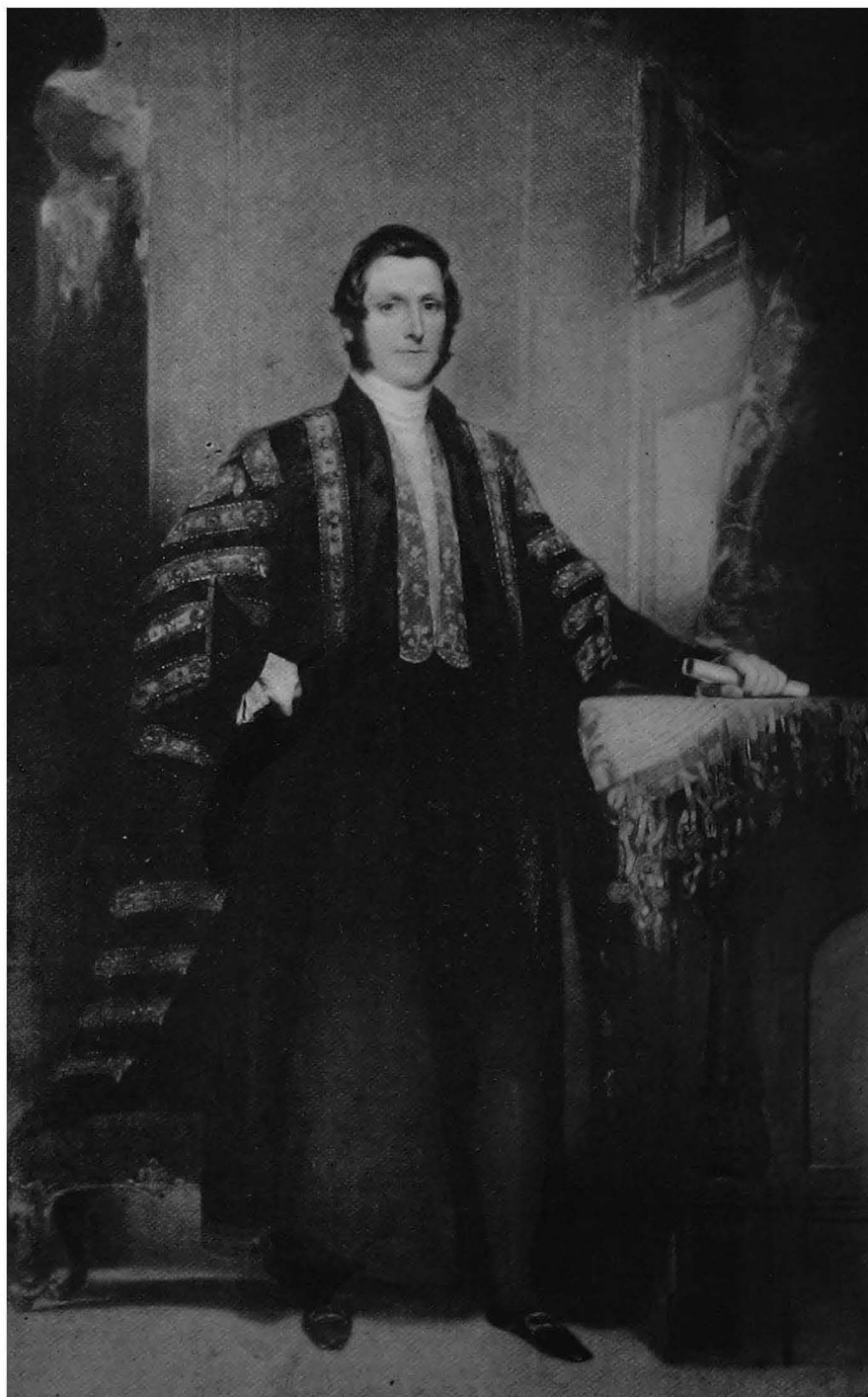


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Private Letters of the
Marquess of Dalhousie



THE MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE, K.T.
(From a Painting by Sir J. Watson Gordon, R.A., 1847.)

Private Letters
of the
Marquess of Dalhousie

EDITED BY

J. G. A. BAIRD

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

SECOND IMPRESSION

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INTRODUCTION.

