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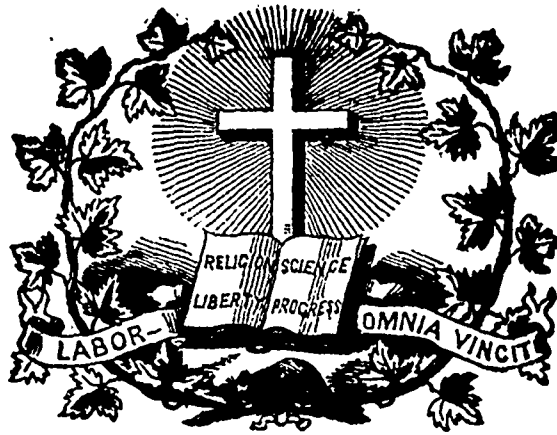
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# JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

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**SUMMARY.**—PAPERS ON INDIA: India and the Sepoys previous to the mutiny.—The outbreak and its immediate causes.—Letters of a Canadian officer.—Extent and population of India.—Summary of the last news.—OFFICIAL NOTICES: School Municipalities.—Boards of Examiners.—Appointments of School Commissioners and Trustees.—Important Notice.—Situation Wanted.—EDITORIAL: India.—Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Upper Canada for 1856.—American Association for the advancement of Sciences, (continued)—MONTHLY SUMMARY: Educational Intelligence.—Literary Intelligence.—Political Intelligence.—Statement of monies paid by the Department from 1st January to 30th November 1857.—WOOD CUTS: Abington's Panoramic View of India.—A. ARTISERMENT.

## PAPERS ON INDIA.

We publish the following extracts from an able article in the last *Edinburgh Review* on Indian affairs, to which we append a summary of the latest news and a translation of very interesting letters from a French Canadian officer in the British Army, Mr. Joly, son of G. P. Joly, Esquire, of Lotbinière, published in the *Canadien*. Our readers will be able to gather from the whole, a very correct view of this all absorbing subject.

The letters of Mr. Joly record with the most admirable simplicity a deed of heroism which does him the greatest honor. This young officer is the grandson of the Hon. Mr. De Lotbinière, who was the second speaker of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada.

### INDIA AND THE SEPOYS PREVIOUS TO THE MUTINY.

We cannot permanently hold India by force alone. We may break down a native power; we may crush the rebellion of an army, although it carries the arms we have provided, and moves in accordance with the lessons we have taught. But we cannot do this in defiance to the active wishes of the great mass of the people. If not the thousands merely, but the millions were now against us, we should soon be swept into the sea. We may treble or quadruple our European forces in India, but still we could not permanently hold the country if the people were against us. Not to be against us is to be for us. We can expect no more than passive consent; but with that passive consent, the result partly of our efforts to govern well, partly of the natural apathy of the people, we may hold India in spite even of the rebellion of an army.

We do not underrate the importance of such a rebellion—a rebellion of a hundred thousand men, trained in the discipline of European warfare, with arms and equipments of the latest European invention, and munitions of war the produce of our own laboratories

and workshops. But the most violent disorders are not always the most fatal. A native government might be overthrown by the revolt of an army more readily than a foreign one. The native government has nothing to fall back upon but the assistance of an ally, and such intervention is well nigh certain to seal the death-warrant of the threatened state. The foreign power, on the other hand, has the resources of the mother-country at its command; and though the sacrifice of blood and treasure in such a struggle is terrible to contemplate, the national supremacy is not jeopardised, so long as the people are quiescent. There is nothing more fearful in history than this revolt of the Bengal army; but a military revolt is not a popular revolution.

We have the strongest conviction, indeed, that they who, in connection with this subject, talk or write about popular revolutions know little about the history of India or the genius of the people. It would be curious to ascertain what proportion of the population of India really care—or we may say, really know—anything about the mutiny in the Bengal army. In the neighbourhood of the large towns which have been the scenes of military revolt, and along the lines of road by which the mutineers have moved from one place to another, the populace have been necessarily cognisant of the movement, and the worst class (including the sweepings of the gaols), eager for plunder, have taken part in it, and sometimes against it. (1) But when we consider the immense extent of the country, the remote places in which vast multitudes of the people reside, their imperfect means of communication, their general ignorance of what is passing beyond their own immediate vicinity, and the apathy and indolence of the national character, it is easy to understand how events, the intelligence of which rapidly penetrates every corner of the British islands, may have little effect upon the teeming millions of such a country as India. The people of India have often passed from one rule to another without a voice in the revolution, with scarcely a thought of the change. Their own internal institutions have withstood the revolutions of Mogul and Malhratta; and except when the horae-men of one power or the other, have swept through their village like a whirlwind, carrying everything before it, the daily lives of the rural classes have been little influenced by the mutations of sovereignty. "It is a singular fact," wrote one who knew the people of India well, (2) "that the peasantry, and I may say the landed interest of the country generally, have never been friends of any existing government; have never considered their interests and that of the government the same; and consequently have never felt any desire for its success or duration. They have submitted, therefore, patiently to one change after another; but they have never taken any active steps to promote it. Our Govern-

(1) The Goojurs, for example, have plundered the mutinous sepoy with as little hesitation as they evinced in the plunder of the Europeans.

(2) The late Sir W. H. Sleeman, "Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official."

ment may not be loved by the people; but neither was the government of the Mahratta and of the Mogul. It is simply endured. If the people do not recognise the fact that it is better than that of our predecessors, at all events they do not feel that it is worse.

Whatever else, therefore, this outbreak may be, we may safely assume that it has not its origin in the resentment of a misgoverned people. But a movement which has nothing of the popular element in it, may yet have something of a national character and a political significance. We may have administered the country fairly enough, have dealt unfairly towards the princes and chiefs of India, and from the animosity of these men, whom we are said to have over-reached or despoiled, may have proceeded this furious raging of the heathen. Some, indeed, profess to see an intimate connexion between certain recent measures, which have resulted in a further diminution of the diminished native sovereignties of India, and the sudden outburst of military excitement which has had such perilous results. Our system of unrighteous annexation, it is said, culminated in the spoliation of Oude. This was the last straw on the camel's back. The long-outraged nationalities of India rose against the despoiler, when his work of spoliation was completed by the absorption of the last independent Mahomedan state of Hindostan (1) (\*).

This point of inquiry will require further consideration hereafter; but, in the mean-while, we shall better guide our readers to a right understanding of the general question, by taking a brief preliminary survey of the political state of India at the commencement of Lord Canning's government. On the 29th of February, 1856, after a long and prosperous administration, Lord Dalhousie resigned into the hands of his successor the portfolio of the Governor-General of India. During eight eventful years the retiring Vice-Roy had toiled with unremitting assiduity, regardless of the warnings of failing health and physical decay, and had become the author or the agent of a series of great political and administrative measures, which, confident in the verdict of posterity, he proudly recorded in a farewell minute. He appeared to have both extended and consolidated the British empire in the East; and under no former administration of India had the country benefited more by the enlightened and progressive views of an English statesman. Seen by human eyes, the prospect which opened before Lord Canning was that of a reign of unbroken peace. Neither in our old provinces nor in our new, were there any elements of disquiet; and the native states, though in some instances perhaps rendered restless by alarm, evinced no signs of hostility or disaffection. Under the wise administration of the Lawrences, the Punjab had become as tranquil as Bengal. Pegu was rapidly settling down into a well-ordered province of the empire. In Nagpore there were no signs of trouble. The Ranees, in the assured belief that the British Government were resolute to revive neither the rule nor the title of Boonslah, were fast withdrawing themselves for the affairs of public life, and subsiding into the quiet enjoyment of their luxurious pensions. Even Oude promised a large increase of revenue under the equitable rule of its new masters. Some of the most difficult problems suggested by the sudden change of government seemed to be in course of satisfactory solution. All the new provinces, indeed, which had been added to our empire, although they might impose much additional labour on the Government, did not threaten to increase the burden of its cares.

In the independent or the semi-independent states, there was nothing to awaken the anxiety of the new Governor-General. On the hills of Nepal, our old friend, Jung Behaudur, who had learnt in England the real character and extent of our resources, directed the councils of the state; and, moved by friendship or restrained by discretion, performed well the duties of a faithful ally. In Rajpootana, a cluster of princes of ancient lineage, whose independence had always been respected by the British Government, were, in spite of shamelessly mendacious rumours regarding our designs, true to their allegiance, and professedly mindful of the exhortations of the paramount state. In Central India, the Mahratta princess, Sciendiah and Holkar, young and well-disposed, were profiting by our instructions, and endeavouring to win the approbation of the Governor-General and his representatives, by promoting the improvement of their territory and the prosperity of their people. In the Deccan, an effete and expiring prince, incapable of good government, and utterly regardless of the welfare of his country, was held in restraint by the wise and moderate counsels of a young and energetic minister, who knew the true interests of the state far better than his master.

There was much work to be done, but it was the quiet business of internal administration; and Lord Canning addressed himself to

(1) We shall, of course, be understood to speak here of Indostan Proper, from which the Deccan is distinguished.

(\*) Mr. Joly in his letter states it to be the principal cause. (Ed. J. E.)

it with no apprehensions of a coming disaster. Intent on the extension of those great reproductive works from which an unprecedented development of the resources of the country and, with it, unexampled domestic prosperity were to be anticipated, and on a corresponding improvement in the moral and intellectual condition of the people, he had good reason to hope that he would be permitted to pass, in these gratifying tasks, his allotted time of office. Public works and education were to be the distinguishing features of his administration; and for many months it seemed that there would be little to distract from these beneficent objects of enlightened rule.

