petitioners did address your right honourable house, praying that you would not give your sanction to any change in the constitution of the Indian government without full previous inquiry into the present system, an inquiry extending into every branch of Indian administration; and that your petitioners did at the same time challenge the most searching investigation into the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the causes, whether remote or immediate, which produced that mutiny.

"2. That, nevertheless, without any such inquiry or investigation whatsoever having taken place, a bill has been introduced into your right honourable house, and read a first time, entirely abrogating that constitution of government for India which has existed from the first—viz., the government of this Company, at whose expense, and by whose exertions, British authority was originally established in India.

"3. That your petitioners cannot but regard such a measure as having in public estimation a penal character, and its adoption as calculated to lead to the general inference that they have abused their trust, and have been deservedly cashiered for misconduct. Your petitioners submit to your right honourable house that they cannot, without dishonour, acquiesce in their own condemnation without having obtained a trial, or so much as the production of a single charge against them. In 1603 it was decided by parliament, after an inquiry the most minute and laborious, that the government of India by your petitioners should continue 'untill parliament should otherwise provide,' it is now declared by the preamble of the bill before your right honourable house to be 'expedient' to make such other provision for the government of India, without reason given or cause assigned, or any inquiry whatsoever.

"4. That, in the opinion of your petitioners, the circumstances of the rebellion in India do make inquiry by parliament necessary, and such inquiry ought to be into the conduct of individuals, as the chief means whereby misconduct, if proved, can in future be prevented. Your petitioners submit to your right honourable house, that it is at least impossible that one result of such an inquiry might be to implicate functionaries of the Indian government who are not servants of this Company, but whom it is now proposed to relieve from that practical although limited control to which they have hitherto been subjected by the existence of this Company. Your petitioners submit to your right honourable house, that in passing the proposed measure without full previous inquiry, you do incur the danger of increasing that power of the servants of the crown which, as exerted in the affairs of India, may have already been too great, and require to be diminished.

"5. That your petitioners cannot but consider the rejection of their prayer for inquiry as not only an act of injustice towards themselves, but an act of injustice towards the people of India, and a most lamentable precedent for the future conduct of the legislature under great national calamities. In their former petition your petitioners did claim such an inquiry, because when, for the first time in this century, the thoughts of every public man in the country were fixed on India, an inquiry would be more thorough, and its results would carry much more instruction to the mind of parliament and the country than at any preceding period. Your petitioners apprehend that the rejection of this their prayer is the neglect of a precious opportunity which may never recur. The bill now under consideration by your right honourable house, contrary to all former precedent, contains no mention whatever of the people of India.

"6. That your petitioners did represent to your right honourable house, in their former petition, that 'they could not well conceive a worse form of government for India than a minister with a council, whom he should be at liberty to consult or not at his pleasure,' a principle which the proposed form of government adopts to a very serious extent, it being one of the main provisions of the bill 'for the better government of India,' that the president of the council shall be at liberty to receive secret communications from India, and send out secret orders, whenever in his judgment such secrecy may be required, without submitting the same to four members of the council. It is the belief of your petitioners that inquiry by your right honourable house into the operation and results of the power of secret action which has been exercised by the president of the Board of Control since the institution of that board, through the medium of the secret committee of the directors of the Company, would make it impossible for your right honourable house to place in the hands of a secretary of state still greater powers for mischief than hitherto, by passing an enactment the effect of which is nothing less than to give the sanction of parliament to the dangerous practice of transacting the public business by means of private letters.

"7. That the capital stock and debts of this Company amount in the aggregate to £13,900,000 sterling—a liability from which it is proposed by parliament to relieve your petitioners, and which parliament does not propose to take upon itself, but, on the contrary, by the insertion of the word 'alone' after 'Indian revenues,' in clause 42 of the
aforesaid bill, to expressly disclaim. Your petitioners beg respectfully to represent to your right honourable house that such an enactment cannot but tend to mislead the English people on a matter of the most vital importance, inasmuch as your petitioners cannot see how the national credit can be kept separate from the credit of the Indian government, save by continuing this Company in its administrative functions.

"8. That in the year 1773, when the chartered rights of your petitioners were first invaded, and powers and patronage which they had hitherto exercised were otherwise vested, certain of the members of your lordships' house did protest against the course that was at that time entered upon, predicting that the boundless fund of corruption furnished by that bill to the servants of the crown, would efface every idea of honour, public spirit, and independence from every rank of people; consequences which, in the belief of your petitioners, the proposed bill (which is the sequel to that of 1773) renders more imminent than ever.

"9. That, having regard to all these considerations, and seeing that full inquiry which your petitioners before prayed your right honourable house to institute has become impossible during the present session of parliament, your petitioners do humbly pray your right honourable house not to suffer the bill for the 'better government of India' now before you to become law; and your petitioners do further pray your right honourable house to allow this Company to be heard by counsel against the said bill, and in defence of the Company's rights and privileges.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

Notwithstanding this petition, or protest, the bill went through its various stages in the House of Peers with comparatively little discussion, although several amendments were introduced. On the 23rd of July it was declared to have passed the Lords, and was remitted back to the House of Commons, for its consideration of the amendments proposed. The attention of the house was directed to these amendments on the 26th of the month, when Colonel Sykes, on moving that they should be considered "that day three months," entered upon an elaborate vindication of the administration of the East India Company, and complained of the harsh measure that had been dealt out to it by the bill which put an end to its political existence. Some of the Lords' amendments were then considered and allowed; others were objected to; and a committee was appointed to draw up a minute of the reasons on which the House of Commons sustained their objections. The Lords, on the 29th of July, resolved not to insist upon more than one of their amendments, which related to the mode of admission to the scientific branches of the Indian service; and, on the 30th, the clerk of the house reported that the Com-

mons did not intend to further persevere in their objections to the Lords' amendments.

The bill then passed; and on Monday, the 3rd of August, the royal assent gave vitality to the measure by which the future destinies of British India were to be guided.

The dropped bill, introduced by Lord Palmerston, has already been recorded in this volume, as essential to show the principle upon which the administration of which he was chief, was prepared to legislate for the two hundred millions of human beings about to pass under the direct government of the British crown. The bill of Lord Stanley (Bill No. 3), which superseded the proposed measure of Lord Ellenborough (Bill No. 2), has also been given its extenso, as exhibiting the points on which, while aiming at the same result, a different school of statesmen thought it expedient to diverge from the scheme of their predecessors in office; and although much space is necessarily occupied by the introduction of the bill as it ultimately passed and received the royal assent, still, as an historical document to which it may be hereafter necessary to refer in connection with the government of India, it has been deemed essential to the completeness of the present work, that the bill should likewise be preserved in these pages. The following are the provisions of the East India Bill, 21 & 22 Victoria, cap. 106.

Whereas by an act of the session holden in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty, chapter ninety-five, "to provide for the government of India," the territories in the possession and under the government of the East India Company were continued under such government, in trust for her majesty, until parliament should otherwise provide, subject to the provisions of that act and of other acts of parliament, and the property and rights in the said act referred to are held by the said Company in trust for her majesty for the purposes of the said government; and whereas it is expedient that the said territories should be governed by and in the name of her majesty: be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, by the authority of the same, as follows; that is to say—

Transfer of the Government of India to Her Majesty.—I. The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said Company in relation.
to any territories, shall become vested in her majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this act India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

II. India shall be governed by and in the name of her majesty, and all rights in relation to any territories which might have been exercised by the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall and may be exercised by her majesty as rights incidental to the government of India; and all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India, and all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall be received for and in the name of her majesty, and shall be applied and disposed of for the purposes of the government of India alone, subject to the provisions of this act.

III. Save as herein otherwise provided, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state shall have and hold the commission of the said Company in all cases in anywise relating to the gobierno or revenues of India, and all such or the like powers over all officers appointed or continued under this act as might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company, either alone or by the direction or with the sanction or approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India in relation to such government or revenues, and the officers and servants of the said Company respectively, and also all such powers as might have been exercised by the said commissioners alone; and any warrant or writing under her majesty's royal sign-manual, which by the act of the session holden in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of her majesty, chapter seventy-seven, or otherwise, is required to be countersigned by the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India, shall, in lieu of being so countersigned, be countersigned by one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state.

IV. After the commencement of this act, any four of her majesty's principal secretaries of state for the time being to her majesty's principal secretaries of state, may sit and vote as members of the House of Commons; but not more than four such principal secretaries, and not more than four such under-secretaries, shall sit as members of the House of Commons at the same time.

V. In case the person who immediately before the commencement of this act is the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India be appointed, upon or within one month after the commencement of this act, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, and be at the time of such appointment a member of the House of Commons, he shall not by reason of such appointment vacate his seat in parliament.

VI. In case her majesty be pleased to appoint a fifth principal secretary of state, there shall be paid out of the revenues of India to such principal secretary of state, and to his under-secretaries respectively, the like yearly salaries as may for the time being be paid to any other of such secretaries of state and his under-secretaries respectively.

Council of India.—VII. For the purposes of this act a council shall be established, to consist of fifteen members, and to be styled "The Council of India," and henceforth the council in India now bearing that name shall be styled "The Council of the Governor-general of India."

VIII. Within fourteen days after the passing of this act, the Court of Directors of the East India Company shall, from among the persons then being directors of the said Company, or having been theretofore such directors, elect seven persons to be with the persons to be appointed by her majesty as hereinafter mentioned the first members of the council under this act, and the names of the persons so elected by the Court of Directors shall be forthwith, after such election, certified to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, under the seal of the said Company; and it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, within thirty days after the passing of this act, to appoint to be members of such council eight persons: provided always, that if the Court of Directors of the East India Company shall refuse, or shall for such fourteen days neglect to make such election, or shall refuse to certify the names of such persons as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, within thirty days after the expiration of such fourteen days, to appoint from among the said directors seven persons to make up the full number of the said council: provided also, that if any person being or having been such director, and elected or appointed as aforesaid, shall refuse to accept the office, it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, to appoint in the place of every person so refusing some other person to be a member of the council, but so that nine members of the council at the least shall be persons qualified as hereinafter mentioned.

IX. Every vacancy happening from time to time among the members of the council appointed by her majesty, not being members so appointed by reason of the refusal or neglect of the Court of Directors or the refusal to accept office hereinbefore mentioned, shall be filled up by her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, and every other vacancy shall be filled up by the council by election made at a meeting to be held for that purpose.

X. The majority of the persons to be elected by the Court of Directors, and the major part of the persons to be first appointed by her majesty after the passing of this act to be members of the council, shall be persons who shall have served or resided in India for ten years at the least, and (excepting in the case of late and present directors and officers on the home establishment of the East India Company who shall have so served or resided) shall not have last left India more than ten years next preceding the date of their appointment; and no person other than a person so qualified shall be appointed or elected to fill any vacancy in the council unless at the time of the appointment or election nine at the least of the continuing members of the council be persons qualified as aforesaid.

XI. Every member of the council appointed or elected under this act shall hold his office during good behaviour; provided that it shall be lawful for her majesty to remove any such member from his office upon an address of both houses of parliament.