By a codicil to his will, couched in solemn words, the Marquess of Dalhousie forbade the publication of his private papers until a period of fifty years had passed from the time of his death. Those fifty years have come and gone, and there appears to be no reason why the present generation should be any longer denied the privilege of looking more closely into the career, and seeing more clearly the character, of a man whose life is an enduring example of talent devoted to the service of his country, and of duty done to the utmost, with full knowledge of the consequences to himself which that utmost would surely bring.

Fully to understand the character of a great man whose life has become part of a nation's history, and the motives which governed his actions; clearly to discern the secret of his success or of his failure, and to perceive where human nature triumphed or was overcome by force of will, needs something more than a mere chronicle of his actions and their results, near or remote. This need is supplied in some cases by autobiography or confessions; in others, by diaries or private letters.

The letters contained in this volume were written by Lord Dalhousie to Sir George Couper, Bart., his oldest and dearest friend, though twenty-four years his senior. Captain Couper of the 92nd Highlanders, as he then was, had been A.D.C. to his father, General the Earl of Dalhousie, in the Peninsula, 1812-1814, and won promotion at Vittoria. He

then served in the American War, and was present at the battle of New Orleans, after which he rejoined his General's staff in Nova Scotia, subsequently serving on that of Sir James Kempt, who succeeded him, and whose name is frequently mentioned in the correspondence. He was military secretary to Lord Durham, Governor-General of Canada, and afterwards Comptroller of the Household and Equerry to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent, holding that post till the end of his life. He and Fox Maule (afterwards Lord Panmure) were Lord Dalhousie's most favoured correspondents. The letter of September 18th, 1849, contains the following passage: "I write to you and Fox Maule—my oldest friend, my nearest kinsman,—I have already told you I keep you as a safety-valve through which I have a right to blow off feelings which I can express to no one in India but my wife, and do express to no one in Europe but your two selves." Again, on January 15th, 1853: "In parting with this topic, let me add that these remarks are made to the confidence of an old friend alone. They have never been penned or uttered before to mortal except to my wife." Other passages might be cited to the same effect, but those above are enough to show that, with the exception of the diaries which Lord Dalhousie kept from boyhood, his letters to Sir George Couper contain more of the man himself than all the rest of his papers put together. In them he liberated his mind, vented his wrath, and freely gave his opinions of men and things—so freely at times, that in order to avoid giving needless pain, certain passages containing strong expressions of censure, written on the spur of the moment, have been withheld. Criticism there is, especially of the conduct of their respective campaigns by Lord Gough and General Godwin; but anger, born of anxiety, quickly passed away, leaving no traces, and neither of these commanders ever forfeited Lord Dalhousie's esteem as gallant soldiers, nor, it is certain, would he have expressed himself as forcibly as he did had he foreseen that these letters might be published.

The Napier controversy stands by itself. The brothers

Charles and William seldom or never forgave, or showed forbearance to any who crossed their path; to interfere with one was to injure both—an unpardonable offence. Though they have long rested in peace, their writings survive, and the prestige of the hero of Miani, and the historian of the Peninsular War, give a seeming authority to their statements, which have too long held the field. Lord Dalhousie despised their personal abuse but could not ignore their attacks on his public policy, insisting only that, provided his case were fully stated, the questions at issue should be left to the public judgment. He clearly saw the chief failing of the brothers, and, writing to another friend in 1857, described it in the following words: "These two Napiers were vineyards on a volcano. They would have been gay and genial but for the perpetual flames bursting out and scorching and blasting all that was good in them."

The main object of publishing these letters being to show Lord Dalhousie not only as a Governor-General but as a man—to let him display his real nature and true character—passages trivial in themselves have been allowed to stand. On the other hand, many allusions to his health, only written because of the constant and anxious inquiries made by Sir George Couper, have been freely omitted; but enough have been left to show how the greater part of his life in India was a continual struggle against pain, weakness, and disease. Omitted also have been many replies to a father anxious for the future of his two sons, both in the service of the East India Company, one a civilian, the other a soldier. Those that remain prove that Lord Dalhousie would not show favour to the sons of his oldest friend unless they deserved it. Under him there was only one road to employment and promotion—by merit, and merit alone. Of the two, George, the elder, ended his distinguished Indian career as Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces, and James rose to high rank in the Indian Army.