In Oude alone, of all our newly acquired possessions, was there much to engage the attention of the Government; and the reports from that country were of the most satisfactory kind. The administration of the province was carried on under the same system of a mixed commission, composed partly of civilians and partly of soldiers, as had proved so successful in the Punjab. The officers who were employed in this work were among the best in the country; men, in most cases, of equal judgment and energy, and in some, of ripe experience and approved ability. The old army was quietly disbanded. Its arrears of pay were discharged by the British Government, and many of the soldiers were enlisted into a new irregular force. The question of disarming the people was debated. The Punjab had been disarmed by Henry Lawrence, and the happiest results had attended the measure. But in Oude there was no indication of discontent to render a popular rising a probable event; and it was believed that, under a new penal system, the addiction of the people to internal broils and affrays would gradually subside. There seemed, therefore, to be no necessity for so extreme a measure, and an obvious reason against it. It was not thought expedient wholly to suppress the military habits of a people from whom the very pith of our own army was drawn. The zemindars, however, who occupied fortified places, from which they had been accustomed to resist the authority of the native government, were called upon to give up their guns; and the carrying of arms in the cities of Lucknow and Fysabad—the modern and the ancient capital of Oude—was interdicted. The result of the latter order was said to be magical. The citizens became suddenly a new class of men, and it was believed that a permanent change in their habits would be accomplished. How the revenue settlement was going on we have little knowledge. It was hardly possible that any systematic operations should have been carried on without injury to the prospects of many, who had profited by want of system, or that any investigation into existing rights should not have been prejudicial to those privileges and immunities which had been usurped or unjustly acquired. But the popular discontent, if any, was not demonstrative; and the internal condition of the country was so tranquil that an English lady might travel through it in her palanquin without an emotion of transient alarm.

There was nothing in all this to raise any apprehension that the vice-royalty of Lord Canning would embrace a troublous period of Indian history. But Governor-General after Governor-General has entertained the same hopes of a tranquil administration only to find them delusions; and no man knew better than Lord Canning that at any moment, and from any quarter, a cloud might arise, at first no larger than a man's hand, to cover, in time, the entire firmament. Still it may be doubted whether, when, in the early part of the present year, some mutterings of dissatisfaction arose from the native army of Bengal, he believed that a storm was brewing in that quarter, which, in the course of a few months, nay of a few weeks, would convulse the whole of Northern India, shake the entire fabric of government, and carry desolation to hundreds of English homes. It cannot be denied that the pacific policy of the Indian Government during the last ten years had directed the attention of the rulers of India more closely to civil improvements than to military organisation,—that the absence of any foreign enemy had begotten excessive confidence,—that the administration had less of a military character than had been given to it by Lord Ellenborough and Lord Hardinge,—and that the perils which Lord Canning has now to encounter are perils which the oldest and ablest members of the Company's service were least disposed to anticipate or even to credit.

The regular native army of Bengal consisted, at the time of the outbreak, of seventy-four regiments of Infantry, ten regiments of Cavalry, nine battalions of Foot and three brigades of Horse Artillery. To every regiment of Native Infantry were nominally attached twenty-five European officers; to every regiment of Cavalry, twenty-two. A comparatively small number of these, however, were ordinarily present with their corps; furlough and the staff making a perennial demand upon all ranks from field officers to ensigns. Besides this regular army, there were numerous irregular and local corps, commanded by European Officers. To the majority of these corps were attached a commanding officer, a second in

command, and an adjutant, for the most part picked men. These latter appointments were generally coveted by the service as situations both of honour and emolument; and if (for interest will have its way) they did not always find the officers nominated to them men of mark and livelihood, they seldom failed to make them so in the course of a year.

A regiment of Native Infantry consisted of ten companies. Each company, at its full strength, contained two commissioned native officers (known as the Soubahdar and Jemadar—Captain and Lieutenant), six havildars (sergeants), six naiks (corporals), and a hundred sepoy. In these regiments Hindoos and Mussulmans were indiscriminately enlisted. The proportions varied in different corps; the Hindoos necessarily preponderating, but not in a rate corresponding with the general population. (1) The lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency contributed few or no soldiers to the state. The Bengalees are feeble, indolent, timid, not hesitating to brand themselves as cowards, if thereby they can escape danger. But in the provinces of Upper India men of a very different stamp, physical and moral, freely enlisted into our armies. Oude alone is said to have furnished to the Company's army, besides some thousands of troopers, no less than three-fourths of the Bengal Infantry. (2)

The monthly pay of the Bengal Infantry sepoy was seven rupees (or fourteen shillings), with an additional rupee after sixteen year's service, and two after twenty year's service. A havildar received fourteen rupees; a jemadar twenty-four; and a soubahdar sixty-seven rupees. Estimated with reference to the price of the necessaries of life and the ordinary rate of wages, the scale of pay was liberal, and it was disbursed with the utmost punctuality. The pay of the youngest sepoy greatly exceeded the rate of agricultural wages, with the additional advantage that after a certain number of year's service he received a pension, to the end of his life, which was as secure to him as his pay had been in the days of his effective service. With this pension he returned to his native village, and sent his son to serve in his stead. He had, therefore, a direct interest in the stability of our rule. He knew that as long as the British Government should survive, the pension paymaster would disburse to him this reward of his past services, and that, on the contrary, a revolution would consign him to beggary to the end of his days.

From whatever part of the country he might come, the Bengal sepoy left his family at home, but he never deserted them. A large part of his pay was every month remitted to his village through the pay-establishment. Having once fixed the amount of the "family chit," he knew that their wants were provided for as certainly as though he had placed the silver in their hands. Every second or third year he obtained permission to proceed to his home, and was absent from his regiment during all that part of the year which included the seasons of the hot winds and the rains. If he did not return at the appointed time, it was a certainty that he had died on the road—probably that he had been thugged on his way home, or made away with by a professional poisoner, for the sake of the savings, his own and his comrades, which he was carrying with him concealed on his person. In a service, one of the most remarkable features of which is that simple dismissal is a grave military punishment, desertion can be little more than a name.

These frequent sojourns in the native village, and the sustaining hope of an ultimate retirement to it, imparted to the sepoy much more of the tone and character of civil life than is to be found, perhaps, in any other service in the world. Let him go where he would, he had still his cherished home associations: he had still the thought before him of the mango tree under which he would, next year, sit with his venerable father, who had served the Company before him, and who was garrulous about Lake, Malcolm and Ochterlony; or where, after a few more years of service, he would talk in turn, to his soldier-sons, of Napier or Pollock, Nott or Wheeler, proud of his pension, his medal, and his scars.

When with his regiment, the sepoy lived in what are called "lines". These are long rows of matted huts, in a convenient part of the military cantonment. In this primitive abode he slept, sometimes perhaps cooked; but spent the greater part of his time in the open air, sitting on the ground, smoking and conversing with his comrades, or perhaps lying on a charpoy, or rude native bed, at the door of his hut. His military duties, in time of peace, were performed principally at early morning, or under the refreshing influ-

ences of the cool evening breeze. During the rest of the day, except when on guard or on sentry, he idled in the lines or lounged about the bazars.

M. de Valbezen, in his graphic and impartial papers on the English in India, which have just been republished in a single volume, describes with great fidelity and acuteness, the sepoy of Hindostan:—

"En somme, la tenue extérieure du cipaye laisse bien peu de chose à désirer; mais il lui manque, on le devine au premier coup d'œil, le sentiment de dignité de l'habit qu'il porte. Rien dans sa contenance ne rappelle l'air martial de nos pantalons rouges, ou la tournure d'homme carrée par la base, du soldat anglais. C'est qu'en effet le cipaye n'a rien perdu de ses habitudes natives, et pour démontrer cette vérité, que le lecteur veuille bien nous accompagner aux tentes d'une compagnie d'infanterie venue récemment de l'intérieur avec un convoi d'argent, et campée sur le glacis du Fort William à Calcutta.

"Le camp est formé de trois grandes tentes; un seul homme en habit rouge, une baguette de fusil à la main, en garde l'approche; quant aux soldats ils ont dépouillé l'uniforme et revêtu le costume indien dans toute sa simplicité: les plus couverts en chemise! Et quelles fantaisies de coiffures! celui-ci la tête complètement rasée, celui-là avec des nattes de six pieds, cet autre à front monumental fait a coups de rasoir: ce soldat Sikh enfin, ses cheveux relevés et noués en chignon comme une demoiselle chinoise. Les officiers natifs se distinguent par un collier de boules de bois doré. Du reste, une tranquillité parfaite, un ordre profond. Chaque homme fait sa petite cuisine, à son petit feu, s'occupe de soins de propreté. C'est que la main des siècles, l'influence civilisatrice de la discipline militaire, ont glissé sur la nature immuable de l'Indien comme l'huile sur le marbre. Trois coups de baguette, deux mots, et ces sauvages à demi-nus, le fusil à piston à la main, l'habit rouge sur le dos, offriront des spécimens très remarquables des soldats de l'honorable compagnie des Indes; toutefois rien n'est changé dans leurs instincts, leurs habitudes; ce sont les hommes, les mêmes hommes, qui sous les drapeaux du roi Porus, combattaient il y a deux mille ans, les guerriers d'Alexandre." (Les Anglais et l'Inde, p. 97).

We do not remember to have met with a more striking or characteristic description of the Indian soldier than that which is contained in these few lines; and it seems to us to explain much that is otherwise incomprehensible. The sepoy viewed from our own point of view,—in the long lines of European drill, in the British uniform, or in face of the enemy,—presented to the eye a force not unworthy to be ranked with British soldiers, whose triumphs, they had so often shared: but this tincture of military discipline, this disguise of civilisation, was altogether superficial; the natural Asiatic remained quite unchanged; even his manner of life was scarcely altered; his character was still overshadowed by low animal propensities, by the bestial superstitions of the worst form of heathenism, and by the impenetrable cunning of a feeble race. It was not, therefore, either impossible or astonishing that some fanatical delusion, some maddening impulse, or even some untoward accident, should suddenly inflame this creature of ignorance and passion; and that, once excited, all restraint should be thrown off, and he should surpass the wild animals of the Indian jungle in blood-thirstiness and treachery.