XII. No member of the council appointed or elected under this act shall be capable of sitting or voting in parliament.

XIII. There shall be paid to each member of the
council the yearly salary of one thousand two hun-
dred of the revenue of India.
XIV. Any member of the council may, by writing
under his hand, which shall be recorded in the
minutes of the council, resign his office; and it shall
be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her
royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor
of the exchequer, to grant to any such person, or
person who, having held the office of member of the council
for the period of ten years or upwards, shall so resign
by reason of infirmity disabling him from a due
execution of the duties of the office, a retiring pension
during life of five hundred pounds; provided, that
if at any time hereafter it should appear to parlia-
ment expedient to reduce the number or otherwise
deal with the constitution of the said council, no
member of council who has not served in his office
for a period of ten years, shall be entitled to claim
any compensation for the loss of his office, or for any
alteration in the terms and conditions under which
the said retirement allowance is paid.
XV. The secretaries and other officers and ser-
vants on the home establishment of the said Com-
pany and on the establishment of the commissioners
for the affairs of India, immediately before the com-
 mencement of this act, shall on such commencement
be the permanent establishment of the secretary of
state in council; and the secretary of state shall,
with all convenient speed, make such arrangement
of the said establishments, and such reductions
therein, as may seem to him consistent with the due
conduct of the public business, and shall within six
months after the commencement of this act, submit
a scheme for the permanent establishment to her
majesty in council; and it shall be lawful for her
majesty, by the advice of her privy council, upon the
consideration of such scheme, to fix and declare
what shall constitute and be the establishment of the
secretary of state in council, and what salaries shall
be paid to the persons on the establishment, and the
order of her majesty in council shall be laid before
both houses of parliament within fourteen days after
the making thereof, provided parliament be then
sitting, or otherwise within fourteen days after the
next meeting thereof; and after such establishment
has been laid before the said council, no additional
persons shall be made to such establishment,
nor any addition made to the salaries au-
thorised by such order, except by a similar order in
council, to be laid in like manner before both houses
of parliament.
XVI. After the first formation of the establish-
ment, it shall be lawful for the secretary of state in
council to remove any officer or servant belonging
thereto, and also to make all appointments and
promotions to and in such establishment; provided
that the order of her majesty in council of the
twenty-first day of May, one thousand eight hun-
dred and fifty-five, or such other regulations as may
be from time to time established by her majesty for
examinations, certificates, probation, or other tests
of fitness, in relation to appointments to junior
positions in the civil service, shall apply to such
appointments on the said establishment.
XVII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by
warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned
by the chancellor of the exchequer, to grant to any
secretary, officer, or servant on the home establish-
ment of the said Company, or on the establishment
of the said commissioners, who, in consequence of
such reduction as aforesaid by the secretary of state
or under such order in council, is not retained on
the establishment of the secretary of state in council,
any compensation, either by way of an annual payment, as, having regard to the circum-
stances, may seem just.
XVIII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by
warrant, countersigned as aforesaid, to grant to any
such secretary, officer, or servant aforesaid, re-
tained on such last-mentioned establishment, such
compensation, superannuation, or retiring allowance
on his ceasing to hold office as might have been
granted to him if this act had not been passed, and the
transfer of any person to the service of the secretary
of state in council shall be deemed to be a con-
tinuance of his previous appointment or employment,
and shall not prejudice any claims which he might
have had in respect of length of service if his service
under the said Company or commissioners had con-
tinued; and it shall be lawful for her majesty,
by warrant, countersigned as aforesaid, to grant to
any secretary, officer, or servant aforesaid on the
said establishment after the first formation
thereof, such compensation, superannuation, or re-
tiring allowance as, under the act of the session
held in the fourth and fifth years of King William
the Fourth, chapter twenty-four, or any other act for
the time being in force concerning superannuations
and other allowances to persons having held civil
offices in the public service, may be granted to
persons appointed on the establishment of one of
her majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Duties and Procedure of the Council.—XIX. The
council shall, under the direction of the secretary of
state, and subject to the provisions of this act,
conduct the business transacted in the United
Kingdom in relation to the government of India
and the correspondence with India, but every order
or communication sent to India shall be signed by
one of the principal secretaries of state; and, save as
expressly provided by this act, every order in the
United Kingdom in relation to the government of
India under this act, shall be signed by such secre-
tary of state; and all despatches from governments
and presidencies in India, and other despatches from
India, which in the absence of the council, and in the
absence of the vice-president of council, should
have been addressed to the Court of Directors or to
their secret committee, shall be addressed to such
secretary of state.
XX. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state
to divide the council into committees for the more
convenient transaction of business, and from time to
time to rearrange such committees, and to direct
what departments of the business in relation to the
government of India under this act shall be under
such committees respectively, and generally to direct
the manner in which all such business shall be
transacted.
XXI. The secretary of state shall be the president
of the council, with power to vote, and it shall
be lawful for such secretary of state in council to
appoint from time to time any member of such
council to be vice-president thereof, and any such
vice-president may at any time be removed by the
secretary of state.
XXII. All powers by this act required to be
exercised by the secretary of state in council, and
all powers of the council, shall and may be exercized
at meetings of such council, at which not less than
five members shall be present; and at every meeting,
the secretary of state, or, in his absence, the vice-

president, if present, shall preside; and in the absence
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of the secretary of state and vice-president, one of the members of the council present shall be chosen by the members present to preside at the meeting; and such council may act notwithstanding any vacancy therein: meetings of the council shall be convened and held when and as the secretary of state shall from time to time direct; provided that one such meeting at least shall be held in every week.

XXXII. At any meeting of the council at which the secretary of state is present, if there be a difference of opinion on any question other than the question of the election of a member of council, or other than any question with regard to which a majority of the votes at a meeting is hereinafter declared to be necessary, the determination of the secretary of state shall be final; and in case of an equality of votes at any meeting of the council, the secretary of state, if present, and in his absence the vice-president or presiding member, shall have a casting vote; and all acts done at any meeting of the council in the absence of the secretary of state, except the election of a member of the council, shall require the sanction or approval in writing of the secretary of state; and in case of difference of opinion on any question decided at any meeting, the secretary of state may require the opinion of the council thereon, and the reasons for the same, be entered in the minutes of the proceedings, and any member of the council who may have been present at the meeting may require that his opinion, and any reasons for the same that he may have stated at the meeting, be entered in like manner.

XXXIV. Every order or communication proposed to be sent to India, and every order proposed to be made in the United Kingdom by the secretary of state, under this act, shall, unless the same has been submitted to a meeting of the council, be placed in the council-room for the perusal of all members of the council during seven days before the sending or making thereof, except in the cases hereinafter provided; and it shall be lawful for any member of the council to record in a minute-book, to be kept for that purpose, his opinion with respect to each order or communication, and a copy of every opinion so recorded shall be sent forthwith to the secretary of state.

XXXV. If a majority of the council record as aforesaid their opinions against any act proposed to be done, the secretary of state shall, if he do not defect the same, require the council to record his reasons for acting in opposition thereeto.

XXXVI. Provided, that where it appears to the secretary of state that the dispatch of any communication, or the making of any order, not being an order for which a majority of the votes at a meeting is hereby made necessary, is urgently required, the communication may be sent or order given notwithstanding the same may not have been submitted to a meeting of the council or deposited for seven days as aforesaid, the urgent reasons for sending or making the same being recorded by the secretary of state, and notice thereof being given to every member of the council, except in the cases hereinafter mentioned.

XXXVII. Provided also, that any order, not being an order for which a majority of votes at a meeting is hereby made necessary, which might, if this act had not been passed, have been sent by the commissioners for the affairs of India through the secret committee of the Court of Directors to governments or presidencies in India, or to the officers or servants of the said Company, may, after the commencement of this act, be sent to such governments or presidencies, or to any officer or servant in India, by the secretary of state, without having been submitted to a meeting or deposited for the perusal of the members of the council, and without the reasons being recorded or notice thereof given as aforesaid.

XXXVIII. Any despatches to Great Britain which might, if this act had not been passed, have been addressed to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, may be marked "Secret" by the authorities sending the same, and such despatches shall not be communicated to the members of the council, unless the secretary of state shall so think fit and direct.

Appointments and Patronage.—XXXIX. The appointments of governor-general of India, fourth ordinary member of the council of the governor-general of India, and governors of presidencies in India, now made by the Court of Directors with the approbation of her majesty, and the appointments of advocate-general for the several presidencies, now made with the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India, shall, except the approbation of her majesty by warrant under her royal sign-manual; the appointments of the ordinary members of the council of the governor-general of India, except the fourth ordinary member, and the appointments of the members of council of the several presidencies, shall be made by the secretary of state in council; the appointments of the lieutenant-governors of provinces or territories shall be made by the governor-general of India, subject to the approbation of her majesty; and all such appointments shall be subject to the qualifications now by law affecting such offices respectively.

XXX. All appointments to offices, commands, and employments in India, and all promotions, which by law, or under any regulations, usage, or custom, are now made by any authority in India, shall continue to be made in India by the like authority, and subject to the qualifications, conditions, and restrictions now affecting such appointments respectively; but the secretary of state in council shall have the like power to make regulations for the division and distribution of patronage and power of nomination among the several authorities in India, and the like power of restoring to their stations, offices, or employments such servants suspended or removed by any authority in India as might have been exercised by the said Court of Directors, with the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India, if this act had not been passed.

XXXI. Sections thirty-seven, thirty-eight, thirty-nine, forty, forty-one, and forty-two of the act of the sixteenth and seventeenth Victoria, chapter ninety-five, are hereby repealed, so far as the same apply to or provide for the admission or appointment of persons to the civil service of the East India Company.

XXXII. With all convenient speed, after the passing of this act, regulations shall be made by the secretary of state in council, with the advice and assistance of the commissioners for the time being, acting in execution of her majesty's order in council of twenty-first May, one thousand eight hundred and five, "for regulating the admission of persons to the civil service of the crown," for admitting all persons being natural-born subjects.
of her majesty (and of such age and qualification as may be prescribed in this behalf), who may be desirous of becoming candidates for appointment to the civil service of India, to be examined as candidates accordingly, and for prescribing the branches of knowledge in which such candidates shall be examined, and generally for regulating and conducting such examinations under the superintendence of the last-mentioned commissioners, or of the persons for the time being entrusted with the carrying out of such regulations as may be from time to time established by her majesty for examination, certificate, or other test of fitness in relation to appointments to junior situations in the civil service of the crown, and the candidates who may be certified by the said commissioners or other persons as aforesaid to be entitled under such regulations, shall be recommended for appointment according to the order of their proficiency as shown by such examinations, and such persons only as shall have been so certified and aforesaid shall be appointed or admitted to the civil service of India by the secretary of state in council: provided always, that all regulations to be made by the said secretary of state in council under this act shall be laid before parliament within fourteen days after the making thereof, if parliament be sitting; and, if parliament be not sitting, then within fourteen days after the next meeting thereof.

XXXIII. All appointments to cadetships, naval and military, and all admissions to service not herein otherwise expressly provided for, shall be vested in her majesty; and the names of persons to be from time to time recommended for such cadetships and service shall be submitted to her majesty by the secretary of state.

XXXIV. With all convenient speed after the commencement of this act, regulations shall be made for admitting any persons being natural-born subjects of her majesty (and of such age and qualifications as may be prescribed in this behalf), who may be desirous of becoming candidates for cadetships in the engineers and in the artillery, to be examined as candidates accordingly, and for prescribing the branches of knowledge in which such candidates shall be examined generally for regulating and conducting such examinations.

XXXV. Not less than one-tenth of the whole number of persons to be recommended in any year for military cadetships (other than cadetships in the engineers and artillery) shall be selected according to such regulations as the secretary of state in council may from time to time make in this behalf from among the sons of persons who have served in India in the military or civil services of her majesty, or of the East India Company.

XXXVI. Except as aforesaid, all persons to be recommended for military cadetships shall be nominated by the respective state and members of council, so that out of seventeen nominations the secretary of state shall have two, and each member of the council shall have one; but no person so nominated shall be recommended unless the nomination be approved of by the secretary of state in council.

XXXVII. Save as hereinbefore provided, all powers of making regulations in relation to appointments and admissions to service and other matters connected therewith, and of altering or revoking such regulations, which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the Court of Directors or commissioners for the affairs of India, may be exercised by the secretary of state in council, and all regulations in force at the time of the commencement of this act in relation to the matters aforesaid shall remain in force, subject nevertheless to alteration or revocation by the secretary of state in council as aforesaid.

