bows occasionally to a factitious opposition from without. The last is perhaps the defect most animadverted upon. Each Member, unaccustomed to publicity, speaks with diffidence. He is in dread lest his remarks should be misapprehended. He fears the uninformed public opinion of England, and he hesitates to sanction the strong enactments, without which despotisms and republics cannot work.

These, we say, are the remarks we hear on every side. Those who reason thus, appear to us to omit some of the facts of the present, and all the prospects of the future. We admit one or two of the charges adduced. We believe that of the remainder one-half are counterbalanced by the advantages already secured, and the other half are remediable by changes which will not imply a revolution. The new constitution already confers on us some important advantages. The work done is infinitely greater than was formerly the case. Let any one who doubts this, glance at the size of the Calcutta *Gazette* of 1853 and 1854. He will find that the mere paper expended in printing legislative enactments, is nearly double that which formerly sufficed. Indeed, the most pressing danger is, that the Legislative Council in its eagerness to become a working body, should consider too many experimental measures, and forget Walpoles "sum of statesmanship" *quieta non movere*. The work also is better, because more thoroughly, done, the laws are better drawn, and the coach and four of the Supreme Court is less easily driven through them. This of itself is no unimportant gain. When the law and the Judge's interpretation thereof coincide, we at least know what to obey. We do not commit legal sin unawares, nor shelter ourselves under the idea that the Judge's legal spectacles will blind him to our offences. Most questions are argued gravely and fairly in the Council. There can be no radical talk of motives, for every man legislates in the face of day. There can be no question of individual responsibility, for each man's share in the debate is published, and the weight attached to individual opinions is thoroughly well known. The local ignorance, too, which fettered the old Legislature has been partially removed. The Council does know something of Madras and Bombay, or at least it trusts the representatives of those provinces. Lastly, the deference to public opinion, though not always a benefit in India, is not always a disadvantage. If it diminishes energy, it represses also violence. If it protects crime by the caution it induces, it removes that sense of despotic Government, which efficient legislation is too apt to involve. Our municipalities are not coerced into cleanliness, but still their members have the comfort of independence. John Smith ought to be compelled to fill up that cesspool. Still John Smith will not, unless very enlightened, quarrel with the Council for not compelling him to fill it by Legislative action.

The great defects of the Council appear to be removeable. They are produced by its peculiar constitution, and its peculiar method of procedure. No one who has ever visited the Council Chamber can doubt for a moment the cause of its unpopularity. With one exception, all the Members are alike. They are all quiet, grey respectable fathers of families, men whom you would charge with trusteeships, and make executors to your will. They are all beyond forty-five, all easy in circumstances, all belonging to the same class of Society. It is the House of Lords without the strongly marked individuality, characteristic of the members of that body. Not only are there no distinctions such as exist between Mr. Williams and Lord Stanley, the Member for Rochdale and the Member for Dorsetshire, but there is not even the difference between an Argyle and a Lyndhurst. Add to this personal resemblance, the fact that all the Members are either officials or lawyers, and all are accustomed to regard public affairs from one locus standi, and our argument will be comprehended. The Council is too homogeneous. It has plenty of intellect, but it is directed to one point. It has plenty of knowledge, but knowledge of only one thing. It is a spirit invested with creative power, but bound to exercise it only upon one section of the animal kingdom. This requires modification. The two seats in the Council which still await the sanction of the Court of Directors, should be at once filled up. The Court, moreover, in filling them should add a distinct recommendation to take the next two members, one from the class accustomed to administrative work, the politicals, and the other from the soldiers in Civil employ. Even then we should need two non-official members, but for these, we fear, we must wait till Lord Dalhousie's return. In England, he will be enabled to carry out his original recommendation. At present there is a want of freshness, of contrasts, of that vigour which is produced by the conflict of opinion. There are of course differences of opinion. One man is learned, and another ignorant on the topic in hand. One is crotchetty, and another calmly sensible. Still there is a want of that fierce, almost angry earnestness, always displayed when different interests come into collision. We want not merely varieties, but different modes of thought. We have different masters, and some of them perhaps great ones, but they are all of one school.