But these savage propensities lay concealed beneath an exterior which had, in ordinary times, much of the simplicity and the sportiveness of childhood. Coming suddenly upon a group of sepoy, you would generally find the greater number of them with a broad grin on their comely faces; perhaps the "loud laugh which speaks the vacant mind" would salute you as you approached. Little encumbered with business of any kind, they were remarkably accessible to every description of excitement that would come to them unsought. A loquacious stranger in the lines or in the bazaar, a wandering faqueer, or a traveller from a distant province, with some marvellous story to tell, was always welcome to Jack Sepoy. With open eyes and open ears he stared and listened, and devoured lies as greedily as sweetmeats. The marvellous was always a delight to him, and his credulity eagerly swallowed the most monstrous improbabilities.

It would be difficult to conceive a class of men more easily to be deluded and led astray by designing persons, or a mode of life better calculated to facilitate their designs. The European officer lived apart from his men in a different quarter of the cantonment. He knew little or nothing of what was going on in the lines. He seldom conversed with the sepoy; he had no confidential intercourse with them. All sorts of leprous distillments might poison the sepoy's mind, before his European officer would know anything about it. Time was when there were some links of fellowship and friendship between them—when the sepoy really looked up to his officer with child-like confidence, as "his father and his mother," and the officer regarded his regiment as his home. But all this is now gone. A thousand co-operating causes have broken the link of brotherhood. The improved moral tone of society; the presence of many European

(1) The general proportion of Mahomedans to Hindoos is stated to be one to fifteen—in the army one to five.

(2) Colonel Sherman says, "three-fourths of the recruits for our Bengal native infantry are drawn from the Rajpoot peasantry of the kingdom of Oude, on the left bank of the Ganges, where their affections have been linked to the soil for a long series of generations."

families in every military contonment; the increased facilities of communication with England; the mess; the book-club; the billiard-table; and above all the improved and more comprehensive character of the administration, which, by opening to the army new fields of honourable and lucrative employment, has diverted the ambition of men from mere regimental occupation, have loosened the ties which bound the English officer to the Hindostanee sepoy. There is no doubt of the fact, and the evil—if, on the whole, it be an evil—is probably without a remedy.

It might be supposed that this deficiency would in some measure have been atoned for by the mediation of the native officer, who ought to have bridged over the gulf between the sepoy and his English captain. But the cause, to which we have adverted, had made the English captain forfeit even the confidence of the native officer; and the system of promotion—a system of pure seniority—whatever else it may have had to recommend it, was fatal to the efficiency of the class. The soubahdar and jemadar of a company were generally old and effete. They had attained their commissions, not by merit but by age. They were in fact only the oldest sepoy in the company, but as officers they were mere names. They stood between the English officers and the sepoy; but they did not unite them. They induced a sense of security, but made nothing secure. Having no real attachment for their English comrades, they were generally blind and deaf when sight and hearing were inconvenient. The native officers, living in the lines with the sepoys, ought, to have been cognisant of all the mischief that was brewing in them; and being, though in an ill-defined and doubtful manner, responsible for the good conduct of the men off parade, they ought to have reported all dangerous sayings and doings to their European officers. But it is very certain they did nothing of the kind, and that they were for all practical purposes identical with the men they commanded. The existence of native commissioned officers was, as we showed on a former occasion, (1) a fatal error. They contributed nothing to the real discipline of the regiment, yet they served to screen the deficiency of European officers in numbers and in experience.

#### THE OUTBREAK AND ITS IMMEDIATE CAUSES.

That the movement is one primarily of Mahomedan origin is not to be doubted. No one can have watched, with any clearness of vision, the phenomena of Mahomedanism throughout all the countries of Asia during the last few years, without observing convulsive struggles which indicate a condition the very reverse of that repose which proceeds from consciousness of strength. The events preceding and attending the Russian war must have opened the eyes of many of the faithful to the dangerous position of Mahomedanism in Turkey. It was threatened on both sides—threatened alike by the hostility of Russia and by the presence of Christian allies. It is no mere hypothesis that the concessions made by the Porte to its Christian allies, as indicated by the famous firman of the Sultan granting increased privileges and immunities to Christians, were viewed with the utmost suspicion and alarm by other Mahomedan states, and attributed to the sinister influence of Great Britain. On a former occasion we pointed out in this journal how Persia, threatened with hostilities from England, had despatched emissaries to the states of Central Asia, calling upon them, in the name of the Faith, to reject all alliance with a nation, whose friendship was more dangerous to Islamism than its enmity could be. It is not difficult to believe that this may have been only one particular manifestation of the activity of Persia in that conjuncture, and that emissaries may have been despatched to India with the intention of arousing the religious fears of the Mussulmans of Hindostan, and thus exciting the soldiery to revolt. If Persia did not understand the full extent of the calamity involved in a revolt of the native army of India, and the manner in which such an event must necessarily cripple our power to carry on a foreign war, others may have taught her the lesson. The train, however, was not ignited in time to aid her designs. England had struck so promptly and so effectively, that the force assembled in the Persian Gulf had done its work in time to send aid towards the suppression of the revolt in Hindostan.

It is certain that much bitter discontent, not altogether unmingled with ambitious hopes, had long been seething in the mind of the Mahomedans of India. They had seen all the most honourable and most lucrative posts under the Government wrested from them by the intruding Feringee. There was no service left for them but of an inferior grade; and even in these lower grades of employment, men of high birth and illustrious antecedents were compelled to jostle with reprobates and outcasts. There was no outlet for the aspiring ambition, there was no safety-valve for the energetic aspirations, of the once dominant race. Year after year their position

grew more hopeless and depressing. At first one native state, then another, fell, under the pressure of inevitable circumstances, into the grasp of the English conquerors; the narrow field of employment was still further contracted; their dark prospects were rendered still darker. The most sagacious of our Anglo-Indian statesmen had clearly foreseen and emphatically commented on this increasing danger. They had predicted the time when, by the universal extension of our rule, we should turn against us all the vagrant energies of the country, and perhaps be stricken down at last by a monster of our own creation. Half a century ago the danger threatening us from this source was said to be imminent—nay, it was believed already to have descended upon us, in the event known in history as the Massacre of Vellore, and might again descend upon us with the same ghastly and terrific aspect. It was a necessity that the descendants of the Mahomedan conquerors of India should hate us, and that mingled with this hatred there should be an undying hope of recovering the supremacy they had lost. Wherever the sword of Islam has carried the faith of Mahomet, the same implacable hatred of every other creed, the same sanguinary tyranny over the unbeliever, subsists. Nana Sahib, in one of his insolent proclamations, invoked the authority of the "Sultan of Roum" against us; for even the Mahrattas appear to recognise the superior force and ferocity of their Musulman conquerors. No wonder that the hatred of us by this class of fanatical warriors is intense. Ever since we have been extending our conquests in India, this has been the normal state of the upper class of Mahomedans, and we may be sure that to them toleration and submission are alike unknown.

Every new principality wrested from native rule has increased the exacerbation against us, and rendered them peculiarly susceptible to impressions adverse to the victorious race of their successors. Their secret hatred lost none of its intensity. It is a marvel and a mystery that so many years should have passed away without an explosion. At last a firebrand was applied to what a single spark might have ignited; and in the course of a few weeks there was a general conflagration; but a conflagration which still bears more marks of accident than of deliberate conspiracy and incendiarism.

In a most unhappy hour—in an hour laden with a concurrence of adverse circumstances—the incident of the greased cartridges occurred. It found the Bengal army in a season of profound peace, and in a state of relaxed discipline. It found the sepoys pondering over the predictions and the fables which had been so assiduously circulated in their lines and their bazaars; it found them with imaginations inflamed and fears excited by strange stories of the desigus of their English masters; it found them, as they fancied, with their purity of caste threatened, and their religious distinctions invaded, by the proselytising and annexing Englishman. It seemed as though we were about to take everything from them—their old privileges, their old rights, even their old religion. Still, there was no palpable evidence of this. Everything was vague, intangible, obscure. Credulous and simple-minded as they were, many might have retained a lingering confidence in the good faith and good intentions of the British Government, had it not been suddenly announced to them, just as they were halting between two opinions, that, in prosecution of his long cherished design to break down the religion both of Mahomedan and Hindoo, the Feringee had determined to render their military service the means of their degradation, by compelling them to apply their lips to a cartridge saturated with animal grease—the fat of the swine being used for the pollution of the one, and the fat of the cow for the degradation of the other. (1)

If the most astute emissaries of evil who could be employed for the corruption of the Bengal sepoy had addressed themselves to the task of inventing a lie for the confirmation and support of all his fears and superstitions, they could have found nothing more cunningly devised for their purpose. A large portion of the Hindu Sepoys in the Bengal army were men of high caste—Brahmins and Rajpoots. The Brahmins had their own especial grievances; the dominion of the English had done much to weaken their influence, and was steadily doing more and more every year to lower the dominant caste, and by exploding superstition after superstition, to destroy the ascendancy which they had obtained over the minds of their fellows. They were in a state of mind which rendered them peculiarly accessible to the conviction that the English were systematically endeavouring to degrade them. The story of the greased cartridges, therefore,—cartridges lubricated with the sacred fat of the cow,—met with ready acceptance, and at once obtained the minds of all the Hindoos in the ranks of the army. Thus done, the prejudices of the Mahomedans were assailed, but in a different manner.

(1) Yet it is stated on good authority that the same grease had always been applied, without objection, by native artillerymen to the wheels of their gun carriages.