XXXVIII. All regulations for establishing under the royal sign-manual, removing or dismissing any person holding any office, employment, or commission, civil or military, in India, of which, if this act had not been passed, a copy would have been required to be transmitted or delivered within eight days after being signed by her majesty to the chairman or deputy-chairman of the Court of Directors, shall, in lieu thereof, be communicated within the time aforesaid to the secretary of state in council.

Transfer of Property.—XXXIX. All lands and hereditaments, monies, stores, goods, chattels, and other real and personal estate of the said Company, subject to the debts and liabilities as aforesaid, and the same respectively, and the benefit of all contracts, covenants, and engagements, and all rights to fines, penalties, and forfeitures, and all other emoluments which the said Company shall be seized or possessed of, or entitled to at the time of the commencement of this act, except the capital stock or the said Company and the dividend thereon, shall become vested in her majesty, to be applied and disposed of, subject to the provisions of this act, for the purposes of the government of India.

XL. The secretary of state in council, with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting, shall have full power to sell and dispose of all real and personal estate whatsoever for the time being vested in her majesty under this act, as may be thought fit, or to raise money on any such real estate by way of mortgage, and make the proper assurances for that purpose, and to purchase and acquire any land or hereditaments, or any interests therein, stores, goods, chattels, and other property, and to enter into any contracts whatsoever, as may be thought fit, for the purposes of this act; and all property so acquired shall vest in her majesty for the service of the government of India: and any conveyance or assurance of or any estate to be made by the authority of the secretary of state in council, may be made under the hands and seals of three members of the council.

Rerovances.—XLI. The expenditure of the revenues of India, both in India and elsewhere, shall be subject to the control of the secretary of state in council, and no grant or appropriation of any part of such revenues, or of any other property coming into the possession of the secretary of state in council by virtue of this act, shall be made without the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the council.

XLI. The dividend on the capital stock of the said Company, secured by the act of the third and fourth years of King William the Fourth, chapter eighty-five, until the redemption thereof, and all the bond, debenture, and other debt of the said debt of the said Company in Great Britain, and all the territorial debt and all other debts of the said Company, the money, costs, charges, and expenses, which if this act had not been passed would after the time appointed for the commencement thereof have been payable by the said Company out of the revenues of India, in respect, or by reason of any treaties, covenants, contracts, grants, or liabilities then existing;
and all expenses, debts, and liabilities, which, after the commencement of this act shall be lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the government of India, and all payments under this act, shall be charged and chargeable upon the revenues of India alone, as the same would have been if this act had not been passed, and such expenses, debts, liabilities, and payments as last aforesaid had been expenses, debts, and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company, and such revenues shall not be applied to any other purpose whatsoever; and all other monies vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in her majesty under this act, or to be received or disposed of by the council under this act, shall be applied in aid of such revenues; provided always, that nothing herein contained shall lessen or prejudicially affect any security to which the said Company, or any proprietor or creditor thereof, now is or may be entitled upon the fund called "The Security Fund of the India Company," and may be vested in the funds of the third and fourth years of his late majesty King William the Fourth, chapter eighty-five, section fourteen.

XLIII. Such part of the revenues of India as shall be from time to time remitted to Great Britain, and all monies arising in their respective possessions, or under the care of their cashiers, and all other monies in Great Britain of the said Company, or which would have been received by them in Great Britain if this act had not been passed, and all monies arising or accruing in Great Britain from any property or rights vested in her majesty by this act, or from the sale of her property thereon, shall be paid to the secretary of state in council, to be applied for the purposes of this act; and all such monies, except as hereinafter otherwise provided, shall be paid into the Bank of England, to the credit of an account to be opened by the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be intituled "The Account of the Secretary of State in Council of India;" and all monies to be placed to the credit of such account under this act shall be paid out upon drafts or orders signed by three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state or one of his under-secretaries, and such account shall be a public account: provided always, that the secretary of state in council may cause to be kept, from time to time, under the care of their cashier, in an account to be kept at the Bank of England, such sum or sums of money as they may deem necessary for the payments now made out of money under the care of the cashier of the said Company.

XLIV. Such amount of money as at the time of the commencement of this act may be standing to the credit of the East India Company at the Bank of England shall be transferred by the governor and company of the Bank of England to the credit of the account to be opened in the name of the secretary of state in council as aforesaid.

XLV. There shall be raised in the books of the governor and company of the Bank of England such accounts as may be necessary in respect of any stock or stocks of government annuities, and all such accounts as may be necessary to be kept and transferred by the Stock Account of the Secretary of State in Council of India, and every such account shall be a public account.

XLVI. Such government stock or stocks as at the time of the commencement of this act may be standing in the name of the East India Company in the books of the said governor and company, shall be transferred by the chief cashier or the chief accountant of the said governor and company to the proper account or accounts to be raised as aforesaid.

XLVII. The secretary of state in council, by letter of attorney, executed by three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state, or one of his under-secretaries, shall empower any or any of the cashiers of the Bank of England to sell and transfer all or any part of the stock or stocks standing, or that may thereafter stand in the books of the said bank to the several accounts of the secretary of state in council, and to purchase and accept stock on the said accounts, and to receive the dividends due and to become due on the several stocks standing, or that may thereafter stand on the said accounts, and by any writing signed by three members of the council, and countersigned as aforesaid, may direct the application of the monies to be received in respect of such sales and dividends; and shall empower the same to be purchased and sold, and transferred by any of the said cashiers under the authority of such general letter of attorney, except upon an order in writing directed to the said chief cashier and chief accountant from time to time, and duly signed and countersigned as aforesaid.

XLVIII. All the shares, annuities, exchequer bonds, or other government securities, or other securities, of whatsoever kind, not hereinafter referred to, which shall be held by the governor and company of the Bank of England in trust for or on account of the East India Company at the time of the commencement of this act, shall thenceforward be held by the said governor and company in trust for and on account of the secretary of state in council, and all such securities as aforesaid, and all such securities as may thereafter be lodged with the said governor and company by or on behalf of the secretary of state in council, shall and may be disposed of, and the proceeds thereof applied, as may be authorised by order in writing signed by three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state, or one of his under-secretaries, and directed to the said chief cashier and chief accountant.

XLIX. All powers of issuing bonds, debentures, and other securities for money in Great Britain which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said Company, or the Court of Directors, under the direction and control of the commissioners for the affairs of India, or otherwise, shall and may be exercised by the secretary of state in council, with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting; and such securities as might have been issued under the seal of the said Company shall be issued under the hands of three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state or one of his under-secretaries.

L. All provisions now in force in anywise relating to the offence of forging or altering, or offering, uttering, disposing of, or putting off, knowing the same to be forged or altered, any East India bond, with intent to defraud, shall extend and be applicable to and in respect of any bond, debenture, or security issued by the secretary of state in council of India under the authority of this act.

LI. The regulations and practice now acted on by the Court of Directors on the issue of warrants or authorities for the payment of money, shall be maintained and acted on by the secretary of state in council of India under this act until the same be
altered by the authority of her majesty in council: provided, that where a warrant or authority for the payment of money passes through the audit department at the India House before payment, it shall be countersigned by such officer or officers of that audit department as the secretary of state in council may direct before payment shall be made; and that warrants or authorities which have heretofore been signed by two directors of the East India Company, shall, after the commencement of the act, be signed by three members of the council of India.

LII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to appoint from time to time a fit person to be auditor of the accounts of the secretary of state in council, and to authorise such auditor to appoint and remove from time to time such assistants as may be specified in such warrant; and every such auditor shall hold office during good behaviour; and there shall be paid to such auditor and assistants, out of the revenues of India, such salaries as the warrant or warrant as aforesaid countersigned as aforesaid, may direct; and such auditor shall examine and audit the accounts of the receipt, expenditure, and disposal in Great Britain of all moneys, stores, and property applicable for the purposes of this act; and the secretary of state in council shall, by the officers and servants of the establishment, produce and lay before such auditor from time to time all such accounts, accompanied by proper vouchers for the support of the same, and shall submit to his inspection all books, papers, and writings having relation thereto; and such auditor shall have power to examine all such officers and servants in Great Britain of the establishment as he may see fit in relation to such accounts, and the receipt, expenditure, or disposal of such moneys, stores, and property, and for that purpose, by writing under his hand, to summon before him any such officer or servant; and such auditor shall report from time to time to the secretary of state in council his approval or disapproval of such accounts, with such remarks and observations in relation thereto as he may think fit, specially noting any case, if such there be, in which it shall appear to him that any money arising out of the revenues of India has been appropriated to other purposes than those of the government of India, to which alone they are declared to be applicable; and shall specify in detail in his reports all sums of money, stores, and property which ought to be accounted for, and are not brought into account or have not been appropriated, in conformity with the provisions of this act, or have been expended or disposed of without due authority, and shall also specify any defects, inaccuracies, or irregularities which may appear in such accounts, or in the authorities, vouchers, or documents having relation thereto; and all such reports shall be laid before both houses of parliament by such auditor, together with the accounts of the year to which the same may relate.

LIII. The secretary of state in council shall, within the first fourteen days during which parliament may be sitting next after the first day of May in any year, lay before both houses of parliament an account for the financial year preceding that last completed, of the annual produce of the revenues of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, at each of the several presidencies or government, and of all the annual receipts and disbursements at home and abroad on account of the government of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, together with the latest estimate of the same for the last financial year, and also the amount of the debts chargeable on the revenues of India, with the rates of interest they respectively carry, and the annual amount of such interest, the state of the effects and credits at each presidency or government, and in England or elsewhere, applicable to the purposes of the government of India, according to the latest accounts which have been received thereof, and also a list of the establishment of the secretary of state in council, and the salaries and allowances payable in respect thereof; and if any new or increased salaries or pensions of fifty pounds a-year or upwards have been granted or created within the year, the particulars thereof shall be specially stated and explained at the foot of the account of such year; and such account shall be accompanied by a statement prepared from detailed reports from each presidency and district in India, in such form as shall best exhibit the moral and material progress and condition of India in each such presidency.

LIV. When any order is sent to India directing the actual commencement of hostilities by her majesty's forces in India, the fact of such order having been sent shall be communicated to both houses of parliament within three months after the sending of such order, if parliament be sitting, unless such order shall have been in the meantime revoked or suspended, and if parliament be not sitting at the end of such three months, then within one month after the next meeting of parliament.

LV. Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of her majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both houses of parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by her majesty's forces charged upon such revenues.

Existing Establishments.—LVI. The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of her majesty. The same shall be under the regulations to serve her majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company: such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same, shall continue and be subject to all acts of parliament, laws of the governor-general of India in council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations, and provisions been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company; and the pay and expenses of and incident to her majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

LVII. Provided, that it shall be lawful for her majesty from time to time by order in council to alter or regulate the terms and conditions of service
under which persons hereafter entering her majesty's Indian forces shall be commissioned, enlisted, or entered to serve; and the forms of attestation and of the oath or declaration to be used and taken or made respectively on attesting persons to serve in her majesty's Indian forces, shall be such as her majesty with regard to the European forces, and the governor-general in council in council with regard to the native forces, shall from time to time direct; provided, that every such order in council shall be laid before both houses of parliament within fourteen days after the making thereof, if parliament be sitting, and if parliament be not sitting, then within fourteen days after the next meeting thereof.

L.VIII. All persons who at the time of the commencement of this act shall hold any offices, employments, or commissions whatever under the said Company in India shall thenceforth be deemed to hold such offices, employments, and commissions under her majesty as if they had been appointed under this act, and shall be paid out of the revenues of India; and the transfer of any person to the service of her majesty shall be deemed to be a continuance of his present employment, and shall not prejudice his right to pension, or any claims on the various annuity funds of the several presidencies in India, which he might have had if this act had not been passed.

L.IX. All orders, regulations, and directions lawfully given or made before the commencement of this act by the Court of Directors or by the commissioners for the affairs of India shall remain in force; but the same shall, from and after the commencement of this act, be deemed to be the orders, regulations, and directions under this act, and take effect, and shall be subject to alteration or revocation accordingly.