During the period 1837-1848, when Lord Dalhousie was

much in London, the letters were neither numerous nor important—there were other means of communication; but after his arrival in India he wrote by every mail except when at sea. Easily read, they were evidently written rapidly and without hesitation, and there are few corrections. The spelling of proper names according to the method then in vogue has been left as it stood, except when uniformity seemed desirable.

Notes have been inserted in the text for the convenience of readers wherever possible, and for their assistance a brief sketch of the life of the future Governor-General up to the time of his departure for India is here appended. Fuller particulars will be found in 'The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie,' by Sir William Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I., published in 1904.

James Andrew Broun Ramsay, third son of George, ninth Earl of Dalhousie, was born at Dalhousie Castle on April 22nd, 1812. His father, a distinguished soldier and a high-minded honourable man, rose to high rank and position in his country's service. He commanded the 7th Division in the Peninsular War, 1812-1814, sharing in the crowning triumph of Vittoria; was afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Canada, and ended his public career as Commander-in-Chief in India. His mother, Christian Broun, only child of Charles Broun of Colstoun, in East Lothian, was a woman in whom great natural gifts were combined with an unusual variety of acquirements. Never was a son more blest in his parents; never were the characters of parents more faithfully reflected in that of a son. From them he inherited those qualities which formed the foundations of his own character, carried him through many an hour of stress and difficulty, and enabled him to bear with fortitude the pain and grief which formed a great part of the burden of his life.

At an early age he displayed qualities which distinguished him in after life. His mother perceived them when he was but eight years old. She writes to a friend: "Jem is the

most steady little personage that ever was. If Mr T. is out, James is in the schoolroom at the proper hour—his lessons always prepared before he goes to play, because then, he says, he has nothing to think of. He is certainly a quick child, though not particularly so, but has the best arranged, clearest head I ever met with. Even in common conversation no sophism will entrap him—he at once places everything in its proper place. In short, if it please God to spare him, he seems to be a heaven-born judge." Poor mother, fated not to see the fulfilment of his early promise, she died at the very outset of his career.

The Mr T. alluded to above was his tutor, the Rev. W. Temple, who guided his studies until the time came for him to enter a public school. In 1825 he went to Harrow, to the house of Dr Butler, the headmaster. The Rev. H. Drury, D.D., better known there as Harry Drury, a famous scholar in his day, was his classical teacher, and gave him a preference for Greek and Latin over every other branch of learning—mathematics he always hated. At Harrow he remained for two years, leaving at the end of 1827. Sir Wm. Lee-Warner says, on the authority of his diary, that he was removed, and hints at irregularities and idleness as a cause of anxiety to his relations and Mr Temple. It may have been so, but neither in Dr Butler's and Mr Temple's letters to his father, nor to each other, is there anything but praise of his conduct and acquirements. He himself writes to his father in December 1827: "I left Harrow for good on the 6th of this month, and after all the wishes for leaving which I have expressed to you, perhaps you will not believe me if I say that I was exceedingly sorry when I did go. I have got on exceedingly well, though perhaps I have not done very much: I had two exercises read over besides my farewell, which is more than the head of the school had." The letters in which he expressed his wish to leave are missing, and so his reasons for so wishing must for the present, at anyrate, remain in doubt. After leaving Harrow he resumed his studies under Mr Temple until he went to Christchurch in 1829, where four years later he took a B.A.

degree, having been prevented from trying for honours by the loss of a term owing to the illness and death of his beloved brother, Lord Ramsay, whom he attended till the end, and whose title he then assumed, his second brother, Charles, having died long before. Soon after leaving Oxford he entered public life as candidate for Edinburgh at the election of 1835, when he was defeated. In the following year he married Lady Susan Hay, eldest daughter of the eighth Marquis of Tweeddale, whose death when nearing the shores of England on her voyage home in 1853 was the supreme trial of his life. In 1837 he was elected Member of Parliament for East Lothian, which event is the subject of the first letter, and took his seat in November of that year. Next March his father died while he was hurrying north from Westminster, whither his duty to his constituents had summoned him from the deathbed. Though deeply grieved, he regarded the death of his father, who was sixty-eight, and whose health had completely failed, as a happy release; but within a year, in January 1839, he was sorely tried by the death of his mother, who, apparently in perfect health and only fifty-three, died suddenly in Edinburgh in the house of Dean Ramsay. In the same year he became a member of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and took part in the proceedings which led to the Disruption, but when Dr Chalmers's motion in favour of congregational veto was carried he felt it his duty to resign his membership. He soon began to take a prominent part in debate in the House of Lords, and in January 1843 received his first public appointment as Captain of Deal Castle from the Duke of Wellington. In May, Sir Robert Peel gave him the post of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, under Mr Gladstone,—an office which brought with it more than enough of exacting labour, for, in addition to its ordinary business, there fell upon his shoulders the task of dealing with the flood of Railway bills which then inundated Parliament. Early in 1845, when Gladstone left the Government, he was offered and accepted the Presi-