The pig is as much held in abhorrence by the Mussulman, as the cow is venerated by the Hindoo. So it was reported that hogs' lard was used in the composition of the grease applied to many of the cartridges. (1)

The Hindoo and the Mussulman had therefore, a common cause. The safety of the English has ever been said to reside in the mixture of races and the discordance of creeds. There was little probability, it was long believed, of a hostile combination against the British Government. And even after symptoms of disaffection in the native army had begun to manifest themselves, it might be doubted whether there was any deep-seated combination. Indeed, for some time it was the common opinion of the most observant and intelligent persons, that the movement was a Brahminical movement, and that the Hindoos only were affected. The earliest writers on the mutiny adopted this theory. It soon, however, became apparent that the Hindoo and the Mahomedan were leagued in one common effort of resistance to the authority of their English masters. The revolt of a regiment of native cavalry at Meerut first raised a suspicion that the Mussulmans were concerned in the outbreak; for the cavalry regiments have a large proportion of Mahomedan troopers in their ranks. But even then it was said that this particular regiment was an exception to the common rule, and was mainly composed of Hindoos;—so strong at that time was the prevailing belief that the Brahmins were the instigators of the abominable plot. But this was an error; and the establishment of the head-quarters of the rebellion at Delhi, followed by the proclamation of the Mogul, proved the Hindoos who had engaged in the movement were in reality the tools and victims of Mahomedan leaders.

The outbreak at Meerut first opened the eyes of the English nation to the danger which threatened their empire in the East, and raised the mutiny of a few soldiers to the dignity of a great military revolution. There had been unpleasant manifestations of bad feeling in the lower provinces. At Berhampore a regiment had mutinied, and had subsequently, though contrite, been disbanded. At Barrackpore an officer had been cut down by a sepoy, who was hanged for the crime, and a jemadar who had prevented the guard from going to the assistance of the assaulted officer had also been executed; some of the sepoys of the Calcutta guard had been tampered with, and there had been other symptoms of an unquiet feeling among the soldiery; but it was supposed that the clouds had passed away, and that the general loyalty of the Bengal army was not affected when the great explosion at Meerut declared, in a voice of thunder, that the sepoys who had served us so long and so faithfully, had now become the deadly enemies of our race.

These occurrences in the Lower Provinces had unquestionably excited a ferment in all the military stations of India. On the 3rd of May a letter from the 7th Oude Irregular Cavalry to the men of the 48th Regiment was intercepted and brought to Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, to the effect,—“We are ready to obey the direc-

tions of our brethren of the 48th in the matter of the cartridges, and to resist either actively or passively.” With equal judgment and promptitude, the Oude Commissioner surrounded and disarmed the mutinous regiment. On the 6th of May, Lord Canning followed up Sir Henry Lawrence's measure by causing another mutinous regiment, the 34th Native Infantry, to be disbanded at Barrackpore—a measure which has been described by some writers as one of misplaced severity, and by others as one of excessive leniency; but which denotes the state of the army at other places in the first days of May. Very different was the course of proceeding at Meerut. There, too, the discontent of the men was known, but the colonel commanding the 3rd Light Cavalry, instead of disarming, proceeded to exasperate his men by putting eighty-five of them in irons! The junior officers of the regiment, both European and native, had remonstrated against such a proceeding. Colonel Smith persisted; yet such was the infatuation of General Hewett, that no previous or subsequent measures were taken to crush the evident insubordination of the troops. It was also known at Delhi in the preceding fortnight that attempts had been made to tamper with the fidelity of the garrison; but as yet these disturbances appear to have related to the cartridges only.

On the afternoon—a Sunday afternoon—of the 10th of May, the 3rd Regiment of Bengal Cavalry broke out into open mutiny at Meerut, released the prisoners in the gaol, set fire to many of the cantonment buildings, and shot down several officers. The 20th Regiment of Native Infantry joined them at once; and the 11th, though they spared their own officers, soon flung themselves into the rebellion. As the brief twilight of the Indian summer gave place to the thickening shadows of night, the flames of burning edifices lit up the horizon, and officers returning with their wives and children from their accustomed evening drive, astonished and alarmed by these strange phenomena, were met by bands of infuriated sepoys or by viler gaol-birds, and murdered in their carriages. Others, as they fled from their burning houses, were cut down or shot by the insurgents; women were outraged with indescribable barbarity, and little children massacred for sport. For the first time, on that awful night, we learn to what excess of ferocity, the natives of India could be driven by vindictive excitement or an unreasonable panic. Our sepoys had risen in mutiny before. On one memorable occasion they had murdered their officers in their beds; but never had English ladies and English children been the victims of the lust and the barbarity of our trained soldiers or of the common people of the soil. We do not think the history of mankind offers a more dreadful passage than this contrast between the easy, luxurious, confiding, and somewhat apathetic society of the English in India, and the horrible stroke which roused them in an instant from their fancied security. Women, whose slightest caprice had been law to their followers, and who had lived in a mixture of English refinement and Oriental luxury, found themselves at once exposed to the frenzy of a lawless soldiery, tracked naked through burning jungles, thrown to the merciless populace of maddened cities, or consigned to the worst brutality of man, until they met a death worthy of the early martyrs. Many of them, we know, endured with sublime energy and faith that tremendous trial—the last to which humanity can be exposed. It is recorded that when Mithridates gave the signal of the first Pontic War, and the whole of Asia Minor rose against the Romans, 80,000 persons perished in the massacre. Such indiscriminate slaughter sometimes stains the page of pagan history. But in modern times, and to a people nurtured in the mild habits of Christian society, these actions appear incredible. They carry us back 2000 years in the annals of our race, and they tell us that now, within the domination of Britain, the same passions are let loose which one polluted the earth with human sacrifices and trampled in blood the living image of the Creator.

It was long before we could realise the idea of events so strange, so monstrous, so remote from all ancient theories and past experience. There was not an Englishman in India, or one who, after spending the best years of his life on the banks of the Ganges or the Jumna, has retired to his native land only to think with fond regret of the former country of his adoption, that did not regard with measureless astonishment, almost with absolute incredulity, the atrocities which the Bengal sepoys and their followers were now, for the first time, committing upon our wives and children. For a century we had trusted our helpless little ones, without a misgiving, to the guardianship and protection of these very people. Many an English lady travelled from one end of the country to the other—along desert roads, through thick jungles, or on vast solitary rivers—miles and miles away from the companionship of white men, without the slightest anxiety. Her native servants, Mahomedans and Hindoos, were her protectors; and she was as safe in such custody as in an English home. Not a word or a gesture ever alarmed her

(1) It is probable that the English are generally more despised in India for the eating of swine than for the killing of cows. In a pamphlet written in 1808, relative to the Vellore mutiny, we find the following remarkable passage:—“The well-informed Brahmin will perhaps pity the Mussulman for not having received his law to revere the cow and idolatrous images, instead of killing the former and breaking the latter; but he will never deign to endeavour to convert him. He extends the same reasoning to the European. The bigoted Mussulman, however (a foreigner as well as ourselves), is not so liberal in his sentiments; for, having been brought up from infancy in hatred of Christianity, and especially jealous of the European, who has raised the foundation of his domination in India upon the ruins of Mahomedan power, he loses no opportunity of vilifying and defaming his character to the Hindoo, by representing the European as an “eater of hogs,” and “drinker of wine;” not as the killer of the cow, which you would suppose, ought to catch the ear of an Hindoo, and make a deeper impression on him. This will account for a curious circumstance that I am tempted now to relate:—During a residence of nearly half my life in India, I never once heard a Hindoo urge against a European, as abuse, that he was a “killer of cows,” although it is a general term of even Hindoo reproach to blast him as an “eater of hogs' flesh;” which proves how far the Hindoos have taken up their ideas of us from the Mahomedans, who look upon Christians as a sect of Jews, and deny that the New Testament has abrogated the strictness of the old Levitical law. But of this here after.—I only wish to prove the weight of Mahomedan opinion and influence over the minds of the other class of Indians.” A considerable portion of the pamphlet from which this passage is quoted, might have been written yesterday, so applicable is it to the Bengal mutiny of 1857. It is entitled, “Strictures on the Present Government, Civil, Military, and Political, of the British possessions in India, including a View of the Recent Transactions in that Country, which have tended to alienate the Affections of the Natives; in a Letter from an Officer, resident on the Spot, to his Friend in England.” The pamphleteers of the present day delight in curser and less descriptive titles.

modesty or excited her fear. The dark, bearded men, who surrounded her, treated her with the most delicate respect, and bore about with them a chivalrous sense of the sacredness of their charge. Many a fond husband and father has entrusted to such guardianship all that was dear to him in the world, and felt as much security as if he had consigned his treasures to the care of his nearest kindred.

And even stranger than this new horror of the pollution of our wives and daughters, was the butchery of the little children. Few of our countrymen have ever returned from India without deploring the loss of their native servants. In the nursery they are, perhaps, more missed than in any part of the establishment. There are, doubtless, hundreds of English parents in this country who remember with feelings of kindness and gratitude the nursery bearers, or male nurses, who attended their children. The patience, the gentleness, the tenderness with which these white-robed, swarthy Indians attend the little children of their European masters, surpass even the love of women. You may see them sitting for hour after hour, with their little infantine charges, amusing them with toys, fanning them when they slumber, brushing away the flies, or pacing the verandah with the little ones in their arms, droning the low monotonous lullaby which charms them to sleep. And all this without a shadow on the brow, without a gesture of impatience, without a single petulant word. No matter how peevish, how wayward, how unreasonable, how exacting the child may be, the native bearer only smiles, shows his white teeth, or shakes his black locks, giving back a word of endearment in reply to young master's imperious discontent. In the sick room, doubly gentle and doubly patient, his noiseless ministrations are continued through long days, often through long nights, as though hunger and weariness were human frailties to be cast off at such a time. It is little to say that these poor hirelings often love their master's children with greater tenderness than their own. Parted from their little charges, they may often be seen weeping like children themselves; and have been known, in after years, to travel hundreds of miles to see the brave young ensign or the blooming maiden whom they once dandled in their arms.