L.X. All functions and powers of Courts of Proprietors and Courts of Directors of the said Company in relation to the government of India, and all appointments of such of the directors of the said Company as have been appointed by her majesty, shall cease, and the yearly sums payable to the chairman, deputy-chairman, and other directors of the said Company shall cease to be payable, and all powers vested in her majesty of appointing directors of the said Company shall cease and determine.

L.XI. The appointees or ministers of appointment of commissioners for the affairs of India shall cease and determine.

L.XII. All books, records, and archives of the said Company, except such books and documents as concern the ownership of shares in the capital stock of the said Company, and the payments to the proprietors of such capital stock of their respective shares of the dividend thereon, shall be delivered into the care and custody of the secretary of state in council as they may direct.

L.XIII. In case the person who shall be entitled under any prior colonial appointment to succeed to the office of governor-general of India upon a vacancy therein, or who shall be appointed absolutely to assume that office, shall be in India (upon or after the happening of the vacancy, or upon or after the receipt of such absolute appointment, as the case may be), he shall be appointed for that purpose by the council for that purpose at Fort William in Bengal, or from the place where the council of the governor-general of India may then be, and it shall appear to him necessary to exercise the powers of governor-general before he shall have taken his seat in council, it shall be lawful for him to make known by proclamation his appointment, and his intention to assume the said office of governor-general; and after such proclamation, and thenceforth until he shall retire to Fort William, or the place where the council may assemble, it shall be lawful for him to exercise alone all or any of the powers which might be exercised by the governor-general in council, except the power of making laws and regulations: and all acts done in the exercise of the said powers, except as aforesaid, shall be of the same force and effect as if they had been done by the governor-general in council; provided that all acts done in the said council after the date of such proclamation, but before the communication thereof to such council, shall be valid, subject, nevertheless, to revocation or alteration by the person who shall have so assumed the said office of governor-general; and when the office of governor-general is assumed under the foregoing provision, if there be at any time before the governor-general takes his seat in council no vice-president of the council authorised to preside at meetings for making laws and regulations (as provided by section twenty-two of the act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty), the senior ordinary and extraordinary vice-president shall preside therein, with the same powers as if a vice-president had been appointed and were absent.

Continuance of Existing Enactments.—L.XIV. All acts and provisions now in force, under charter or otherwise, concerning India, shall, subject to the provisions of this act, continue in force, and be continued as referring to the secretary of state in council, in the place of the said Company and the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors thereof, and all enactments applicable to the officers and servants of the said Company in India, and to appointments to office or admissions to service by the said Court of Directors, shall, subject to the provisions of this act, remain applicable to the officers and servants appointed or employed in India, and to appointments to office and admissions to service under the authority of this act.

Actions and Contracts.—L.XV. The secretary of state in council shall and may sue and be sued as well in India as in England by the name of the secretary of state in council as a body corporate; and all persons and bodies politic shall have the same rights and take the same suits, remedies, and proceedings, legal and equitable, against the secretary of state in council of India as they could have done against the said Company; and the property and effects hereby vested in her majesty for the purposes of the government of India, or acquired for the said purposes, shall be subject and liable to the same judgments and executions as they would while vested in the said Company have been liable to in respect of debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company.

L.XVI. The secretary of state in council shall, with respect to all actions, suits, and all proceedings by or against the said Company pending at the time of the commencement of this act, come in the place of the said Company, and that without the necessity of substituting the name of the secretary of state in council.
A.D. 1858.] INDIAN MUTINY. [EFFECT OF THE BILL.

against the secretary of state in council in like manner and in the same courts as they might have been against the said Company if this act had not been passed.

LVIII. Neither the secretary of state nor any member of the council shall be personally liable in respect of any such contract, covenant, or engagement of the said Company as aforesaid, or in respect of any covenant, contract, or engagement under the authority of this act, or other liability of the said secretary of state or secretary of state in council in their official capacity; but all such liabilities, and all costs and damages in respect thereof, shall be satisfied and paid out of the revenues of India.

LXX. After the commencement of this act such of the directors as have been elected by the general court of the said Company, or who shall from time to time be so elected, shall be the directors of the said Company, and the major part of such directors for the time being shall form a Court of Directors; and where the presence, signature, consent, or concurrence of ten directors is now requisite, the presence, signature, consent, or concurrence of the major part of the directors for the time being shall be sufficient; and to the intent that the number of directors may be reduced to six, two directors only shall be elected by the general court of the said Company at each biennial election to fill the vacancies occasioned by the expiration of the term of office of directors; and so much of the said act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty as requires any of the directors to be persons who have resided ten years in India shall be repealed, and in the oath to be taken by a director of the said Company, under section thirteen of the said act, the words "in the administration of the government of India in trust for the crown" shall be omitted.

LXX. It shall no longer be obligatory on the directors to summon four general quarterly courts in every year as heretofore.

LXXI. Except claims of mortgages of the security fund hereinafore mentioned, the said Company shall not, after the passing of this act, be liable in respect of any claim, demand, or liability which has arisen or may hereafter arise out of any treaty, covenant, contract, grant, engagement, or voluntary obligation made, incurred, or entered into by the said Company before the passing of this act, whether the said Company would, but for this act, have been bound to satisfy such claim, demand, or liability out of the revenues of India, or in any other manner whatsoever.

Saving of certain Rights of the Company.—LXXII. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state in council to pay to the said Company out of the revenues of India such annual sum as her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, may direct for defraying the expenses of and incident to the payment to the proprietors of the capital stock of the said Company of their respective shares of the dividend on such stock, and of keeping the books of the said Company for transfers and otherwise in relation to such stock.

LXXIII. Nothing herein contained shall affect the preference secured by the said act of the third and fourth years of King William the Fourth to the dividend on the capital stock of the said Company or the right of the said Company to demand the redemption of the said dividend secured by such act; and all the provisions of the said act concerning the security fund thereby created shall remain in force, save that when the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India is required in relation to the disposal of the said security fund, the approbation of the secretary of state in council shall be required.

Commencement of the Act.—LXXIV. Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect on the expiration of thirty days after the day of the passing thereof.

LXXV. This act shall be proclaimed in the several presidencies and governments of India as soon as conveniently may be after such act has been received by the governor-general of India; and until such proclamation be made, all acts, matters, and things done, ordered, directed, or authorised in India in the name of the East India Company, or otherwise in relation to the government of India, shall be as valid and effectual as if this act had not been passed.

Such, then, was the legislative and royal act by which, on the 2nd day of August, 1858, one of the great powers of the civilised world became, extinguished. An important chapter in the annals of human existence, and perhaps the most romantic of the whole, had been closed by the fiat of an earthly sovereign, upon whom the mantle of victory had descended, and whose sceptre extended to the confines of the habitable globe. The great ruler before whom Eastern potentates had been taught to bend as tributaries, and to serve as vassals—the mighty Company, whose mere name and shadow had been a spell on the imagination of two hundred millions of men for long generations—was now deposed, powerless and extinct. Its lust of power, and pride of place, had suddenly, by stronger hands, been wrested from its grasp; and henceforth, the political and territorial acquisitions of nearly two centuries became the patrimony of strange rulers; and the destinies of the teeming millions that had grown up in subjection to the merchant princes of Leadenhall-street, passed, like household chattels, into the hands of a more powerful owner. Such, in effect, was the result of the sepoys mutiny of 1857, as connected with the domination of "The Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies."

"So falls, so languishes, grows dim and dies All that this world is proud of. From their spheres The stars of human glory are cast down : Faded the pageantry, and pomp of Kings, Princes, and chiefs; the dazzling crowns and palms Of all these mighty, prostrate and bedimmed."

For the sake of chronological accuracy, it is proper here to observe, that during the discussions which ensued in the early stages of the India Bill in the House of Peers, it was
incidentally mentioned by the premier (the Earl of Derby), that her majesty had signified her intention to record her appreciation of the meritorious services of Sir Colin Campbell, as commander-in-chief in India, by elevating that officer to the dignity of the peerage; and that the official announcement of the royal pleasure was only retarded by the necessity that had arisen for communicating with Sir Colin upon the subject of the title to be conferred upon him. His lordship also stated, that as soon as the reply of the gallant veteran was received, an Extraordinary Gazette would make known the distinction he had so richly earned. Accordingly, on the 6th of August, the following announcement appeared in the London Gazette:—

"Whitehall, August 3rd.

"The Queen has been pleased to direct letters-patent to be passed under the great seal, granting the dignity of a baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., commander-in-chief in the East Indies, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Clyde, of Clydesdale, in that part of the said United Kingdom called Scotland."

The same Gazette also notified that the dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom had been conferred upon Sir John Laird Muir Lawrence, G.C.B., chief commissioner, and agent to the governor-general of India for the affairs of the Punjab, and his heirs male, in recognition of his distinguished services. A pension of £2,000 was conferred upon him by the East India Company, at a special court, held on the 24th of August.

The close of the proceedings in the House of Lords, in connection with the India Bill, was marked by some incidents of peculiar interest, well deserving remark. Before the bill left the house, certain lords and prelates embraced the occasion to deliver themselves of opinions which, taken either as warnings or protests, were not without importance. The Earls of Ellenborough and Shaftesbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Oxford, successively addressed themselves with much earnestness to points intimately affecting the future practical administration of the Eastern empire. By those speakers it was solemnly urged, that the policy till then pursued by the Indian government in matters of religion should be essentially modified, and that the sentiments of animosity entertained towards the native population, should be succeeded, as speedily as possible, by feelings of a more conciliatory and Christian spirit. The solicitude expressed on these points, it was contended, was exceedingly natural; as, upon the future policy of the British government and its representatives in those two respects, the success or failure of the new Indian administration would mainly depend. To this source, opened up by misconception on the score of religious intolerance, it was alleged the origin and motive for the revolt might be correctly ascribed; as, whatever other elements of evil might have entered accidentally into the spirit of the rebellious movement, it was beyond all doubt that the religious policy of the European government had created, and also fed, the antagonism of the native mind; while its administrative system rendered the appeal to physical force practicable. The sepoys, it was said, were exposed to delusions on the subject of Christianity, because they had never been permitted to understand what Christianity really was; and they were enabled to take the field in arms against their rulers, because the latter, in their boundless confidence, had invested them with every attribute and appliance of military power.

As regarded the religious branch of the question, it was contended that the policy of the government admitted of a double interpretation, according to the spirit in which it was practised, or the light in which it was viewed. The "perfect neutrality" professed by the Company, often took the form of positive injustice to their own faith. In their excessive anxiety to keep the native mind at ease, the Indian authorities went any lengths that the credulity or fanaticism of their Hindoo or Mohammedan subjects might think fit to require. Thus anything at which a Hindoo took fright, or might be expected to take fright, was at once forbidden; and it was not merely that the prejudices of those people were inordinately studied, but they were actually suffered to prescribe terms to their masters, lest the religion of the latter should become offensively demonstrative. They had invested Christianity with a false character, and believed that Christians could make others such, by devices that involved loss of caste.

To enlighten them on this subject, the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed that, in future, the Bible should be read in all the schools of India to which government aid was contributed—the Bible being the
best proclamation which the Indian government could issue to the people; since all who read it would learn at once that the religion it inculcated could never be propagated by artifice or by violence.