dency. At the end of that year Peel resigned, but soon after returned to office, and Lord Dalhousie went back to the Board of Trade with a seat in the Cabinet—in his thirty-fourth year. When Peel again resigned, in June 1846, he was offered by Lord John Russell a seat in his Cabinet, which he declined, as he did a subsequent offer of the Presidency of a Railway Board, about to be formed, with a salary of £2000 a-year. This appointment he declined, though a comparatively poor man, because of a condition attached to it which interfered with his liberty of political action. In Opposition he remained until, in July 1847, Lord Hardinge resigned the post of Governor-General of India, which was offered to and accepted by him. The warrant of appointment was signed by the Queen on the 10th of August, and with his wife Lord Dalhousie embarked for India on November 11th, landing at Calcutta on January 12th, 1848. He was then not quite thirty-six.

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APPENDIX A.
MILITARY GAZETTE.

PRESENTATION OF TROPHY GUNS TO LORD DALHOUSIE
BY LORD GOUGH.¹

LORD GOUGH'S ADDRESS.

MY LORD,—I should have regretted the absence of a military display this evening had not Lady Dalhousie and your Lordship kindly acceded to my wishes by meeting the society of Simla for the purpose of receiving these trophies, which I now beg to present to your Lordship in the name and on the behalf of the army of the Punjab.

Your Lordship has publicly recorded your sense of the merits and services of that army during the recent campaign, concluded by the crowning victory of Goojerat, when these trophies rewarded their devotion.

Your Lordship's acceptance of them has added another tie between the head of the Government and the army, and which will be sensibly felt.

And now, my Lord, that the link which has so long united me to that army will shortly be severed, I take this opportunity, from long experience, confidently to assure your Lordship that whenever the honour of their Sovereign, the good of their country, or the maintenance of the supremacy of British rule in India shall require their services, the Indian Army will nobly respond to your Lordship's call, and, as I assured your Lordship in one of my letters in the early part of the recent campaign, the army of India will proceed, as they have ever done, conquering and to conquer.

May health and prosperity attend your Lordship in the noble position you hold, representing an honoured Sovereign, and presiding over the destinies of a mighty Empire, enlarged under your Lordship's rule by what I confidently predict will be the brightest gem in our Indian possessions—and now may your Lordship and the Countess of Dalhousie, when you return to the castle of your ancestors, be oft reminded by the reverberating sound of these trophies of the deeds of the army of India.

¹ See page 79.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S REPLY.

MY LORD,—It would be difficult for me, without the appearance of exaggeration, to give full expression to the feelings with which I receive the gift that, on behalf of the army under your command, your Excellency has done me the honour of presenting to me.

I accept the gift with the utmost gratification and pride; and if, the period of my service passed, I should live to return to my own home, I shall place these trophies under my roof-tree, where they will recall to those who may hereafter fill my place the triumphs of a British army and the memory of that eventful period through which we have passed.

The gratification which your Lordship has thus given me is greatly enhanced by the opportunity which it affords me of offering to your Excellency, and the gallant army under your command, my most hearty congratulations on the glorious termination of the war in which we have been engaged.

After a long career of honourable and distinguished service, it has been your Lordship's lot twice to conduct the operations of war against an enemy, than which none more formidable, more skilful, more full of soldierly qualities, has ever met us on the field of India. Twice it has been your Lordship's privilege to conclude our wars against the Sikhs by their entire and utter defeat; and on this occasion by a humiliation so complete, that in almost the literal sense of the classical phrase they have been compelled, subdued, and disarmed to pass beneath the yoke.