These men, it is true, are not sepoy; and it would seem that the instances are few in which the native servant, Hindoo or Musulman, has turned against his European master. But the sepoy has ever shown the same kindness towards the children of his English officer. He appeared to rejoice when a man child was born to his captain, and to share the pride engendered by the event. Who has not seen the orderly in the verandah playing with the children of his officer, and endeavouring to attract their innocent caresses? Who would not have confided his wife and children to the care of such men? Who did not feel security doubly secure if a sepoy escort attended an English lady on her journey, or a sepoy guard were posted at the door? They who knew the sepoy best, trusted them most. If any Englishman of long experience with a native regiment had a year ago been asked, if he believed that, under any circumstances, the sepoy would outrage and murder the wives and daughters of his officers and cut their little children into pieces, he would have answered, without a moment's hesitation, that it was clearly an impossibility.

But, in defiance of all human calculations, suddenly, and as if by miraculous intervention, the man ceased, and the fiend arose. It is useless to endeavour to account for the phenomenon. We know too well the dreadful fact. We know, too, that such things have happened before in civilised and Christian countries. Henceforth we must regard the sepoy, in spite of all ancient experiences and associations, not as a laughing, playful, child-like, child-loving, simple-minded soldier; but as a ruthless murderer—a miscreant without scruple, without pity, doing, under Satanic inspiration, deeds that are not to be described. So he became at once on that 10th of May at Meerut, so he became at Delhi; so he became at well-nigh every place where the standard of revolt was planted.

For, rapidly, the flames of mutiny spread. Victorious at Meerut, the rebels made good their march to Delhi, owing to the utter want of energy and presence of mind in the general officer commanding the station. Meerut was one of the largest military stations in Upper India. It was the head-quarters of that noble regiment of Bengal Artillery, which the greatest captains who have fought in India have declared to be unsurpassed by any ordnance corps in Europe, and which in every great crisis, of foreign war or domestic difficulty, has had its Pollocks and its Lawrences ready to show what its officers can do. It was a station at which were posted two regiments of European soldiers—one of Foot and one of Horse; Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and the Regiment of Carabineers. It is not to be doubted that there was an available force of loyal soldiers amply sufficient, if promptly, energetically, and judiciously employed, to crush the mutineers in the course of a few hours. But there was no

promptitude; there was no energy; there was no judgment. And so the rebellious regiments, reeking with the blood of their officers, quitted Meerut under the cover of the night, and made good their march to Delhi. Had General Gillespie shown the same irresolution and incapacity in 1806 at Vellore, the consequences of that mutiny might have become not less disastrous.

If all the movements of the revolt had been pre-arranged, there could have been no better stroke of tactics than this. Delhi is the chief city of Mahomedan India—the "imperial city"—the "city of the Mogul." It had been the home of those mighty emperors who had ruled so long in Hindostan—of Shir Shah, of Akbar, and of Aurungzebe; and was still the residence of their fallen successors, the titular kings of Delhi, whom fifty years ago our armies had rescued from the grasp of the Mahrattas. Beyond the palace walls these remnants of royalty had no power; they had no territory, no revenue, no authority. In our eyes they were simply pensioners and puppets. Virtually, indeed, the Mogul was extinct. But not so in the minds of the people of India. The nominal sovereignty of the emperor was still acknowledged. Long after he had been stripped of every rag of power, the greatest Mahratta and Mahomedan princes of the land had desired no higher honour than to do him reverence as his chief servants. The Peishwah and the Boonslah, the Newab-Wuzeer and the Nizam, were only his hereditary ministers. For a quarter of a century after the establishment of British supremacy on the banks of the Ganges, all the money that circulated through the country, that was received or issued at the Company's treasuries, was coined in the king's name. Empty as was the sovereignty of the Mogul, it was a living fact in the minds of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans, especially in Upper India. "One of the most remarkable proofs," wrote the late Colonel John Sutherland, "of the attachment of the people of India to the forms and ceremonies which their forefathers have been accustomed to observe, is the avidity with which all court and pay for honours emanating from the pageant throne of Delhi. It might be expected that in the long period which has intervened since the power of the house of Delhi terminated, it would have ceased to be considered as the fountain of all honour; but such is not the case. The princes of Rajpootana, the Nizam, and generally the princes of India, do not consider their accession to their principalities complete until they have done homage to the throne of Delhi." Twenty years have passed since this was written, but time, though it may have weakened, has not destroyed the prestige of the imperial family.

To hold the ancient capital of Mahomedan India, and to identify the Mogul himself with the outbreak of the rebel sepoy, could not be immense gain to the cause. It was at once to give it a political significance—almost, indeed, to impart to it the character of a great national movement. Yet there is no sufficient evidence to prove that this, apparently, a master-stroke of policy, was pre-arranged. It happened that Delhi lay less than forty miles distant from Meerut—a large walled city, with arsenals and magazines, and not a single European regiment to defend them. Its geographical position and its military advantages were more than sufficient to induce the Meerut mutineers to turn their faces towards it. They had comrades there on whom they believed that they could rely; and they were not mistaken. There were three regiments of native infantry in Delhi and a battery of goulundaze, or native artillerymen. The English commandant had received warning of the approach of the rebels; he had appealed to their loyalty; besought them to stand by their colours and oppose themselves, as good and true soldiers to the wicked designs of their misguided comrades. They had responded to this appeal with a noisy demonstration of loyalty, and desired to be led out against the mutineers. "The Brigadier responding to their seeming enthusiasm," writes one of the best and ablest of the early chroniclers of the sepoy war, "put himself at their head and let them out of the Cashmere gate to meet the rebels, whose near approach had been announced. As they marched out in gallant order, to all appearance proud and confident, a tumultuous array appeared advancing from the Hindun. In front, and in full uniform, with medals on their breasts gained in fighting for British supremacy, confidence in their manner and fury in their gestures, galloped on about 250 troopers of the 3rd cavalry. Behind them at no great distance, and almost running in their efforts to reach the golden minarets of Delhi, appeared a vast mass of infantry, their red coats soiled with dust, and their bayonets glittering in the sun. No hesitation was visible in all that advancing mass; they came on, as if confident of the result." (1) And they were confident of the result. The leading

(1) "The Mutiny of the Bengal Army; an historical Narrative, by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier." The passage quoted in the text, the authenticity of which we assume, gives the best and clearest account we have yet seen of the circumstance attending the arrival of the

Delhi regiment, which had evinced so great an alacrity to be led against the mutineers, was ordered to fire: and the traitors fired in the air. The sequel is well known. The Meerut and the Delhi troops instantly fraternised with each other; and, murdering their officers where they could, they rushed tumultuously into the city. It is impossible to doubt that throughout Bengal the native army was ripe for revolt, though no hand appeared to have combined the movement, and no political or military leader was ready to take advantage of it.

The city of Delhi was now in the possession of six or seven mutinous sepoy regiments, and the atrocities which had been committed at Meerut were soon re-enacted in an exaggerated form of horror. The Mogul himself, stricken in years and feeble, little capable of independent action, for he had passed his life in the "Sultan's solitude" of that vast imperial palace, where nothing great or noble ever germinated, became the tool, rather than the director of the mutineers. It is difficult to convey to the English reader a just conception of the population, or the mode of life, in that Delhi palace. The vast building or stack of buildings, with its numerous enclosures, was reeking with royalty in its most degraded form. In the course of half a century, during which the British Government in India had tolerated a state of things which humanity deplored and condemned, there had lived, and revelled, and procreated three kings of Delhi—each with an unlimited amount of wives and concubines; and their offspring had followed their example. (1) But munificent as was the pension allowed by the British Government to the mimic sovereignty of Delhi, when the portion set apart for the maintenance of the family (as distinct from the king himself and his immediate household) came to be divided and subdivided, there was but a paltry maintenance for all the princes and princesses, old and young,—the offshoots of Moguls past and present—who wallowed in that privileged sink of iniquity. But they lived in indolence and vice; enfeebled, body and soul, by debauchery. "If ever there was a class of people," says an anonymous, but not unknown writer, who has contributed some admirable papers on the mutiny in the Bengal army to the columns of the "Times" newspaper,—“if ever there was a class of people who neither fear God nor regard man, it

Meerut mutineers at Delhi. It has frequently been stated that no warning was sent to Delhi; and that, if there had been, the bridge across the Hindun might have been destroyed, and so the advance of the mutineers might have been intercepted. The writer of the narrative quoted in the text, says, "On receiving intimation of the movement of the rebels, the Brigadier's first idea was to cut away the bridge and defend the river. But there were two objections to this plan. The first was that at the season of the year, the height of the hot weather, the river was easily formidable, and his position on the other bank might be turned. The second, that in case of their attempting that manœuvre, he would be compelled to fight (even if his men continued staunch) with the rebels on his front and flank, and the most disaffected city in India, the residence of the descendant of the Mogul, in his rear. This plan, therefore, was abandoned almost as soon as conceived." We ourselves know from private letters, that the disposition of the native troops in Delhi had excited uneasiness among the European officers as early as the 23rd of April.