Upon the other point—namely, the revival of confidence between the European and native populations, there were, however, good reasons for doubting the expediency, or even the possibility, of its restoration to the extent that had formerly prevailed. Lord Shaftesbury complained that a strong antipathy had, for some time past, been growing up in India between Europeans and natives. "I fear," observed his lordship, "that it will be long before the confidence which formerly prevailed between them will be again restored. Perhaps half a century may elapse before an Englishman may be able to settle down in security in the interior provinces of India." In those apprehensions there was much reason, but not upon the grounds assumed by the noble lord, who appeared to lay the blame chiefly upon European shoulders; for, in truth, all confidence had been reposed in the people of India, without reserve, qualification, or drawback; the trust in them had been so implicit, that it might justly have been described as resembling infatuation, rather than an exercise of sober reason. To the very last minute the officers who, with their wives and little ones, had been marked out for destruction, believed in the loyalty and attachment of men who thirsted for their blood. In the hands of those treacherous assassins everything was unsuspectingly lodged—everything; even their very lives: and how was this confidence rewarded? Without a particle of justification—with a ferocity only to be compared to that of the untamed brutes of the jungle—those petted, pampered, and trusted servants rose upon their confiding masters, and foully murdered every creature of European lineage within their reach! To say that they were bereft of reason when they so acted, may possibly, to some extent, be correct; but though maniacs and tigers might be exculpated on such a plea, it could scarcely be supposed to justify "confidence" in our future dealings with a people capable of such atrocities. After their most unprovoked revolt, directed against the very existence of European society and government in India—a revolt characterised by unspakable barbarity; and while it was still, as it were, smouldering under the feet of the survivors of their treachery, it was surely somewhat unreasonable, on the part of any one, to complain that confidence no longer existed between the native and European races, or to ascribe the natural and justifiable distrust that succeeded to it, to the mere influence of a retributive spirit.

Much time necessarily elapsed before any communication could be received in this country from the governor-general (who was still holding his seat of government temporarily at Allahabad), in reference to the secret despatch of Lord Ellenborough, dated April 19th, 1858:* and, in fact, the reply of Lord Canning did not reach this country until the supreme power so long held by the Court of Directors had passed from their hands. The document transmitted, embraced a lucid exposition of the whole policy of Lord Canning's administration in reference to the war in India; and its introduction to these pages, as a state paper of historical importance, is indispensable. The first despatch, it will be observed, was written previous to the arrival in India of the vote of confidence adopted by the Court of Directors on the 18th of May,† which was intended, if practicable, to have reached the governor-general simultaneously with the Ellenborough despatch; and was as follows:—

To the Hon. the Secret Committee of the Hon. the Court of Directors.

"Foreign Department, Secret, Allahabad, 17th of June, 1858.

"Hon. Sir,—I have the honour to reply to your despatch, No. 1,954, of the 19th of April.

"That despatch condemns in the strongest terms the proclamation which, on the 3rd of March, I directed the chief commissioner of Oude to issue from Lucknow.

"2. Although written in the secret committee, the despatch was made public in England three weeks before it reached my hands. It will in a few days be read in every station in Hindostan.

"3. Before the despatch was published in England, it had been announced to parliament by a minister of the crown as conveying disapproval in every sense of the policy indicated by the governor-general's proclamation. Whether this description was an accurate one or not I do not inquire. The telegraph has already carried it over the length and breadth of India.

"4. I need scarcely tell your honourable committee that the existence of such a despatch, even had it never passed out of the records of the secret department, would be deeply mortifying to me, however confident I might feel that your honourable committee would, upon reconsideration, relieve me of the censure which it casts upon me. Still less necessary is it for me to point out that the publication of the document, preceded as it has been by an authoritative declaration of its meaning and spirit,

* See ante, p. 479. † Ibid., p. 484, 501
is calculated greatly to increase the difficulties in which the government of India is placed, not only by weakening the authority of the governor-general, but by engendering resistance and delusive hopes in many classes of the population of Oude.

"5. So far as the despatch and the mode in which it has been dealt with affect myself personally, I will trouble our honourable committees with very few words.

"No taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they may, will turn me from the path which I believe to be that of my public duty. I believe that a change in the head of the government of India at this time, if it took place under the circumstances which indicated a repudiation on the part of the government in England of the policy which has hitherto been pursued towards the rebels of Oude, would seriously retard the pacification of the country. I believe that that policy has been from the beginning merciful without weakness, and indulgent without compromising the dignity of the government. I believe that wherever the authority of the government has been established, it has become manifest to the people in Oude, as elsewhere, that the indulgence to those who make submission, and who are free from atrocious crime, will be large. I believe that the issue of the proclamation which has been so severely condemned was thoroughly consistent with that policy, and that it is so viewed by those to whom it is addressed. I believe that that policy, if steadily pursued, offers the best and earliest prospect of restoring peace to Oude upon a stable footing.

"6. Firm in these convictions, I will not in a time of unexampled difficulty, danger, and toil, lay down of my own act the high trust which I have the honour to hold; but I will, with the permission of your honourable committee, state the grounds upon which those convictions rest, and describe the character of which I have pursued in dealing with the rebellion in Oude. If, when I have done so, it shall be deemed that that policy has been erroneous, or that, not being erroneous, it has been feebly and ineffectually carried out, or that, for any reason the confidence of those who are responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in England should be withheld from me, I make it my respectful but urgent request, through your honourable committee, that I may be relieved of the office of governor-general of India with the least possible delay.

"7. I desire to say, that I shall in that case resign my great charge into the hands of the Hon. Court of Directors, with a deep and abiding sense of gratitude for the generous support, the unreserved confidence, and the considerate courtesy which I have at all times received from them.

"I have nothing more to add upon the personal part of this question.

"8. But, before I speak of the proclamation, I beg to call the attention of your honourable committee to certain paragraphs of the despatch before me, which are pregnant with a signification far more momentous than the censure of any recent act or policy of the governor-general of the day. These paragraphs are numbered from 10 to 14 inclusive, and I believe that I shall not misrepresent their import by describing it as follows:—

"9. They begin by pointing out a doubt whether the British government was justified in taking possession of Oude, and whether the resistance and the evacuation pointed out, but is not resolved, nor is a distinct opinion expressed upon it.

"10. Certain facts are then referred to, which, though they do not directly affect the question of our right to the possession of Oude, are cited as leading, in conjunction with the doubt above mentioned, to the conclusion, that the hostilities which the people of Oude have been carrying on against us have rather the character of illegitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should be regarded with indulgence, where it must be viewed in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. I found sufficient reason for this in the facts that the allegiance of these men, when they broke into rebellion, was little more than a year old, and that they had become British subjects by no act of their own; that our rule had brought loss of property upon many of them, and upon some unjust loss; and that it had diminished the importance and arbitrary power of all. I considered these facts to be a palliation of rebellion, and to have led to a capacity to us to have been more inveterate; and therefore I put aside altogether the punishments of death, transportation, and imprisonment; and while marking those who had rebelled with the penalty which in India, as elsewhere, has been again and again recognised as a fitting punishment of rebels—namely, the forfeiture of their rights in the soil—I promised indulgence to those who should make prompt submission.

"I felt that considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule, prescribed this course. I recorded this in a paper and sent it in the hands of your honourable committees; and I hope, before closing this despatch, to show that the indulgence has been accorded promptly and liberally.

"12. But it is my first duty earnestly to beg your honourable committee to consider the effect which will be produced upon the province of Oude when it shall become generally known that the British government speaks hesitatingly of its right to rule that country. I cannot but fear that it will make a turbulent and warlike people more impatient than ever of subjection to authority and order. I fear that it will furnish a pretext for resistance to the government, of which many bad spirits will not be slow to avail themselves now and hereafter.

"13. But more especially do I fear its immediate effect. It cannot have escaped the notice of your honourable committee, that, although the rising against our authority in Oude has been general—almost universal—it has been singularly devoid of a national character. Except for the purpose of reducing our garrison in Lucknow, and afterwards of holding the city against us, there appears to have been no common cause among our assailants. Since the capture of Lucknow, we have been but to us the party of the begum and her son, claiming to represent the royal family of Oude; the party of
the mutiny, a Mohammedan fanatic; the party of the naxim, an adventurer without rights or property, and supporters of the people who have petitioned from one leader to another, according as they have been able to extort the highest pay; and a number of the talookdars and zemindars, some few of whom, at the head of bands of their own, have plundered and oppressed their enemies and those whom they believe to be their friends; while others, generally of less influence, have been tempted or coerced into joining the ranks of the begum or the moulie.

There is little concert or cohesion between any of these parties. Indeed, between those of the begum and the moulie there has been not only complete separation, but open hostility.

14. I cannot think that this want of unity will long continue, if it shall once become manifest that the British government hesitates to declare its right to possess Oude, and that it regards itself as a wrongful intruder into the place of the dynasty which has hitherto represented itself as that which this would draw to the side of the begum many who have hitherto shown no sympathy with the late ruling family, and that it is just what is wanting to give a national character to her cause.

15. An uncompromising assertion of our authority, and a perfect exercise of the government, should be the exercise of it, and I respectfully submit, that if the government of India is not supported in making this assertion, and in declaring that the recent acts of the people of Oude are acts of rebellion, and that they may in strict right be treated as such, a powerful temptation will be offered to them to maintain their present struggle or to renew it.

16. I now proceed to offer some remarks upon the proclamation, and I believe that the spirit in which the proclamation was conceived and has been acted upon, will be best shown by the following statement.

17. When, in January last, about the time at which the army of the commander-in-chief began to concentrate upon Lucknow, I left Calcutta for Allahabad, one of my chief motives for doing so was the obtaining full, accurate, and recent information in regard to the temper and disposition of the chief and people of Oude; the extent to which they felt themselves aggrieved by the government, how far that feeling was just; the nature of the influences at work among them; and other points requiring consideration before a decision could be taken as to the mode of dealing with the province. These were matters upon which formal references and reports would have thrown too tardy and inadequate light, seeing the condition to which our archives and official establishments had been reduced; and, therefore, in addition to the information received by government from the usual civil and military sources, I sought information and opinions from those who, from having filled posts within the province or upon its frontiers, had had opportunities of becoming personally and, in some cases, intimately acquainted with the talookdars and zemindars, and their followers.

18. The conclusions at which I arrived were, firstly, that all question of punishing with death, or even with transportation or imprisonment, rebels who, however inveterate and unceasing their hostility had been, were free from the stain of murder, must be set aside as not at present defendable; and, secondly, that the decision, although at the time it was very far from meeting with general approval.

19. Secondly, that the one declared punishment for rebellion should be the confiscation to the state of proprietory rights, and the bar of personal property in the soil.

I have already said, that this is a punishment which has been repeatedly enforced against rebels in India, as well by native rulers as by the British government. It is one which admits of being easily tempered and relaxed with more or less of lenity, according as the expectation of pain or mercy, and the past or future conduct of the persons to be punished, may prescribe. It in no way affects the honour of the most sensitive Rajpoor or Brahmin. It would provide the government with the means of rewarding, in the manner which is most acceptable to the natives of India, the services of those who should be found to deserve reward. It would tend to the final settlement of many of those disputes respecting landed rights, which have been the source of so much strife and animosity in Oude.

20. Finally, I came to the conclusion, that if a proclamation were issued at Lucknow (a point upon which I entertained doubts up to the last moment), it should be one not threatening confiscation as a possible contingency, but declaring it, pointing out, however, the means by which relaxation and indulgence might be obtained; and, further, that no attempt should be made to indicate the measure of relaxation and indulgence which might be conceded in particular cases.

21. I will offer a few words in explanation of these last points.

I believe that the issue of proclamations is not the surest or safest mode of influencing the natives of India. The experience of the past year has furnished examples of the ingenuity with which the meaning of such documents can be perverted, or their language misrepresented by the enemies of the state; and it is a fact, several instances of which have come to my knowledge of late, that the word of an English officer of the government, even though a stranger, is more trusted than a printed paper. I should therefore have preferred to take, in Oude, the course which was afterwards taken in Rohicund, and to place instructions in the hands of the officers attached to the columns which marched through the country, leaving it to them to carry out those instructions, and to explain in each district through which they passed, the spirit in which the government desired to deal with the people. But I knew it to be very probable that no columns would be available for the purpose in Oude, and that in that case, much time might elapse before English officers would be able to penetrate the province. I therefore had recourse to a proclamation which might be disseminated by native agency.