My Lord, I do not speak these words merely to serve the passing purpose of the moment, or to repay by compliment the honour you have done me to-night, but that I may personally and in all sincerity express to you the deep and abiding sense I entertain of the conspicuous services which your Excellency and the army under your command have lately rendered to the State.

Let me add that the confidence which your Lordship, from long experience, assures me I may repose in the services of the army in India has always been firmly rooted in my mind.

I entertained that confidence when first I set my foot in India—it has never for one moment been shaken by the tremour of a doubt—and it leads me now to rest with full reliance on the belief that, whenever the call may be made, the army in India will show in the time to come the same gallantry, the same endurance and fortitude which they have displayed in times past, and that they will ever maintain at the highest point the honour of the colours under which they serve.

Long may you live, my Lord—and it is a wish which I am very certain all who have been associated with you, or over whom you have exercised command, will cordially echo—long may you live to rest upon the honours which in connection with the army of India you have achieved for yourself—long may you live to enjoy the best and richest reward to which any servant of the public, whether soldier or states-

man, can aspire; I mean, the consciousness that with integrity of motive and in singleness of purpose he has laboured, his life long, honourably and faithfully to do his duty to his Sovereign and to his country.

APPENDIX B.

'THE BOMBAY TIMES' publishes the following draft Memorial relating to the Punjab prize money :—

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

The Humble Petition of the undersigned Officers of her Majesty's and of the East India Company's service engaged in the last campaign in the Punjab.

Sheweth,—That your Majesty's Royal predecessor, King George the 2nd, did by his Royal Letters Patent, dated the 14th of February 1758, grant to the East India Company booty taken from the enemy when the forces of the East India Company alone were employed, but expressly saved his prerogative Royal to distribute such booty in such manner and proportions as he should see fit in all cases where any forces of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, should act in conjunction with those of the East India Company, that in the hitherto unquestioned exercise of the Royal prerogative so saved, your Majesty's Royal predecessors have, as the several occasions occurred, so distributed as they thought fit the booty taken from the enemy by the Royal forces acting in conjunction with those of the East India Company. And recently your Majesty was graciously pleased to grant to the army engaged in the operations against the Ameers of Scinde, the plunder taken from those chiefs, reserving only therefrom for your Majesty the battle-axe of Nadir Shah; that during the last campaign in the Punjaub booty to a large amount was, in the course of actual hostilities, taken from the enemy. That taken at Moultan being the property of the Lahore State, and other booty taken elsewhere being at the time of capture the property either of the Lahore State or of the chiefs and officers and others then in arms against the British Government. That on the 3rd of October 1848, the Secretary to the Government of India, in a letter to the Resident at Lahore, stated that he was desirous to intimate to him that the Governor-General in Council considered the State of Lahore to be to all intents and purposes directly at war with the British Government. That on the 10th of July

preceding a combined force of your Majesty's and the East India Company's troops was directed to move from Lahore against Mooltan, where two British officers had been murdered, with the complicity of the Dewan Moolraj, on the 19th of April, and that soon after that event hostilities commenced, and were uninterruptedly carried on, between irregular troops under the direction of British officers and the troops of the Dewan Moolraj, who never ceased to profess allegiance to the Maharajah of Lahore.

That on the 17th of September 1848 the Resident at Lahore took possession of the Citadel and the property of the State, and made efficient arrangements for the security of the person of the Maharajah, the troops employed being your Majesty's 53rd Regiment, under the command of Brigadier Campbell, C.B. That this operation took place nearly five months after the commencement of hostilities with the Dewan Moolraj, and only a few days before the date of the letter above referred to, whereby the Governor-General in Council declared that he considered the Lahore State to be at war with the British Government, which letter, written at Calcutta on the 3rd of October, must have been founded upon the same information which induced the Resident at Lahore to take possession of the Citadel and of the State property, and to secure the person of the Maharajah on the 17th of September. That this seizure of the Citadel of Lahore and of the State property was an act of war, and if it were not so, still, the immediately subsequent declaration of the Governor-General in Council, that he considered the State of Lahore to be at war with the British Government, would have a retrospective effect, and give to the State property then seized that character, and subject it to all the conditions of booty taken from the enemy, that therefore as well the State property seized at Lahore on the 17th of September as the booty taken at Mooltan and elsewhere in the course of actual hostilities belonged to your Majesty in right of your prerogative Royal, and was by your Majesty alone to be distributed or disposed of as your Majesty might think fit. That nevertheless, on the 7th of April 1849, the Governor-General informed the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors that, in liquidation of the accumulated debt due to the Indian Government by the State of Lahore, and for the expenses of the war, he had confiscated the property of the State to the use of the East India Company, that from this confiscation, however, he had excluded the Koh-i-Noor, which, in token of submission, had been surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England, *thus appropriating to the East India Company property which belonged to your Majesty*, with the exception of the Koh-i-Noor, which was equally the property of your Majesty, *but which your Majesty was made to appear to receive only by the surrender of the Maharajah*; that the person of the Maharajah had been placed in security by your Majesty's troops, when the Citadel of Lahore was taken possession of on the 14th of September 1848, and had ever since so continued. That the Governor-General had declared, in a note read in Durbar at Lahore on the 29th March 1849, that he had resolved on declaring the British Sovereignty in the Punjaub, and upon the entire