(1) A note on the imperial house of Delhi will probably be welcome in the present conjuncture of affairs. The emperor, Shah Allum by name, old, blind, and feeble, who was rescued from the miserable captivity into which he had been thrown by the Mahrattas, died in 1806. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Akbar Shah, who enjoyed their titular sovereignty and its noble endowment for upwards of thirty years. He had long been anxious to obtain the succession for his second son, the Shah-zadah Jehanguire, a man of some energy of character, but inconveniently addicted to intrigue and cherry brandy. This, however, the British Government resisted, and when Akbar Shah died in 1837, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Meerza Aboo Zuffur, the present king of Delhi, who is now more than eighty years of age. Treading in the footsteps of his father, the king (who now styles himself Mahomed Suraj-odeen Shah Ghahee) has recently endeavoured, on the death of his eldest son, to persuade the British Government to set aside the prince next in succession, in favour of a younger one, whom his majesty declared to be more richly endowed with natural gifts. This request, which is generally believed to have had its origin in a Zenana intrigue, was not complied with by the British Government, to the great disappointment of the old king, his favourite wife, the expectant prince, and by the greater number of the princes, nine out of eleven of whom signed a paper declaring their willingness to recognise the elect of the king as the head of the family. The king himself, who has long been in his dotage, may have lent his name to a hostile movement against the British Government but is little likely to have been an active promoter of it. The most probable person, under the circumstances above related, to have desired the success of the rebel cause, was the disappointed nominee of the king. It appears, by the last published returns, that the amount of stipend granted to the Delhi Family is about twelve and a half lakhs of rupees, or 120,000l. per annum.

is the Sullateen (plural of Sultan), or pensioned descendants of the last race of Mahomedan Kings of Delhi. Exempted by their rank from the influence of public opinion, and by their pensions from work, they appeared to be condemned to hereditary idleness and depravity. The dispersion of this class and their absorption into the mass of the population will be a great moral as well as political benefit. The ingratitude of this family towards our nation has been extreme. We rescued them from a state of poverty and degradation under Scindiah (who scarcely allowed them the bare necessaries of life), and conferred a munificent pension upon them, which was regularly paid, to the day when they delivered over our women, who had taken refuge in the palace, to the tender mercies of the mutineers and placed themselves at the head of the insurrection against us."

The perpetuation of these titular sovereignties, supported by an enormous income, and invested with the immunities which exempted the Court and the Palace of Delhi from legal control, was no doubt a political mistake. The generous sympathies of our nature are disposed to lighten the suffering and the humiliation of a descent from vast regal power to the abject condition of a pensioner, and inclined us, therefore, to leave the fallen prince in possession of the empty title and the pageantry of the royal state. But we have learned now, what there had long been reason to suspect, that this is but mistaken kindness—that genuine humanity, thoughtful and considerate, looking rather to permanent than to immediate results, dictates an opposite course, and with the substance of royalty destroys also the shadow. In the present state of our information, we should not be justified in identifying the members of the royal house of Delhi with the earliest movements of the Bengal mutiny. There is no proof of their being, as is often said, "at the bottom of it." But they were very soon to be seen floating on the surface. And, whether they achieved for themselves the greatness of their new position, or whether it was thrust upon them, the king's name became a tower of strength to the mutineers; and from the moment in which they associated that name with their cause, the mutiny in the Bengal army might appear to be invested with a dignity beyond that of a mere military revolt.

In its political aspect nothing could have been more untoward than this occupation of Delhi by the mutineers. As a military movement it was equally unfavourable to the British Government. Delhi is a walled city some seven miles in circumference; easy to defend, difficult to attack. Its fortifications had recently been repaired by ourselves at a considerable cost. In it were the principal military magazines and store-houses of Upper India; and, in spite of the heroic deed of Lieutenant Willoughby, an immense supply of ordnance, of small arms, and of ammunition of all kinds, fell into the hands of the insurgents. In the hour, therefore, in which the Meerut and Delhi mutineers fraternised under the walls of the imperial city, and rushed confusedly into its streets to spoil and massacre, a victory was accomplished, by one fortunate blow, in support of the rebel cause, which months of successful efforts could not otherwise have achieved. The rebellious sepoys had all the munitions of war at their disposal; they had shelter; they had the king's name; they had abundance of money—for there was a public treasury; there was a bank, and the shops of many wealthy shroffs, or money-dealers, to be plundered—and it was the middle of the month of May, when the hot winds are as the fiery blasts of a furnace, and the stoutest European constitutions languish beneath the burning suns of the summer solstice.

But one thing was still wanting to the mutineers—they were without a leader. They had the prestige of the imperial family; but there was no manhood in the palace; and as the sepoy regiments, first at one station, then at another in Upper India, broke out into revolt, and many of them flung themselves into Delhi and rallied round the green standard, the want of some leading intelligence to direct the immense resources at the command of the insurgents became more and more manifest. It is said indeed that the chief command was conferred on Lall Khan, a mere subahdar of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, who divided his authority with the princes. What connexion there may have been between these several outbursts in places widely separated from each other, it is not easy to determine. But in all our military cantonments, from Benares to the Punjab, the sepoys rose in revolt. We cannot enter into the details of the many frightful tragedies that were then enacted. If the sepoys, in the first hour of their insurrection, spared the European officers and their wives and children, the exception excited wonder and admiration, so general had become the rule of indiscriminate slaughter. Time, indeed, seemed only to increase the ferocity with which these miscreants turned against the white men who had so pampered and petted them, and butchered gentle ladies and innocent babes with shameless cruelty not to be described. Yet even



after there had been much mutiny and bloodshed, many officers could not persuade themselves that the terrible events which had been announced to them were otherwise than local and accidental, and talked about the loyalty of their own regiments up to the very hour in which the first fatal shot was fired. Others, warned by passing events, took the wise precaution of disarming suspected regiments before they broke out into actual revolt. But whether they flocked with all their arms and equipments to the rebel standard; or whether they were disarmed in the presence of an European force backed by irresistible artillery; before the month of August arrived there was scarcely a single sepoy regiment in the Bengal army to fire a shot at the command of its European officers; and it is not too much to say that if this immense body of trained soldiers, with the most approved weapons of war, the pillage of our treasuries, and all the resources of the country at their disposal, had been controlled by some leading intelligence, and had moved in accordance with some definite scheme of action,—that if there had been in all those rebellious regiments a few men of military genius, or that such men had come from the native states of India, and their guidance had been accepted by the mutineers—the few scattered Europeans who have so bravely held their ground might have been swept into the sea. The absence of this leadership and direction is one of the main arguments against the existence of a vast political conspiracy, since those who could plan it, must have taken advantage of its success.

But, as time advanced, the calamity, gigantic as it was, assumed no new shape and excited no new alarm for the safety of our empire in the East. Frightful as were the disasters which attended it—enormous as was the loss of life and treasure, the destruction of property, the disorganisation of government, the relaxation of social order, and the paralysis of industrial energy, which followed in its train—it was still a military revolt—still the revolt of the Bengal army. Writing as we do, with intelligence before us extending to the end of August, 1857, we have still only to relate that the flames of rebellion have spread over a part of the Bengal presidency—and, therefore over a comparatively small part of our Indian empire. We have still only to relate that the enemy, whom we are called upon to subdue, are the trained and disciplined battalions a few months ago in our pay. The chiefs and people of India have not risen against us. Neither in the dependant, nor in the independant states, have any of the principal native princes, though their armies may have revolted, openly arrayed themselves or thrown their influence into the scales against us. Holkar and Scindiah, sorely perplexed and embarrassed by the conduct of their troops, have hitherto appeared to be true to their allegiance. (1) The princes of Rajpootana have arrayed themselves on our side; in some cases, by their timely demonstrations, they have materially succoured and assisted us; and there is no present reason to doubt their fidelity. The chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej states, with the Rajahs of Putealah and Jheend at their head, have evinced the most demonstrative loyalty, and earned the gratitude of their Christian allies. And the ruler of Nepal has despatched an army to occupy and protect the Goruckpore country, which borders on Oude, or, on a signal from the British Government, to advance on Fyzabad and Lucknow to render us more active assistance. For by a strange but fortunate contradiction, whilst we were betrayed and assailed by those on whom all our confidence had been lavished, we have been gallantly assisted by those native races and princes whom we were most disposed to view with suspicion and to rule by force.

Whilst such, as far as we are at present informed, has been the bearing of the principal chiefs of Upper India whose contiguity to the scene of trouble gave them the means of contributing greatly to our discomfiture, it does not appear that the people at large have evinced any inclination to aid the cause of the mutineers. We do not affirm that in no case have people, not belonging to the military classes, taken part in the insurrection. On the other hand, it is notorious that terrible excesses have been committed by men who have never eaten the Company's salt, or been trained to the use of arms. But as commonly one of the first movements has been the release of all the prisoners in the gaols, and as there are in every city and every cantonment of India numbers of dissolute hangers-on, men of the worst character, willing to fraternise with the sweepings of the gaols, and to participate in any work of crime, it would have been a marvel if hundreds of these "budmashes" had not always

been ready to profit by the disorder produced, in the first instance, by military revolt. But these wretched creatures, by whom, we doubt not, many of the worst atrocities attributed to the sepoys have been committed, have risen, not against the British Government, not again the white man; but against order, against law, against property, against every kind of restraint; and would have risen as promptly and vigorously under a Hindoo or Mahomedan administration. There is in all countries a floating mass of anarchy, eager to take advantage of the disorganisation of government and the disintegration of society; not because they think one government better than another, but because the absence of all government is their opportunity, and social convulsion their element. In India especially there are whole tribes and villages of professional robbers and murderers, who had been brought under the restraint of English law, but who are now suddenly restored to full activity by the opening of the gaols and the suspension of authority. By these wretches every sort of crime has of course been committed.

Beyond these abandoned classes, there may be a few persons here and there to sympathise with the mutineers; for there are in all societies disappointed and discontented men; and it is not to be doubted, as we have before observed, that the Mahomedans, whom we supplanted, have long been chafing under the diminution of all those sources of honourable and profitable employment under the State, which has attended the extension of British rule. The immediate kindred of the sepoys themselves may also, in some instances, have risen against the white men. (1) But the great mass of the agricultural population has remained quiescent. In many cases, the zemindars and the rayots have succoured our fugitives. In Oude alone it is stated, that many of our officers have been "murdered by the villagers." But the very account which exhibits this fact, proves it, at the same time, to have been an exceptional case. Five European officers, escaping from Fyzabad, were set upon by the armed inhabitants of a village named Mawadubur, and barbarously murdered. But the fugitives had been received at other villages with kindness and hospitality, and every effort had been made to succour them. (2) The village at which the massacre took place was an armed village, probably one of those robber-villages of which there are many in Oude—villages inhabited by people who have never spared their own countrymen when they have had anything to gain by strangling them or cutting them down.