22. That proclamation was made to declare the confiscation, and not to threaten it, because the natives of India, while they attach much weight to a distinct and actual order of the government, attach very little to a vague threat, whether conveyed by proclamation or otherwise; while it might safely be assumed, that the spirit in which the clause treating of indulgence would be carried on in the districts which should be recovered, would gradually become known throughout the province, and have conciliatory effect.

Precaution was taken against perversion and mistranslation by publishing in the first instance none but vernacular copies of the proclamation.

23. I have said that the proclamation should not attempt to point out the different measures of
indulgence which would be conceded in different cases. This and some other preceding observations will be best explained by a brief reference to the recent condition of the talookdars and other landholders, as regards their rights in the soil. When we assume the government of Oude, in 1856 the greater part of the province was held by talookdars, who represented its aristocracy. They have been called the barons of Oude; but this term, applied to them as a class, is misleading. Some had received titles from the kings of Oude, for services rendered, or by court favour. Some few are the representatives of ancient families, but the majority are men distinguished neither by birth, good service, nor connexion with the soil; who, having held office under the native government as nazims (i.e., governors), or chuckeldars (i.e., collectors of government rents), or having formed the revenue department, had taken advantage of the weakness of the native government and its indifference to all considerations of justice so long as it received revenue; had abused the authority confided to them by that government; and by means of deeds of sale, sometimes extended by violence, sometimes obtained honestly, had become the nominal proprietors and the actual possessors of the villages, or the majority of the villages, which formed what they called their talookdars, or estates.

28. Owing to the ascendancy which the men of this class acquired, the weakness of the native government, the venality of the courts, and the absence of justice, the condition of the actual occupants of the soil of the province was one of unparalleled depression. Their rights had ceased to exist, or were reduced to a mere shadow; they could get no redress from the government; they were completely in the power of the talookdars, and were subject to every kind of oppression, tyranny, and exaction. In numbersless instances they were compelled by the talookdars to execute deeds of sale, alienating whatever proprietary right they nominally possessed, and they lay at the mercy of the sect, for the practical fruition of proprietary right they had scarcely known.

29. Such being the condition of things in Oude, the government of India, perhaps with more of chivalrous justice than political prudence, determined at the time to settle all the landholders by a redistribution of the land in what were believed to be their hereditary rights, and to restore the ancient village communities; and upon the annexation of the country the chief commissioner was instructed to make the settlement of the land revenue with the proprietary occupants of the soil, to the exclusion of middlemen. This instruction was carried into execution in some districts with undue haste, harshly, and upon insufficient evidence; and where this took place injustice was done to the talookdars, some of whom were deprived of villages which had long been in their hands; and their titles to which were not satisfactorily disproved.

"The injustice might, and probably would, have been corrected in making the revised settlement; but this does not excognize or palliate the wrong."

27. The mutinies broke out. It might have been supposed that the first arose in Oude, and before it had grown to a formidable head, the village occupants who had been so highly favoured by the British government, and in justice to whom it had initiated a policy distasteful to the most powerful class in the province, would have come forward in support of the government who had endeavoured to restore them to their hereditary rights, and with whose interests their interests were identical. Such, however, was not the case. So far as I am yet informed, not an individual dared to be loyal to the government which had befriended him. The village occupants, as a body, relapsed into their former subjection to the talookdar, owned and obeyed his authority as if he had been their lawful successor, and joined the ranks of those who rose up in arms against the British government. The endeavour to neutralise the usurped and largely abused power of the talookdars by recognizing the supposed proprietary rights of the people, and thus arousing their feelings of self-interest and evoking their gratitude, had failed utterly.

28. The time arrived when it became necessary to consider how the province should be dealt with upon the re-establishment of our power and authority in its capital. On the one hand was the patent fact that those whom we had desired to benefit, and had to our thinking benefited, did not value the rights which we had restored to them; and that, from far and near, we had obtained the same result in support of the government which had been the means of reviving them, they had acted in complete subordination to the talookdars, and had been no less forward than these latter in their efforts to subvert the authority of that government, and to expel its officers. On the other hand was the no less certain fact that, with but few honourable exceptions, all the talookdars—many who had not suffered in the smallest degree by our fiscal measures, and some who had benefited by them, having been allowed at the settlement to retain all, or nearly all, the villages composing their talookas on reduced assessments—had taken up arms against the British government, had either themselves participated or had sent their retainers to aid in the relentless attacks on the Lucknow residency, had forcibly resumed the occupation of their talookas, and had in many ways manifest their malignant hostility to the British government.

29. In these circumstances, to have recalled the condition of things which existed immediately before the rebellion, whereby renewing the experiment which had been attempted in 1856, and restoring the rights of the occupants over the soil to the position of proprietary landholders, which they had but just proved themselves wholly unfit and unprepared to maintain, would have been to court failure; and, on the other hand, to have reverted to the state of affairs as we found them upon taking possession of the country, and thus to have acknowledged in the talookdars, after they had, as a body, risen in arms against us, and helped to subvert our authority, rights which had been denied, and in most cases justly denied, when our power was unquestioned and unresisted, would have been to concede a victory to rebels and to put a premium on insurrection; a course which would have lowered the character of the government, and destroyed its influence, not only in Oude, but throughout India.
have attended the adjudication of claims to proprietary right in the circumstances that have been briefly described, and which would have hampered the administration at every turn of the surest, the safest, the most politic, and a thoroughly just course seemed to be, to declare the proprietary right in the soil (to whomsoever appertaining, for all classes, as such, had signed equally) confiscated, and to reserve to the Government the right hereafter, disposing of it as might seem fitting, at the same time notifying the intention of the government to show indulgence to those who should tender immediate submission and throw themselves upon its mercy.

"31. I apprehended little difficulty, and, so far as experience has gone, little has, I believe, been found, in explaining to the talookdars and landowners with whom our officers have come in contact, that the 'confiscation' does not necessarily operate as a permanent deprivation of their rights, but that it places in the hands of the government the power of granting, to any person who shall still persist in rebellion, either life, or life and property, or, on the death of the owner, it could be advanced by the majority of those whom the order affected, and of attaching to the estate of the person who had died under such a title and possession.

"32. I have now stated the considerations which led me to frame the proclamation in the form in which it was transmitted to you.

"33. It was sent to Lucknow on the 3rd of March, and on the 10th I received from the chief commissioner, Major-general Sir James Outram, a letter urging a reconsideration of the terms of the proclamation, mainly on the ground that it would render hopeless the attempt to enlist the talookdars on the side of order, and would drive them to a disorderly course; and recommending that some inducement be given to landholders and chiefs as had not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans, should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possession, subject to such restrictions as would protect their dependents from oppression.

"34. This letter, and the reply to it, including the additional paragraph which Sir James Outram's opinion of the light in which the talookdars and the chiefs would view the proclamation induced me to add thereto, are before your honourable committee.

"35. I will not trouble your honourable committee with a recapitulation of the reasons which appeared to me to forbid the adoption of Sir James Outram's suggestion; but lest your honourable committee should suppose that I was without any previous expression of Sir James Outram's opinion on the subject, I wish to state, that the unfavourable views taken by that distinguished officer of the substance of the proclamation, was a cause of much disappointment to me.

"36. A very few weeks previously the chief commissioner had sent to the government of India an elaborate memorandum upon the system of civil administration to be adopted for Oude after Lucknow should be subjugated. In this memorandum, dated the 10th of January, 1858, are the following passages:

"'The system of settlement with so-called village proprietors will not answer at present, if ever, in Oude. 'These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us should be largely confiscated, in order, among other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable: But I see no prospect of returning tranquillity, except by having recourse for the next few years to the old talookdaree system.

"'Talookdars should only be given to men who have actively aided us, or who, having been inactive, now evince a true willingness to serve us, and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value.'

"37. Subject to the understanding that even to those who had been most active against us indulgence should be extended upon their making prompt and complete submission, these opinions accorded exactly with my own; for I was aware that there might easily be difference of opinion as to the mode of announcing and of carrying out punishment by confiscation, it did not occur to me that any such divergence of views as was subsequently intimated in the chief commissioner's letter of the 6th of March could occur between us. The belief therein expressed, that there are not a dozen landholders in the province who have not borne arms against us, seemed to go far towards justifying the general and sweeping terms of the proclamation, to which alone I expected any objection on Sir James Outram's part.

"38. I afterwards had occasion to send my military secretary, Colonel Stuart, to head-quarters, and I took the opportunity to explain to the chief commissioner that I wished him to give the most liberal interpretation to the proclamation; that, for instance, the proclamation left it free to notify any talookdar who was deserving of consideration, that if he made submission and supported the government, the confiscation of his lands would not take effect, and that his claims to property of which he might have been deprived on that score, the government of the province would be reheard; and that in the case of those having been resumed by him, he might retain them till the rehearing.

"39. On the 3rd of April, Major-general Sir James Outram being about to take the seat in council at Calcutta, Mr. Montgomery succeeded to the chief commissionership of Oude.

"40. Mr. Montgomery had, at my request, done me the favour of visiting Allahabad before going to Lucknow, in order that I might have an opportunity of communicating with him upon the discharge of his new duties.

"'I impressed upon the new chief commissioner, my wish that his dealings with the chief rebels should be as conciliatory as might be consistent with the dignity of the government, and that he should treat liberally and generously all those who tendered their allegiance and gave support to his authority. Mr. Montgomery expressed his intention to take this matter into his own personal management.

"41. On the 26th of April the chief commissioner wrote to me, in an unofficial letter, as follows:

"'I enclose a memorandum just given me by Captain Barrow, which will show your lordship the names of talookdars who have attended in person or by vakel. Generally speaking, indeed favorably,
the feeling shown by the men who come in is excellent. They express great sorrow at the past, and seem grateful for the consideration shown to them.'

"A copy of the memorandum is enclosed." It contains the names of twenty-six chiefs of note and influence, in various quarters, some of them at a great distance from Lucknow, who had either openly tendered their allegiance to the government or had taken the first steps towards doing so. So far as I am aware, only one of these has swerved from his first intention."

"At the date of this memorandum, little more than a month elapsed since the first appearance of the proclamation in Lucknow."

"42. On the 22nd of May, the chief commissioner sent me a further memorandum from Captain Barrow, which is also under this cover."

"It describes the progress made and the state of feeling as follows:"

"It is right, however, that I should observe, that of the three powerful talookdars named in this memorandum, one only (Maul Singh) has sided with us actively. Of the other two, one (Madhoo Sing) is inactive, and the other (Beni Madho) is in arms against us."

"43. From this last date the chief commissioner has furnished weekly reports, which have been forwarded to your honourable committee in regular course."

"44. Lately these have become less favourable. The rebels, under the leadership in some cases of told as Munsap, close to Lucknow, have threatened, and in some places destroyed, the civil stations which we had established, and have killed some of the native guards. But I am not, neither is the chief commissioner of Oude, disheartened by a temporary check in the progress which had been rapidly achieved."

"In a letter received from Mr. Montgomery as I am writing, that gentleman says:"

"I had settled some 6,000 villages, and every-thing was progressing most favourably, when a combination of circumstances prevented the progress of the settlement."'

"But he adds:"

"I still say that the mass of the people are well inclined to us. I get secret letters and messages; but they dare not come forward in the face of the armed bodies which are hostile to us."

"45. In an earlier part of this despatch I had occasion to speak of these bodies, which, although without cohesion and combination, are none the less capable of intimidating and persecuting those whom they believe to be well-disposed towards the government. They have latterly been greatly aided in this by the influx of fugitives from Rohilcund and Calpee, who have either joined them or set up as independent marauders."