subjection of the Seikh nation, that he regretted he should be compelled to depose from his throne a descendant of Maharajah Runjeet Singh ; but the sovereign of every State is responsible for and must be affected by the acts of his people over whom he reigns. That on the 26th of March the Governor-General had instructed Mr Elliot, the Secretary to the Government of India, to proceed to Lahore and to offer certain terms to the Maharajah, but whether those terms were accepted or not, to issue a proclamation, then enclosed, which was accordingly afterwards published on the 29th of March, wherein it was declared and proclaimed that the kingdom of the Punjaub was at an end. *That the Maharajah, under these circumstances, could not exercise any power as an independent Sovereign, of agreeing to the confiscation of the property of the State, or of surrendering any portion of such property to your Majesty, and least of all could he exercise such powers over property which already belonged to your Majesty, in right of your Royal prerogative as booty taken from an enemy.* That, therefore, the undersigned Officers of your Majesty's and of the East India Company's service, engaged in the last campaign in the Punjaub, humbly pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take their services into consideration, whenever your Majesty shall make such distribution of said booty as to your Majesty may seem fit ; and if any doubt should arise as to your Majesty's rights over any part of such booty, then they humbly pray that your Majesty will be pleased to cause the validity of such doubt to be investigated, in such manner as your Majesty may direct, and in that case, they further *pray that they may be allowed to submit such measures or reasons as they may be advised in support of your Majesty's rights over such booty.*

 APPENDIX C.

KNOWSLEY, 4th October 1852.

DEAR LORD DALHOUSIE,—The intelligence of the Duke of Wellington's death reached me at Balmoral where I was in attendance upon the Queen, but as her Majesty had that very day gone to a small shooting lodge in the neighbourhood, I had no opportunity of personal communication with her till two days later. My first duty was to submit to her Majesty the names of those who should succeed to the various offices held by the late Duke ; and I had very great pleasure in advising her Majesty that the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports should be offered to you should you think it worth your acceptance. Her Majesty not only cordially approved of the advice, but intimated to me that the appointment had already occurred to herself as the one most fitting to be made, which she thought I should probably recommend. Unfortunately I did not advert to the fact, in the multiplicity of busi-

ness which pressed upon me, that there were only two or three days to spare before the sailing of the E. India mail, and my communication to you has consequently been delayed a fortnight. In the meantime you will see by the papers that public report has assigned this office to myself, chiefly, I believe, upon the ground that it has generally been taken by the First Lord of the Treasury for the time being.

After what I have said, however, I need not assure you that these reports rest on no other foundation, and that I have never had a moment's hesitation about making the offer to you. Should I find that it is necessary that the office should be temporarily filled up, for the purpose of the discharge of any duties which cannot be performed by deputy, previous to your return, I may have my own name inserted; but in that case I shall have it clearly understood that it is as a temporary appointment only, and for the purpose of handing it over to you. You are, of course, aware that a committee of the House of Commons in 1833 recommended a revision of the system of licensing Pilots, and that some alterations would probably have been made affecting the office but for the strong objections which the Duke of Wellington felt to any change. I need not say that any new appointment must be accepted subject to any alteration which Parliament may think fit to adopt; but I am sure that, far from objecting, it would be your wish, should you be in England, to co-operate with Parliament in any measures which may be deemed for the benefit of the mercantile marine; and that nobody is better qualified than yourself to give an opinion on such questions.