But if this were not, even in Oude, an exceptional case, it would be unjust to adduce, by way of argument, the behaviour of the people of that province, which, at the time of the events referred to, had been little more than a year under our rule, and which had ever been remarkable for the readiness with which the matchlock and the tulwar were used, and the recklessness with which life was squandered. Not less unjust would it be than to cite the case of the now notorious Sreemunt Dhoondoo Punt, 'Nana Sahib,' (3)

(1) To what extent our pensioners have committed themselves, especially in Oude, remains yet to be ascertained. It is not one of the least interesting, and will not, we feel assured, be one of the last points of inquiry, when the immediate work of suppression, which lies before us gives place to that of judicial investigation.

(2) See the narrative of Farrier-Sergeant Busher, of Major Mill's Battery, published in the "Times" of the 29th of September: "The Jemadar very kindly took us to his hut, and entertained us as hospitably as he could, supplying us with provisions and cots to lie on." Again: "The Tussildars, who, at this place, gave us protection, further aided us by giving each a couple of rupees, and one pony to Lieutenant Ritchie, and another to Lieutenant Cautley, for their journey." Other similar passages might be cited from the same interesting letter.

(3) Sreemunt Nursoo Punt, Nana Sahib, was the adopted son, or one of several adopted sons, of the ex-Peishwah, Badjee Rao, who surrendered himself to Sir John Malcolm in 1813, and from that time up to the day of his death (the 28th of January, 1851) enjoyed an annual pension of eight lakhs of rupees, or 80,000*l.* On the death of Badjee Rao, Nana Sahib endeavoured, as his adopted son, to obtain a renewal of the pension in his favour. But as the promise made to Badjee Rao by Sir John Malcolm had extended to nothing beyond a personal provision for the Peishwah's own life, and there was no obligation on the part of the Company to continue the pension even to an actual descendant of the deceased, there was no sort of claim on the part of an adopted one. The local government therefore (knowing that Badjee Rao had made ample provision for his family out of the savings of his pension) refused to accede to the prayer of Nana Sahib's memorial; and the East India Company, on a similar application being made to that body, confirmed the decision of the Government of India. In 1853, Nana Sahib had an European agent in this country, who prosecuted his suit, but with no success—it being held that even if the 8000*l.* a year (derived from Badjee Rao's savings) which, it was admitted, had descended to the ex-Peishwah's family, was the entire provision made for them, it was sufficient to maintain them in comfort and respectability.

(1) Early in these disturbances the Dowry or Minister of the State of Gwalior—a sagacious native statesman—said to the British resident at that place, "You may rely upon it, the Maharajah and myself are true to the Company, but you must not suppose we are able to bring our troops into the field to fight against their own fellow-countrymen who are in arms for their caste and religion. That is beyond our power." And so the result has shown.

# ABINGTON'S PANORAMIC VIEW OF INDIA.

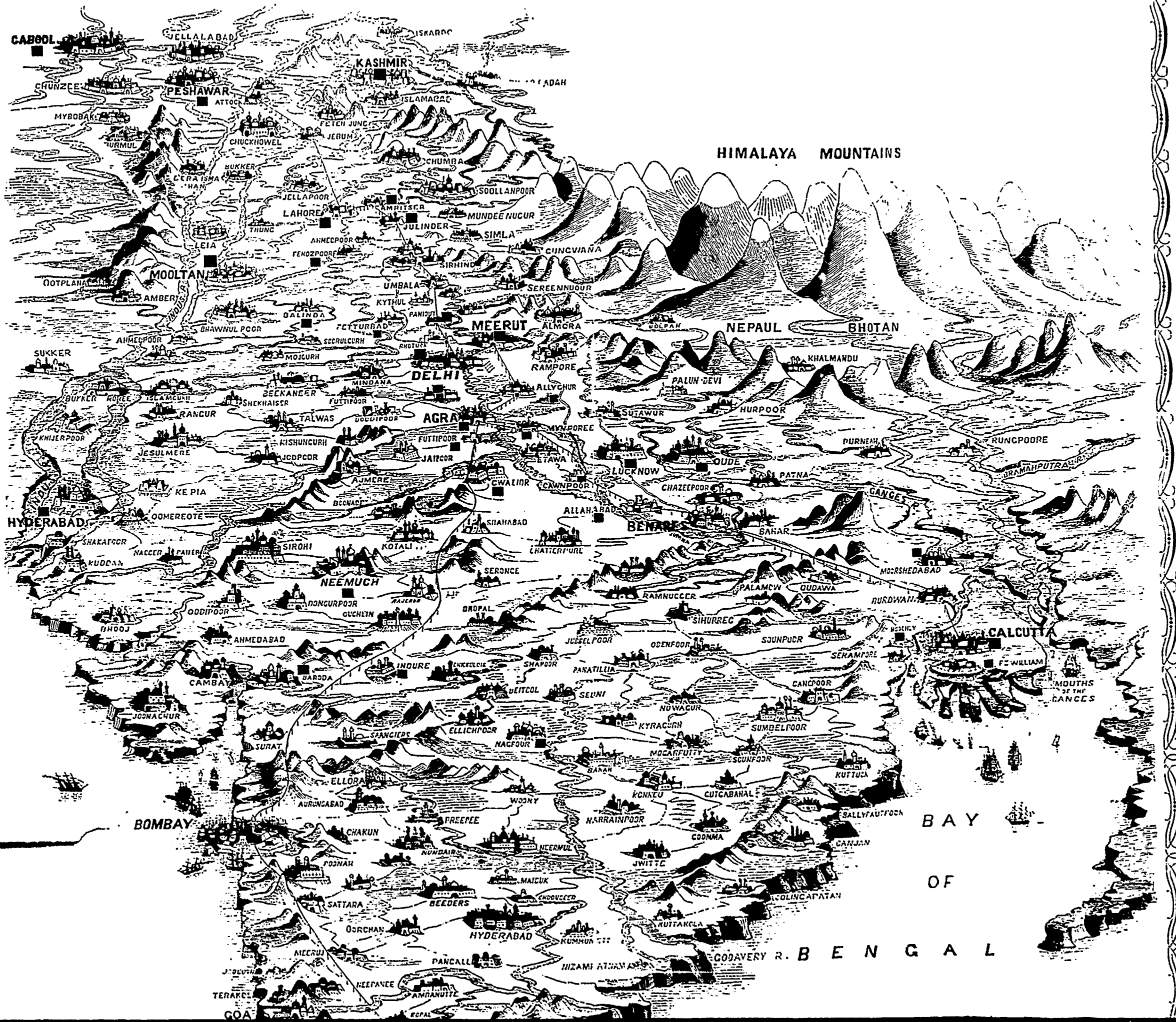




TABLE OF DISTANCES IN ENGLISH MILES.

|                         |      |                       |      |                       |      |
|-------------------------|------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|------|
| CALCUTTA to Agra, ..... | 700  | BOMBAY to Agra, ..... | 643  | MADRAS to Agra, ..... | 980  |
| Allahabad, .....        | 445  | Allahabad, .....      | 700  | Allahabad, .....      | 850  |
| Ajmeer, .....           | 860  | Ajmeer, .....         | 630  | Ajmeer, .....         | 980  |
| Benares, .....          | 372  | Benares, .....        | 750  | Benares, .....        | 800  |
| Bombay, .....           | 1040 | Calcutta, .....       | 1040 | Bombay, .....         | 625  |
| Cashmere, .....         | 1150 | Cashmere, .....       | 1035 | Calcutta, .....       | 885  |
| Cabool, .....           | 1375 | Cabool, .....         | 1090 | Cashmere, .....       | 1480 |
| Delhi, .....            | 790  | Delhi, .....          | 720  | Cabool, .....         | 1600 |
| Goa, .....              | 1024 | Goa, .....            | 240  | Delhi, .....          | 1060 |
| Hyderabad, .....        | 1220 | Hyderabad, .....      | 520  | Goa, .....            | 445  |
| Lahore, .....           | 1085 | Lahore, .....         | 885  | Hyderabad, .....      | 1125 |
| Madras, .....           | 865  | Madras, .....         | 625  | Lahore, .....         | 1320 |
| Moultan, .....          | 1170 | Moultan, .....        | 770  | Moultan, .....        | 1230 |
| Patna, .....            | 283  | Patna, .....          | 880  | Patna, .....          | 910  |
| Peshawur, .....         | 1290 | Peshawur, .....       | 1030 | Peshawur, .....       | 1520 |
| Seringapatam, .....     | 1020 | Seringapatam, .....   | 500  | Seringapatam, .....   | 250  |
| Trincomalee, .....      | 1040 | Trincomalee, .....    | 320  | Trincomalee, .....    | 320  |

in proof of the assertion that the nobility of India are against us. This is the one sole name, which during all this *gurdec-ka wukht*, or time of trouble, has become familiar to the English ear. He is the only man who has stood prominently forward as a leader; the only man of any note who has openly identified himself with the rebel cause, and vigorously promoted it. And he is a man with a grievance—a disappointed and discontented man, who for years has nourished, but concealed, a deep hatred of the British Government, which could not be persuaded to alienate for his benefit a large amount of the territorial revenue of the country. A Mahratta, and full of guile, he had malignantly bided his time. Residing, with some state and considerable command of money, at Blithoor, on the Ganges, not many miles from Cawnpore, he had kept up a friendly intercourse with the principal residents of that place, had often extended his hospitality to them, and had been held in high esteem as a pleasant, humorous, convivial sort of person, ever ready to join in the social recreations of the English, and to contribute to their gratification and amusement. So great, indeed, was the confidence reposed in the friendly feelings of this man towards the British, that when mutiny first broke out at Cawnpore, the authorities turned to Nana Sahib for assistance, and borrowed from him elephants for the conveyance of treasure to a place of safety, and sowars to guard our magazines. How it happened that he afterwards rose to such heights of wickedness, and practised such hellish cruelties upon those with whom he had recently held friendly intercourse, is one of those mysteries of humanity which, in this world, will never be solved.