"46. I never expected it to be otherwise. I never expected that, with the capture and occupation of Lucknow, the province would become submissive; and my anticipation of the contrary is recorded in the letter which, on the 16th of January, the governor-general in council addressed to the commander-in-chief, recommending that his excellency's operations should, notwithstanding, be directed against Lucknow. Those operations were carried out with a skill, bravery, and success which have been the admiration of the world. But it is no disparagement of the work of the great soldier who achieved that success, to say that the chastisement thereby inflicted upon the loose bands of mutineers, rebels, and plunderers, who were collected in and about the city, was not such as to expel them from the limits of the province, or to deter them from persevering in their work of murder and pillage in other districts of it."

"47. It is not in reason that, what with the pressure of the mutinous sepoys, now congregated in various parts of the province on the one hand, and the arts and threats of desperate adventurers acting as leaders on the other, violence and rebellion should not be kept alive, and that those who are well inclined to make their peace with the government should not thereby be deterred from doing so."

"48. No man is better acquainted with the eastern districts of Oude and their inhabitants than Mr. Wingfield, who is at present acting on that frontier of the province as special commissioner of Goruckpore. Writing on the 6th of June, Mr. Wingfield says:"

"Unsupported by the presence of British troops, there are many talookdars who, to my certain knowledge, are deterred from tendering their allegiance, which is the rulers wish. But the garrison of Lucknow only been distributed about the provinces, three-fourths of the talookdars would, under the promises held out by the proclamation, have been entirely on our side by this time."

"Unfortunately, the garrison of Lucknow could not be spared, nor any body of troops at all approaching it in strength."

"49. But when the season shall arrive at which the troops can again move rapidly over the country, when the large police force now being raised by the chief commissioner at Lucknow shall have reached its complement and received further organisation, and when it shall be manifest that we have the means of protecting or supporting those who return to their allegiance, I cannot doubt that the spirit in which the proclamation has been accepted in many quarters will declare itself generally throughout the province."

"50. I have now described to your honourable committee the whole course of my proceedings with regard to the proclamation of the 16th of March. I have at the same time explained the policy which has guided me, and I have informed you generally of its results."

"I respectfully await your judgment."

"I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, honourable sirs, your most faithful, humble servant,"

"Allahabad, June 17th. CANNING."
7. To attempt to define more precisely the conditions and degrees according to which indulgence should be awarded and punishment tempered, appeared to me most inexpedient. It would, I submits, have been inexpedient to put into the proclamation any mitigating or conciliatory words, to this effect without incurring the greatest risk of raising false hopes and giving ground for mistaken claims, the disappointment of which hereafter would have gone far to confirm in the minds of many the reproach which the rebel leaders had calculated against the English government of a want of good faith, a reproach to which no colour or shadow of truth shall ever be given by any act of mine.

8. I therefore left the way of escape and the amount of obtainable indulgence to be learned from the treatment which those who should first come in would receive. No explanation in words would have been so certain to spread through the country with little chance of perversion as this. No other course would have left the government so free to use wise discrimination in the remission of punishment.

9. Your honourable court will of course bear in mind that the proclamation was addressed to a province in arms, throughout which we had not at that time a surviving friend or interest to defend, much more general and indiscriminate dispossession than could have been consistent with justice or with policy.

Undoubtedly this is so. But it was not without deliberation that, in framing the proclamation, I endeavoured to meet the question of the distribution of the首饰 among the court of the secret committee. I will take leave to add a further brief explanation upon it. I have said that it is in the nature of those to whom the proclamation was addressed to care very little for the threats, but to have a great respect for the distinct orders of superior authority. A rebel landlord, to whom no more should be said than that if he did not make submission soon his rights would be liable to confiscation, would be likely to trust for his escape to the chapter of accidents, and to the chance of avoiding or defeating criminal evidence, and so to delay submission and cling to the cause of those whose immediate influence might be nearest and strongest. Whereas, if he should be made to feel that the withdrawal of his rights is already decreed, that it only remains for the executive officers to give effect to it by placing another proprietor in possession, and that the best hope left to him is to work out as large a claim to professed indulgence as possible while there is yet time, his manifestation of allegiance would assuredly be quickened.

It was my business to consider what would most stimulate and hasten a return to peace and loyalty on the part of those addressed; and I was of opinion that this would best be done by making it clear and plain that the rewards actually conferred for fidelity were very large; that the punishment nominally declared for rebellion was very heavy, but that, from this punishment a door of escape was still open.

CANNING.

It has already been observed, that before these despatches reached England, the sovereignty of the East India Company had passed away, and was numbered among the things which had been.

On the 9th of August, the Court of
Directors, in exercise of the privilege accorded to it by the 8th section of the act by which their territorial and political existence was brought to a close, elected seven of their members—namely, Sir James Weir Hogg, Charles Mills, John Shepherd, Elliot Macnaghten, Ross Donelly Mangles, William Joseph Eastwick, and Henry Thoby Prinsep, Esqrs., to be members of the first council for India—the remaining eight seats at the council-table being nominees of the crown. On Thursday, September 2nd, the last official meeting of the Court of Directors was held at its house in Leadenhall-street, its final act being an expression of recognition of the faithful services of its officers and dependents. This duty performed, the court was formally dissolved; and, as the clocks of the metropolis struck the hour of noon, the once imperial potency of the East India Company became a tradition of the past.

On the following day (Friday, September 3rd), the Indian council, incorporated under the act of 21st and 22nd Victoria, assembled for the first time at the India House, in Leadenhall-street, in the chamber wherein, for many years, the Court of Directors had been accustomed to hold their councils. Shortly after two o’clock, Lord Stanley, secretary of state for India, and president of the council, took his seat, and announced, in the first place, the names of the eight members whom her majesty had been pleased to nominate to the council of India—viz., Sir John L. M. Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B.;* Sir Frederick Currie, Bart.; Sir Henry C. Montgomery, Bart.; Major-general Sir Robert J. Vivian, K.C.B.; Colonel Sir Proby T. Countley, K.C.B.; Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B.; and John P. Willoughby, and William Arbuthnot, Esqra. The remainder of the initiatory sitting was chiefly occupied in arranging the order of future proceedings, the division of the council into committees for the more convenient and effectual transaction of business, and the nomination of a vice-president; for which office Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., the late chairman of the East India Company, was selected.

The council was required, by the act of incorporation, to meet at least weekly. According to a provision in the act, the secretaries and other officers and servants on the home establishment of the Company in

* Sir John Lawrence had not yet arrived in England.

Leadenhall-street, and on that of the commissioners for the affairs in India, in Cannon-row, immediately before the commencement of the act, were, in the first instance, to form the establishment of the secretary of state in council; who was empowered, with all convenient speed, to make such arrangements and reductions in the two establishments as should seem to him consistent with the due discharge of the public business. Carrying out the directions of the statute in that respect, Sir J. C. Melvill and Mr. Leach—the former acting in the interest of the establishment in Leadenhall-street, and the latter in that of the Board of Control—had, by the direction of the secretary of state for India, prepared a scheme for the consolidation of the two establishments, and a scale of retiring pensions for the officials in the several departments, whose services were no longer required under the new state of things, or who might wish to retire—reference being had in every case to length of service. The scheme recommended, that the period of service entitling the Company’s servants to retire on full pay, should be reduced from fifty to forty-five years; and that three-fourths of the salary should be allowed after thirty years’ service, and two-thirds after twenty years.

And thus ends a chapter in the world’s history, which will remain a record of one of the most remarkable transitions from the very apex of human power, to a condition of comparative obscurity, that the world has ever produced in its wildest mutations. The East India Company, which for nearly two centuries had been growing until it reached imperial dimensions, had now peaceably, and almost without a murmur, put off its greatness, and, in its political character, descended to the tomb. As its career was without a parallel, so its fate was without a precedent. Only once in history has an empire been acquired by men who, at home, were without authority: only once has an imperial power, successful against all external foes, and victorious over all internal treason, been destroyed by a constitutional decree. It is not wonderful, that a power so great, so magnificent, and yet so accessible to the voice of reason, should disappear amidst the plaudits of mankind, or that the very parliament by which it was sentenced to die, should gracefully and admiringly strew flowers on its grave.
CHAPTER XVII

PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION; CONDITION OF THE REBEL FORCES; ATTACK ON POWRIES; MANA SABIR; MEETING OF ZEMINDARS AT RANPUR; DEFEAT OF INSURGENTS AT SIKIMPORE; APPROACH OF THE COLD SEASON; PROBABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CAMPAIGN IN OUDH; STRENGTH OF THE CONFEDERATED TROOPS; OFFICIAL MEMORANDA; DEPARTURE OF THE HEAD-QUARTERS' DIVISION FROM ALLAMANDA; STATE OF CENTRAL INDIA; TANTIA TOPE, AND THE NAWAB OF BANDA; THE QUEEN'S GOVERNMENT IN INDIA PROCLAIMED; CEREMONIALS OBSERVED AT CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, ETC.; CONGRATULATORY ADDRESSES; OPINIONS OF THE INDIAN PRESS; LAST ACT OF THE COMPANY IN INDIA.

The successful operations of the British troops against the rebellious armies of Hindostan, have already been traced, in the progress of this work, up to the commencement of the rainy season of 1858. We have now, therefore, to resume and continue the details of further triumphs over the numerous and isolated bands of insurgents, by whom many of the fairest provinces of India were still ravaged and devastated.

At the end of June, the state of matters, as connected with the revolt, was as follows. The enemy in Rohilkund was powerless: the queen of Oude's army, dispirited by continuous defeat and by harassing flight, felt that it had but a few more months of respite before its annihilation: the talookdars of Oude, generally, had been either terrified into submission, or were anxiously awaiting the appearance of a British force to deliver them from the oppression of the insurgent troops: Allahabad and Agra, with the surrounding districts, were slowly settling down to a state of renewed submission: the Gwalior contingent had been finally crushed; and, notwithstanding some treasonable attempts, by emissaries of the Nana, to tamper with the troops of the maharajah (but which, fortunately, were discovered and punished), Scindia was firmly seated in his hereditary state. In Oudo, and in the direction of the Punjab, apprehensions of bodings mischief were entertained; but, in the latter province, it was in connection with the Sikh levies of 75,000 men, raised by Sir John Lawrence to aid in suppressing the sepoy rebellion, that the cause for discretion arose—a doubt having been raised, upon grounds that do not appear to have been substantiated, that the hardy warriors by whose aid so much had been accomplished, might think fit to consider that they had reconquered India for themselves, and not for the Europeans. However this might be as to probability, it was deemed necessary by the authorities, to occupy the districts recovered by them more completely with European troops, and to keep a vigilant eye upon the Sikhs, who were intermingled in detachments with the British garrisons, and, whether justly or not, were now regarded with suspicion.

In Central India, the Gwalior rebels, under Tantia Topee and the Banda nawab, had, on the 26th of August, surrounded the town of Jhalra Patun, and taken possession of it after a feeble resistance, most of the troops of the nawab joining them. They levied heavy contributions on the town, and took possession of all the treasure, guns, and munitions of war belonging to the chief of the district, and then marched, with twenty-four guns, in the direction of Rampore. General Michel, with the Mhow field force, went in pursuit, and, on the 15th of September, came up with the enemy, whom he attacked and defeated near Heore, with the loss of most of their guns. On the 5th of the same month, Colonel Roberts, with 200 cavalry and 300 infantry, also totally defeated a body of rebels between Gwalior and Goopjerah; 450 dead bodies being left on the field. The British loss consisted of one officer, of H.M.'s 9th regiment, killed; four officers wounded; and four rank and file killed, and ten wounded.