The emoluments of the office are very small; but it gives a residence, and as a mark of honour from the Crown is one which even a Governor-General of India may not disdain to accept. Let me add also that it affords me very great pleasure to have had it in my power to offer this advice to the Queen, and thus to mark my own sincere personal regard and friendship for you. — Believe me, Dear Lord Dalhousie, yours very sincerely,

(Signed) DERBY.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

APPENDIX D.

TREATY WITH THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD.

EQUALLY happy results [annexation of Nagpore] have attended the assignment which the Nizam was persuaded to make of the districts belonging to the State of Hyderabad.

In the possession of Berar and the neighbouring districts of Nag-

pore, the British Government, it deserves to be remembered, has secured the finest cotton tracts which are known to exist in all the continent of India, and thus has opened up a great additional channel of supply through which to make good a felt deficiency in the staple of one great branch of its manufacturing industry.

Since the assignment was made all disputes with the Nizam have ceased.

Though the districts assigned were covered with places of defence—the famous fortress of Gawilgurrh among the rest; and although they were garrisoned by Arabs or Rohillahs, yet all were delivered over submissively and at once, and not a single shot was fired in anger.

There also the Civil administration has been introduced. Crime, especially the violent crime of dacoity, has already much diminished. The revenue is already rapidly increasing. The public tranquillity has not been disturbed by even a single popular tumult; and the admirable little army which was formerly the Nizam's contingent, but which is now a British force, is available for any service for which it may be required.—*Final Minute of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*

APPENDIX E.

THE kingdom of Nagpore became British territory by simple lapse, in the absence of all legal heirs. The kingdom, which had been granted to the reigning Raja by the British Government when it had become forfeited by the treachery of Appa Sahib, was left without a claimant when the Raja died. No son had been born to his Highness; none had been adopted by him; none, as they have themselves admitted, was adopted at the Raja's death by the ranees, his widows. There remained no one male of the line who descended from the stock and bore the name of Bhonsla. The British Government, therefore, refused to bestow the territory in free gift upon a stranger, and wisely incorporated it with its own dominions.—*Final Minute of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*

APPENDIX F.

February 26th, 1854.

EXTRACT FROM SIR EDWARD CAMPBELL, no date, received
February 23rd, 1854.

“THERE is one part of your letter, sir, which I must answer at once—I mean about Sir Charles Napier, my old master and relative. Before you placed me on your staff you assured me I should never hear him spoken of in your family in any but terms of kindness, and though I required no such assurance I was very thankful for it, for I loved him very dearly, and he was always like a father to me and helped me on in every way. I entered your Lordship's family without any fear of having my feelings wounded on his account, but I did not, and could not, expect such forbearance and kind feelings as your Lordship uniformly evinced in speaking of him to me. And I had also the pleasure of feeling that I was not in the way, for I knew that before I was on your staff it was just the same.”

APPENDIX G.

OF all the works of public improvement which can be applied to an Indian province, works of irrigation are the happiest in their effects upon the physical condition of the people. And foremost among all the works of irrigation that the world as yet has ever seen stands the Ganges Canal, whose main stream was for the first time opened on the 8th April 1854. When the opening of the canal was reported to the Honourable Court the work was thus briefly described:—

“Within eight years the main lines of the Ganges Canal, applicable to the double purpose of irrigation and navigation, have been designed, executed, and opened.

“Extending over 525 miles in length, measuring in its greatest depth ten feet, and in its extreme breadth 170 feet, the main irrigation line of the Ganges Canal is justly described ‘as a work which stands unequalled in its class and character among the efforts of civilised nations.’ (Letter of Lieutenant-Governor, April 1854, para. 8.)

“Its length is five-fold greater than that of all the main lines of Lombardy united, and more than twice the length of the aggregate lines of Lombardy and Egypt together—the only countries in the world whose works of irrigation rise above insignificance.

“As a single work of navigation for purposes of commerce the Ganges Canal has no competitor throughout the world. No single canal in Europe has attained to half the magnitude of this Indian work. It nearly equals the aggregate length of the four greatest canals

in France; it greatly exceeds all the first-class canals of Holland put together, and it is greater by nearly one-third than the greatest navigation canal in the United States of America.