In England, however, it may be said, the House of Lords labours under the same disadvantages, and yet its legislative work is well done. We admit the argument in part, but setting aside the fact, that the Peers frequently "receive light from below," they have a remedy for their misfortune. They can obtain information. Whatever there is of experience, knowledge, or special science in England, is at the disposal of the House. Its possessor, be he who he may, Peer or chimney sweep, Premier or owner of a provincial newspaper, must appear before a Committee, and when once there, a rattling fire of cross questions soon compels him to yield up everything in his possession. Some of the Lords' reports read like speeches in the Palace of Truth. Witnesses say anything, whether against themselves or not, and the House thus acquires the opinion of other classes in all its fulness and reality. It learns it, too, not from an official paper, but from a man hot with his grievances, elated with the merits of his own suggestions, or speaking from that fulness of detailed knowledge, natural to one whose life is devoted to an object. It does not read reports on tanning, but talks to the tanner. We ask any ordinary man from which method he will obtain most information. Of this advantage the Indian Legislative Council is almost entirely deprived. Though its local ignorance has been removed by the appointment of representative Members, its class ignorance remains undiminished. It legislates too frequently in the dark. It has no means of acquiring any definite idea of either the feelings or the habits of the classes affected by its acts. It wishes to legislate with due respect to those feelings, and a due regard to those habits, and the consequence of the wish unaccompanied by knowledge is this. Any one who boldly pretends to represent a class, who talks for the silent, is listened to. Frequently he represents only himself, and the Council thus succumbs to public opinion without obtaining public support. Thus the Baboos of Calcutta pretend to represent the natives. They have no common interests, but the Council has no means of getting at the people, who are silent, and therefore listens to those who profess to be the people, and who talk. The result is a legislation—witness our schemes for Municipal taxation—neither theoretically perfect nor practically popular. Nobody knows what the masses really wish, yet every one is anxious that the measures should be influenced by that wish. The result, like that of all Whiggery, is weakness. It might, moreover, be easily reformed. There can be no danger in empowering the Council to call for, and even to compel evidence. Take for instance the project of a law for suppressing cattle trespass. A Committee is to draw up a bill to meet that form of agrarian outrage. Where is it to get its information? It could obtain it in a few hours from two Magistrates, three or four indigo planters, and half a dozen master herdsmen. As it is, it must legislate upon two sets of written opinions, those of the Magistrate who thinks the class troublesome, and those of the planters who believe that Goalas' cows have a special penchant for young indigo. The herdsmen themselves might have something to say of rights of common seized, and rights of way stopped up, of the absence of legal remedy driving them to the club, and of a trade in hides which renders them the foes of every one who can touch leather without defilement. Of all this—existing or only rumoured—the Council will not hear one word.

For the rest, with these defects amended, we believe the new Legislative Council, imperfect as it may be, will be found an improvement.

HOMŒOPATHIC ANNEXATION—AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—Two years ago, the Government of Bengal annexed Northern Cachar. We related the history of this measure at the time, as an illustration of the uniform course of Indian conquest. The country had been formerly conquered, and the district—some eighteen hundred square miles—surrendered to a savage named Toolaram Senaputty. Fortunately, a clause was introduced into the deed of gift, providing forfeiture as the punishment of misrule. Toolaram died, and his country became a prey to the Angamee Nagas. Its inhabitants were regarded by these savages as game, whom they could hunt at will for the sake of their heads. At last Lieut. Bivar, tired of these atrocities, and of the repeated disobedience of the sons of Toolaram, recommended that the clause of forfeiture should be carried into effect. The Government consented, and the humanity of a Lieutenant of Infantry thus added 1800 square miles to the British dominions. We had traced thus far a narrative whose minuteness interested us, as an entomologist is interested in a beetle, and we intended to complete the tale. More important events, however, obscured the history of Northern Cachar, and we have but lately found an opportunity of tracing the consequences of annexation.