Numerous opportunities occurred during the interval between the close of the hot, and the return of the cold season, for exhibiting the superiority of the European and loyal native troops over the rebellious forces, under their various leaders. Among other instances, a spirited affair may be noticed, which took place at Powrie—a fortified town a few miles west of Gwalior, into which a rebellious chief, named Man Sing, had thrown himself, and became troublesome by presenting a focus for the concentration of the insurrectionary spirit of the surrounding districts. To put an end to his capability for mischief, a brigade, under Colonel Smith, was dispatched, to compel
him to retire from his position; and, as he refused to listen to any terms of pacific arrangement, nothing remained but to enforce his surrender. Some heavy guns, accompanied by a reinforcement under Brigadier-general Napier, were consequently sent for from Gwalior; but this accession to Smith's forces, which already consisted of 100 men of her majesty's 86th regiment, 200 of the 26th Bombay native infantry, and some irregular cavalry, artillery, and engineers, although it made the force before Powrie of imposing dimensions, was still inadequate to surround the place: and thus, while on one side batteries were erected; on the other, a difficult piece of ground, intersected by deep ravines and covered with thick jungle, remained available for the retreat of the enemy when they chose to avail themselves of the facility. On the 20th of August the whole force took up a concentrated position near the fort; mortars were placed in position, and a vigorous shelling was kept up on the works. A breaching battery was likewise commenced within 300 yards of the walls—the 95th, with their Enfields, keeping up a galling fire, at 400 yards, on the besieged wherever they showed themselves. The enemy replied actively with musketry and round shot; and Captain Fisher, of the 95th, was shot through the body, but not mortally. The breaching battery was complete on the morning of the 22nd, but became useless; for, in the night, the rebels had fled through the ravines and jungle, taking with them two guns. Colonel Smith's brigade started in pursuit immediately it was known that the rebels had fled south-west to Bajghur, half-way between Indore and Powrie. After a march of twenty-two miles through thick jungle during the day, the force came up with the enemy's camp, which had just been evacuated. The retreat had been so precipitate that the two guns were abandoned, and were found by Colonel Smith in a tank. The force, unable to follow the fugitives through an almost trackless jungle, returned to Powrie on the 23rd. General Napier, however, desirous of catching some of the rebels, sent out another force, comprising part of the 10th and 26th Bombay native infantry, 200 European infantry of the 86th and 95th, and four field guns, part of Mead's troop. These left Powrie by forced marches on the 27th of August; previous to which, all the fort guns, seventeen in number, were destroyed, and part of the strongest side of the works was dismantled and blown up; and so rested the campaign in that part of Central India.

There were expeditions, also, from Jhansi, in the direction of Goona, which were attended with a considerable amount of success. Towards the end of August, two columns were sent out from the scene of Sir Hugh Rose's triumphs—one of them to Mynapore. This column consisted of detachments from the 3rd Europeans and 4th Bombay native infantry, with two guns of the Bhopaul contingent, and fifty 3rd light cavalry, under Captain Montrevir, of the 24th Bombay native infantry. The force was divided; and the 24th, with the cavalry, had the good fortune to fall in with the enemy, and kill a number of them near Mynapore, before the others came up. The second column went out westward, towards Goona, under the command of Colonel Liddell, but had no opportunity of meeting with the enemy.

In Oude, the hunt after rebels was equally vigorous. Sir Hope Grant, having relieved Fyzabad on the 6th of August, marched to Sultanapore, where lay 18,000 of the enemy, under Baneis Madhoo and other chiefs. He occupied the right portion or cantonment without opposition, and subsequently crossed the Goomtee, driving the main body of rebels up the country to the north-east; whilst some descended the stream, and threatened to cross into Shahabad and Behar. Several steamers, however, were sent from Dinapore up to Bulleah, to stop the passage of the Ganges; and all boats that could be found were destroyed.

The rebels, thus ousted from Fyzabad and Sultanapore, appeared to have scattered themselves over the country; large bodies of them finding their way into Shahabad and Behar, in which provinces the restoration of order seemed to be a work beyond the combined powers of the governor-general and commander-in-chief. The rebels, unencumbered with baggage, and assisted and encouraged everywhere by the people, easily eluded the troops, who wore out their strength in fruitless marches. Koer Singh's nephew, again in his home at Juggadespor, was at the same time fortifying it, and collecting men and ammunition with marvellous success. The project of levelling the formidable jungle had been abandoned, and, consequently, a secure retreat was ever ready for the marauders. It was now thought that the plan of the ensuing campaign
would be to invade Oude with numerous small, compact columns, who might take in detail the numerous forts scattered over the country, which might not be a difficult task; for the natives had imbibed a wholesome dread of those small forts, knowing that, once surrounded, they were sure to be taken, and all the defenders bayoneted. Nor was it likely that Sir Colin would meet a large rebel army in the field. He might probably have to engage in a guerrilla warfare, which, though terribly harassing to European troops, would not prevent the country from being occupied by numerous and strong posts, and then its pacification must depend upon the completeness of the disarming process. There was at this time little doubt that the Hindoo population of Oude, with the exception of the sepoys, was tired of anarchy, and would gladly purchase peace at any price. The leaders, however, distrusted all promises, and cautiously offered their submission in writing. The Musulmans of course hated the infidels, and would do so to the end of the chapter.

Even those that were passively submissive, maintained a dogged, sullen demeanour, and took no pains to conceal their dislike. But they formed the majority of the population, and would, perhaps, at once have yielded, could the Hindoos have been persuaded to surrender.

At the beginning of September, information was received that the Nana had secreted himself about thirteen miles from Dhorghuree, in Oude, in a jungle of bamboo. His companions were stated to be Bala, Raba Bhat, Oodgir, Aboo Dhanwuh Dheree, Rannoo Tanitia, Gangadur Tanitia, Baboo Khan Kuttay, Shah Ali, Ahmedools, and Mahomed Ishaq, of Shahjehanpore. The number of his personal adherents had much decreased since the defeat of the insurgents at Kaezeungee; but it was stated that he had still some 2,200 bumdashes hanging about him.

A spirited affair occurred near Lucknow, in which Mr. Kavanagh, who had rendered eminent service upon the advance of Sir Colin Campbell to that city in the previous November,* and, in consequence, had been appointed to the civil charge of the district of Muhiabad, again distinguished himself under the following circumstances:—On the 10th of September, this gentleman, accompanied by Captain Dawson and a body of 560 military police, proceeded to meet an assemblage of seminarians, who had assembled together at Bahmnsabad. One of the chief men of the district professed to be anxious to assist the English officers in restoring an influential seminarian among them to his right position, and was, consequently, in communication with the advancing party. The police had scarcely reached half-way to the scene of meeting, when a message was received by Captain Dawson from his friend, announcing that the aspect of affairs had suddenly become serious; the discontented portion of the gathering having been strongly augmented, and mustering at least 3,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry. Undeterred by this information, the police force quietly advanced until within a mile of the town, when the enemy's cavalry was observed manoeuvring in front of their line. As the chance of success depended upon prompt and vigorous action, Captain Dawson instantly charged the enemy, who, after a faint show of defence, broke, and fled into the town, from which they were driven street by street. At one corner a gun, placed in a good position, suddenly opened upon the pursuing party; but, as they came near, it was withdrawn. Determined, however, to secure this, the police dashed after it, and, notwithstanding a heavy fire from loopholed walls, succeeded in reaching it as it was being drawn through a fortified gateway, and, cutting down the gunners, took possession of the trophy. The traces of the draught cattle having been cut in the melée, the animals had taken to flight; and the captors, who were exposed to a terrific fire, were compelled to withdraw it by hand to a position where it could be used with effect upon its late possessors. The principal buildings of the place were by this time in the possession of the police force, with the exception of the gate-house, the massive doors of which were speedily battered down, and the rebels within then surrendered on promise of their lives. In this brilliant little affair, the English had twelve killed and sixteen wounded; while the loss on the side of the enemy was seventy killed, twenty-six wounded, and twenty-five prisoners. The troops of the professedly friendly chief, who had marched out with the police to assist them, fled the moment the firing commenced, and only reappeared when the victory was secure; and their chief, Burrud Sing, who had given the information to the first instance, did not show himself at all until the troops were in full possession of

* See ante, p. 94.
the place, when he made his salams, and
applied for an escort to protect him. This
victory, although a minor affair as com-
pared with the operations of a campaign,
was nevertheless important in its influence
upon the native mind, since it showed the
people of Oude what even raw levies, under
English discipline and command, could
effect without either guns or cavalry; 550
newly-raised military policemen having
driven upwards of 4,000 armed rebels,
providing with cavalry and artillery, out of an
easily defensible town, where the buildings
were loopholed, and almost every house had
been converted into a fortress.

A letter from Lucknow, of the 26th of
September, gave the following account of a
conflict with the rebels at Selimpora, a
town about twenty miles from the former
city. The writer says—"Since my last, we
have had a splendid fight, and killed a very
large number of the enemy. On Wednesday,
intelligence was received of the ap-
proach of a large number of rebels, about
8,000, under Mooshiba Ally, in the direc-
tion of Gooshagungunj. At nine o'clock
that same evening, a force moved out from
Lucknow, consisting of portions of H.M.'s
88th and 23rd regiments, police cavalry,
and a horse battery. I have not been able
to ascertain who took the command. On
Thursday morning, the booming of our
guns was distinctly audible, and the fire
was kept up till about 11 A.M. We were
all anxiously looking out for the news of
the encounter; for we all made sure that
our troops were having a brush with the
enemy; but it was not till the following
day (Friday) that we became aware of the
magnificence of our victory. From the
hurried and disjointed accounts which I
have yet heard, it appears that our troops
came upon the enemy very suddenly on
Thursday morning. He had taken posses-
sion of a fort on the river side, which, from
its position, presented natural obstacles
to storming, and was decidedly a good
stronghold. Our guns were brought within
400 yards of this fort, and a hot fire opened
on the enemy's batteries. Of course this
caused much confusion among the Pandies,
and some loss also, as we had treated them
to shell as well as shot. The infantry were
then brought forward; and, with a gallant
rush, notwithstanding every obstacle, they
carried the place, and then began the work
of bayonet and cartridge. Every house
within this enclosure was filled with armed
men, and not a single one was permitted to
escape. Our fellows did the work splen-
didly. It was one series of shooting and
bayonetting; and when it is considered
that it took nearly three hours to complete
the affair, after the storming, we may well
suppose the slaughter was immense. Seven
hundred of the enemy, at the lowest com-
putation, were killed within the enclosure,
besides those who had remained out of the
fort, and who, in their flight, were either
killed by the cavalry or drowned in the
Goomees. The fort of Selimpora, where
the action took place, is about twenty miles
from Lucknow, on the way to Gooshagun-
gunj, towards the south-east. This affair
will, no doubt, give a proper lesson to those
leaders who have lately been disturbing the
peace of the Lucknow district; and who
will now, I am inclined to think, beat a re-
treat in the direction of Gonda, or some
other trans-Gogra district. Our loss on
this occasion was, I hear, very light; four
soldiers killed and seven wounded." The
writer further says—"The other day, two
officers took a rather longer ride than usual
into the country, beyond cantonments.
They were encountered by two of the
enemy's sowars, who, had, no doubt, left
their picket with the view of reconnoitring.
The sowars discharged their carbines at
our two heroes, and one of the latter nar-
rrowly escaped being killed, as the ball
grazed his shoulders. The sowars, seeing
that their fire had proved useless, and fear-
ing a return of the compliment, turned
round and bolted. The officers gave chase,
and at last came up to the scoundrels.
They did not polish them off with their
revolvers, but took them prisoners, and led
them back to Lucknow, where they will be
hanged."

At length the month of October arrived;
and, with the cold season, indications of
movements preparatory to the ensuing cam-
paign, became visible on all sides. The plans
of the commander-in-chief, in accordance
with his usual habit, were known only to
himself, until the moment should arrive for
their prudent development; but among the
officers of his staff, the campaign was under-
stood as not likely to be on an extended
scale. Large bodies of troops, it was as-
sumed, were to be collected at different
points, rather to circumscribe the area, or
operations, than to share in them—the
actual work of clearing Oude being entrusted
to two columns, which would enter the