"I have spoken here of the main line alone. When the branches in progress shall have been completed, the extent and influence of the work will be vastly increased throughout all its gigantic proportions.

"Wonderful and admirable in all respects as the Ganges Canal is felt to be, it has been well said, in the words which the Lieutenant-Governor has quoted, 'that there is no more striking fact in connection with it than that such a truly gigantic undertaking should have been in its designs the work of a single intellect, and in its execution the work of a third part of one man's professional life.'"

All the plans for the prosecution of the works upon the canal had been formed before the Government of India was placed in my hands. But of the sum of £1,400,000 which had been expended upon the canal at the time of its opening in 1854, all excepting £170,000 has been granted since my administration commenced. No financial pressure—no exigencies of war—were suffered to interrupt the progress of that great work. Its main lines have now been opened for nearly two years. The water has been admitted over their whole length. The works have stood the test, during the last monsoon, of some of the severest floods that have ever been known, and as yet the success has been in all respects complete.

When the branches shall be finished the canal will extend to about 900 miles in length. It is estimated that the area which may be irrigated by its waters will not be less than 1,470,000 acres. But none can estimate, in their full extent, the blessings which its fertilising influence will confer upon millions whom it will place henceforth beyond the reach of those periodical calamities of season which from time to time, as in 1837, have brought upon the plains of Hindostan the widespread desolation of famine and death. I trust I shall not be thought vainglorious if I say that the successful execution and completion of such a work as the Ganges Canal would, even if it stood alone, suffice to signalise an Indian administration.

I rejoice to know that the gracious favour of the Sovereign was promptly shown to the man whose genius designed, and whose energy so rapidly completed, this noble work, and that Sir Proby Cautley has been worthily decorated with high honours from the Crown.—*Abridged from final Minute of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*

APPENDIX H.

UNTIL that time [expiry of Act of 1833] the local Government of Bengal had been placed in the hands of the Governor-General of India. But in the year 1853 the system, by which the officer charged with the

responsibility of controlling the government of all India was further burdened with local duties of vast extent and importance, was happily abandoned. The Governor-General was finally liberated from the obligation of performing an impossible task, and a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed to the charge of Bengal alone.

At the same time another great change was introduced, equally novel in its character and not less important.

A Council was appointed as the Legislature of India, which was no longer identical with the Supreme Council, but included divers other members, and exercised its functions by separate and distinct proceedings of its own.

The organisation of the Legislative Council proved to be a work which involved great labour, and was attended with many difficulties.

The proceedings of the Council, however, were speedily reduced to form. The duties of the Council have subsequently been laboriously and faithfully performed.—*Final Minute of the Marquess of Dalhousie.*

APPENDIX I.

ARTICLE IN 'THE TIMES' OF JANUARY 4TH, 1855.

THE article begins by comparing the organisation of the home Army with that of India, much to the disadvantage of the former, and proceeds—

“We are in sore need ;—we want, above all things, a man capable of recreating our military system, of bringing order out of confusion and method and regularity out of chaos. When we point out the failure of our present war administration, we are often tauntingly challenged to suggest some one in whose management a reasonable and well-founded confidence might be reposed. For once we feel disposed to accept the challenge.” It then goes on to point out the various duties, responsibilities, and achievements of Lord Dalhousie, referring especially to the second Sikh War and the war with Burmah, and concludes, “Here, then, is a discovery—a man and a marquis who may be safely trusted with the lives of his fellow-men, and who, though trained in peace, has shown himself fully equal to the emergencies of war. Before he entered on this wider sphere of exertion the Marquis of Dalhousie showed no ordinary sagacity in foreseeing the direction of the railway mania, and in devising means for reducing that national madness within useful and reasonable limits. Such a man we have in India, worthily fulfilling all the duties which devolve on the civil and military chief of a vast and half-civilised empire. The Emperor

Nicholas himself does not number as many subjects, or exercise a more vast or durable influence on the happiness or misery of the human race.

“ If we have here any man equally, or nearly equally, competent for managing the affairs of the war, it were a pity to take away the Marquis of Dalhousie from the sphere of his labours, his usefulness, and his glory ; but if there be none such, at least known to the public, why do we hesitate to employ in our present need an instrument so well adapted for our purpose ? ”

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