Lieutenant Bivar proceeded with his microscopic province, as the Punjab Board proceeded with their magnificent kingdom. The first question referred to the rights of the dispossessed rulers. Strictly speaking, they had none at all, either by descent, consent of the people, proprietorship, or treaty with the conquerors. Toolaram, a turbulent savage, had stolen his principality from the Rajah of Ca-

char. No descent could therefore be pleaded. There was no consent of the people who, unarmed, uneducated, and unclothed, unwillingly paid a tribute to a savage sheltered by the British Government. Proprietorship was out of the question, and as for the treaty it distinctly provided for the sentence too long delayed. The Government as usual inclined to the side of mercy. Instead of allowing the family of Toolaram to sink into the poverty which was the logical consequence of their own disobedience, they granted them small pensions, and estates. A village was exempted from taxation, and small pensions were added to be paid in specie. Comparatively speaking, the concession though only of some Rs. 300 a month, was as great as any ever made by Sir John Malcolm. The dispossesed family lived in comfort on one per cent. of the total receipts. Unlike the Government of Bombay, however, the Government of Bengal extended its liberality only to the family of the deceased. It did not feel called upon to support for ever a race of pauper barbarians, and Toolaram's family were distinctly informed that their pensions and exemptions ended with their lives. Their descendants, like every body else, must prosper or starve according to their own industry or indolence.

The next question was the settlement. This is as important an affair among the swamps of Cachar as over the broad plains of the Punjab. It was rendered none the more easy by the nature of the country and the character of its people. Of the 1800 square miles, *only fourteen* were partially cultivated by a population of

Cacharees, ...	3,410
Mikeers, ...	1,850
Nagas, ...	942
Total, ...	6,202

Of these, only two could read, the rest were simply savages, not improved by incessant warfare with the naked clans of the hills. They managed, however, on these fourteen square miles to keep up something approaching to cultivation, to produce as much rice as they could eat, a little indigo, sugar, mustard, and tobacco, and a few castor oil plants. The last they had no idea of expressing, but kept them to feed their silkworms, upon whom the medicinal properties of the plant do not appear to operate! The remaining lands were covered with dense tree jungle, chiefly inhabited by wild beasts, snakes, and leeches. It was however useful to Toolaram. As a preliminary to the settlement, Lieut. Bivar endeavoured to form an estimate of the revenue collected by Toolaram himself. One-third, or Rs. 1149 was obtained, as in more civilized portions of the earth, from a house tax. The remainder was extracted from the hunters, who perilled their lives in the attempt to secure the wild beasts of the surrounding jungle. One tusk of every elephant caught was given to Toolaram, about forty elephants were killed a year, and the produce therefore amounted on an average to Rs. 850 per annum. Nearly as much was obtained from another duty on the same pursuit. It was levied apparently in the form of a licence to catch elephants, a game law we suspect almost without a precedent. The next source of profit is still more remarkable. Toolaram exacted half the value of the horn of every rhinoceros slain in hunting. This gave him Rs. 450 more, and the remainder of the Rs. 3624 was made up of river tolls, and town duties. Toolaram imitated all other natives in possession of power. He taxed the tiller of the cultivated land, as well as the hunter who roamed in the uncultivated jungle, the trader as well as the artisan. It is true, he only obtained pice, where Runjeet Singh levied gold mohurs, but the sufferings of the people and the comparative wealth of the ruler were the same. Lieut. Bivar changed all this. The house tax was the popular tax, the true source of revenue. He raised it to two rupees a house, obtained Rs. 3500 a year from it, and abolished every other kind of impost whatsoever. Trader and agriculturist were alike delighted, as their revenue was in fact fixed by themselves. It was moreover much lighter than before, the large payments in kind, and the still larger quantities of grain taken by force being unrecorded in the accounts. A Police was organized to repress ordinary crime, at a cost of one-fourth of the net revenue. Moreover, Lieut. Bivar like most Indian officials, was profoundly penetrated with the idea, that education is the best instrument alike of police and revenue. He therefore added to the central police station a pundit, *with a salary as high as that of the Darogah*, to teach the people around him and spread abroad a desire for some instruction. He next journeyed through the district, cutting his path with axes, sleeping in any hut accessible, but everywhere explaining the assessment, and the intentions of the Government. He found the country as rich as most portions of Bengal, stick lac selling in the bazars, and native cotton in small quantities readily procurable. As in Pegu, population is the one necessity of Cachar, but one of the wild clans is settling down, and promises to produce a race of excellent docile cultivators. The only obstacle to this transition is to be found in the hostility of the Angamee Nagas. These wretches, lower in the scale of civilization than the Australian aborigines, have a passion for plunder and for human heads. No defences appear to avail against them. They steal through the jungle as safely as the tigers, wait for days before they attack, and then when the males of the village are out hunting, swoop down upon the women and the sick. All whose heads are not cut off are ransomed, and the exhaustion thus produced, tends almost as much as the terror inspired to retard the civilization of the country. Lieut. Bivar has established military posts, but they only imperfectly obviate the evil. We believe a better plan might be found in the Punjab scheme for destroying wolves. Four men in each village, armed with revolvers, and accustomed to use them, would make short work of the Nagas.

It is possible that many of our readers may wonder at this long account of the improvements effected among a few thousand barbarians. We hold on the contrary that a system can be best tested by its results on a small scale, that if the village is at peace, there is no danger to the prosperity of the province. It is, however, no trifling illustration of the Empire, that we should think an apology almost due for noticing six thousand people, and a district as large as the county of Hampshire.

Comparative Vastness of India and Russia.—"Why not line your Canadian frontier with forts, Mr. Webster?" said an English Bishop to the great American. "Because, my Lord, it is longer than from this to Warsaw and back again" was the unexpected reply. The anecdote may be apocryphal, but it illustrates one great defect of the English mind. It can never comprehend anything bigger than England. La Plata, a territory three times as large as Austria, is still regarded as equal, geographically speaking, to San Marino. Men talked of the valley of Chihuahua, which is considerably bigger than England, as if it were a Westmoreland dale, a bit of land by a burn not worth a Mexican struggle. Paraguay, some years since, was to have been turned into a "tea plantation." It covers a larger area than Bombay. Even Australia which is equal in extent to Europe, and whose sea coast is longer than that of India is talked of as a single Colony. More especially, however, does the British public fail to understand the vastness of its Indian Empire. It cannot perceive that a hundred miles of Railway, or fifty miles of Canal are practically of no use whatever. It will not acknowledge that in an Empire as large as a continent, public works must cover provinces, and not counties, that roads must connect kingdoms, and not towns, that education must be given to nations, and not parishes. The evil is not purely speculative. Madras has as much connection with Bengal as Russia with Belgium, yet torture in Madras is confounded with torture in India. Every really valuable improvement in this country costs hundreds of thousands of pounds, solely from its unavoidable vastness. Yet England demands scores of such improvements, and then blames the Indian Government for deficiencies in its revenue.

Perhaps we may aid in dispelling this illusion by instituting a comparison with the only European country under the same disadvantages. Englishmen are learning geography from the war. They begin to understand Russia. They talk with an admiration not unmixed with fear, of her boundless territories and enormous population, of her wealth in grain and her poverty in specie, of her vast army, and of the strange varieties of mankind collected under her rule. Perhaps if we prove that our territory is as large as her own, and our population larger, our races more various, and our languages more diverse, Englishmen may begin to comprehend that the "Empire" is not a phrase. Our figures for Russia are taken from a work which should be in every one's hand at the present moment, M. Tegoborski's comments on the productive resources of Russia. M. De Tegoborski was Member of the Council of the Russian Empire, he had access to all official records, and his object appears to have been one of purely statistical enquiry.

And first as to mere size. The Indian Empire, including all subordinate states, contained in 1851 1,300,000 square miles, thus :—

	Square Miles.
Punjab, ...	78,447
North West Provinces, ...	85,577
Bombay, ...	120,065
Bengal, ...	247,205
Madras, ...	144,889
Native States, ...	690,307

In the forty-nine Governments of European Russia, there are

	Square Miles.
European Russia, ...	2058,000
Poland, ...	48,684
Transcaucasian Provinces, ...	59,900
Total, ...	2,166,584

Making a gross total of 2,166,584 miles or 40 times the size of England. In bare extent, therefore, Russia has the advantage, but it is in extent of desert alone. Of its enormous area, one-third is not only uncultivated, but uncultivable. In India, the desert of Ferozepore alone could not be redeemed by irrigation. The rest is rich with every variety of grain-bearing soil. The mighty corn-bearing plain of Central Russia with its area of 18,000 square miles, shrinks before Bengal with 170,000 miles, every inch of which may be made productive, and which already bears a surplus of food for thirty millions of people. The Punjab has the climate of the Crimea, and a better population. The North West may contest with the Baltic Provinces