### Letters of a Canadian Officer. (\*)

Mouths of the Ganges, 13th August 1857.

My dear Parents,

At last, after a long and disagreeable sail of about four months duration, the narrative of which I fear you must have found most tedious, I find myself at the end of my voyage; the pilot is now coming aboard...

What dreadful news we have just received!

The whole of Bengal has revolted. The natives have committed the most horrible murders and other atrocities, more particularly upon the females. The details of their cruelties are most appalling—I am so agitated and excited that I can scarcely hold my pen.

It is believed that my poor regiment was actually exterminated at Lucknow, we have reliable information of the death of five officers. All the women and children have been murdered at Cawnpore, where they had been left in supposed safety. These villains are worse than the Chinese, Caffres or American Indians. They had better look out if they come within the range of my revolver! I am too excited to write any more now, but I will give you further details from Calcutta, where I hope to find letters from you.

Calcutta, 21st August.

What! No letters from you?.....

You cannot imagine my disappointment, in not finding an affectionate word from you, at the very moment I am about to be engaged in this dreadful war. I go to it like a wild beast; I am burning to avenge the murder of two hundred women and children of my regiment, with almost every one of whom I was acquainted, and who were massacred by these villains after having been obliged to submit to the most degrading treatment and torture. I never felt so eager for the battle in my life;—I feel a something within me, which I never felt before, either during the war in the Crimea, or on the frontiers of Peshawur. I there fought without any particular emotion, or hatred; but what a difference now! I feel myself capable for any thing.—Oh! dogs, villains! I have my regiment to avenge, and I will do so, or perish!

You can easily judge what demons we shall prove when once brought in contact with these rascals. There are some who require that we should make them suffer the same tortures, to which they submitted us. But I am not of this opinion. Let us at least show ourselves civilized, let us spare the women and children, but no quarter must be given to those taken in arms, and who have participated in these horrible atrocities.

Let them be punished by the sword, by lead, or by the hangman, but not tortured.

I am in a perfect fever to know when I am to start. I run from one office to another, praying to be sent off; but all in vain. Steamers from Allahabad are daily expected, and it is next to impossible to travel alone. I saw yesterday the Commander in Chief, Sir Colin Campbell; I told him that I almost considered myself dishonored by being absent from my regiment, if it still exists, for it is supposed that it has been exterminated. I asked to be attached to general Havelock's army, now endeavoring with the most heroic efforts to raise the siege of Lucknow; but he had not troops enough. The day on which I could enter Lucknow among the first, to liberate my poor comrades, would be the happiest of my life,

even were it my last. But is there still time? Since the month of June we have received no news: rumours of the death of C. S. M. W. V., and of a young lieutenant, are spoken of as positively true. After having wounded and taken them prisoners, these rascals ill-treated and tortured their wives, (for they were all married,) in the most barbarous manner, cutting off their breasts, which they then thrust into the mouths of their husbands, and finally killing them, in a way too atrocious to describe.

Pardon me if I enter into these horrible details, I should have spared you, for they are really too disgusting; but if I had, how could you have comprehended the rage, indignation and desire of revenge, which fills the breast of every European. You cannot expect a calm and cold letter from me, under the circumstances—you can now understand the state of mind I am in—and were you in my place you would undoubtedly feel as I do. What changes I have met with in my lifetime! Not more than a year ago, I lived tranquilly near you in dear and peaceable Canada. With a pickaxe in my hand, I opened new paths through your woods at P.... A short time afterwards, I crossed the Atlantic, passed some time in England, from thence proceeded to France, where I danced "the Lancers" with the bewitching Empress of the French, and with the most beautiful women of the Court. In fact, during three months I participated in all the pleasures of Paris. After leaving Paris, I found myself caged for about four months, on board a wretchedly poor ship. No horizon but the heavens and Sea, and the only excitement, a storm, or the capture of a shark: and now I am preparing with pistol and sabre in hand, to walk knee deep in blood!

The weather is excessively hot, but happily, my health is good. How could any person be sick in a moment of excitement like the present.

The day after to-morrow, the great musulman festival of the Maharem will commence. Some disturbance is anticipated. The mussulmans here, it is said, formed a conspiracy for a general massacre. I do not think so, and they will not assemble, for they will fear that we shall take the opportunity of exterminating them in the mass, to revenge our own injuries.

In the meantime the Calcutta militia, composed almost exclusively of Europeans, and the troops, will be kept under arms.

The principal cause of the present war is the annexation of the Kingdom of Oude. Delhi must soon fall, the besieged are in want of supplies, and have already commenced to quarrel among themselves. The Sikhs and the Goorkas are the only natives who have remained faithful to us, and they behave most admirably. Out of seventy-seven regiments of Sepoys, only three remain. The rest have all deserted after killing their officers, or have been desarmed. I will give you fresh details by next mail.

To allay in some degree my impatience, I am making preparations for travelling. I have drawn on London, as agreed upon, and after purchasing indispensable necessities, I shall carry the rest of my cash, in gold, about my person. I shall therefore be a prize worth taking, by those rascals: but they will first receive the contents of my revolver.

Kind remembrances to all my friends and acquaintances in Canada.

E. J.

Benares, the 3rd September 1857.

My Dear Parents,

You no doubt frequently hear of me, through the ordinary channels of news, and although I am very fatigued, and feel very sleepy—for I have not closed my eyes for seven days—I just write you these few words, after which I shall retire to rest, as I start again to-night for Allahabad.

I arrived here this morning, after having travelled a land route of 450 miles, alone.

I think that I have gained some celebrity, with the authorities at Calcutta. They wished to send me in a boat by the Ganges, with a detachment. I stated that I preferred to risk the land route, alone. I was told that this would be found impracticable, and that I would not go fifty miles before falling in with the rebels, etc., etc. They would have retained me by official orders, but with the assistance of the Brigade-Major, I eluded their vigilance and started.

The day before I left, Lord Elgin, (at whose residence I had left my card) requested me to go and visit him, which I did on the day of my departure. He was very kind to me and enquired most particularly about you. I told him my intentions, he urgently attempted to dissuade me from it, stating that the route was impracticable for an officer alone. Seeing however that I was determined, he gave up the point, and promised, at my request, to write a few words on my behalf to general Outram.

In the afternoon, I received an invitation to dine with the Governor General on the following day; but my mind was made up, and I therefore, although, I must say rather unwillingly, declined the invitation.

Even general Stranbenzee, under whose orders I had served in the Crimea, and who had always shown me great kindness, made useless efforts to retain me. At any rate, said he, "write to me on your route—I feel interested in your perilous undertaking, and shall feel happy to hear that you have joined the army without having met with any accident."

On the 26th of August, I left Calcutta by the railroad, and proceeded as far as Burdwan. On the same evening I left the latter place in a kind of post car. I was surrounded by officers, who all told me that if I was not massacred, I would be obliged to return, etc., etc. These birds of evil omen certainly made me a little nervous, I even questioned myself as to the folly of my undertaking, and my forebodings were not of a

(\*) Translated from the French for the Journal of Education.

very consoling character. I must admit that I found the two or three first hours of my journey most miserable. The night was excessively dark—every peasant we met on the way, appeared an enemy, and the slightest noise aroused suspicion.

At last, I resigned myself to my situation, and with my sabre in one hand, my revolver in the other, and a cigar in my mouth, I determined, if any thing should happen, to sell my life as dearly as possible; and for this purpose to remain awake, so as to be prepared for any surprise. Notwithstanding, however, I crouched down in a corner of the vehicle as comfortably as I could, and I slept most soundly until midnight.

I have no time to give you all the details of this very interesting little journey. I had, however, sufficient prudence to stop two days each, at two stations in the route, having learned that the road over which I had to travel was in the possession of the rebels.

In the Sautales county, I learnt that about 2,000 of these brigands had encamped in the jungles, scarcely a mile from the road. Luckily it was during the night that I passed, and they did not see me. Further on, the 5th regiment of irregular cavalry, it was supposed, were about crossing the road to join another body of rebels. I allowed them time to pass, by stopping one day at Buree, and then, contrary to the advice of the Europeans' statement there, I once more started on my journey. I stopped another day at Shergoe, having heard that Koor-Sing, one of the rebels, and a perfect monster for cruelty, was near the Soan, over which I had to cross. The officer in command at Jasseram had, that day, with more prudence than bravery, abandoned that post, to proceed to Benares. Last night I crossed the Soan to Benares; I passed by Jesseram in the middle of the night, and by the light of the moon, I could just see the blackened walls of the two houses previously occupied by the magistrates and other civil officers, which had been set fire to by the insurgents only a few days before. I was now so near my destination, that it would have been cruel if any thing had happened to prevent my reaching it. At one time, I expected every moment to be attacked, and I consequently kept myself prepared. The tension of my nerves from excitement, in consequence of so many false alarms, was at last so painful, that I became perfectly exasperated, and my only wish was, to meet a real enemy, against whom I could discharge my revolver. This would have calmed me.

The officer in command here is exceedingly kind to me. I found him however a little too cautious; he will not allow me to travel alone, and he has given me an escort of two Highlanders of the 78th regiment, I could well have gone without them, for such an escort is either too great or too small.

If I had taken the river route, the government, would have paid my passage—not so, by land. I have, however, a small sum which I economise like a miser, for I shall see no money for a long time. Money is very scarce, and the company is rather in arrears in its payment.

I hope my dear father will not blame me for what I have done. This time, at least, I have not spent my money foolishly. It will have assisted me to arrive sooner at my post, and I would not arrive too late, for the world.

Happily, I enjoy good health. I suffered from fever during two days on my journey, but nothing serious. I am so sleepy I scarcely know what I am writing. How I will sleep to-night until the hour of starting!

My next, will be dated from before Lucknow, we shall have warm work there. I am happy and in excellent humour—this journey of continual excitement has its charms. It is the kind of life I like. I am made for it.

Adieu my dear parents, think sometimes of me, and, above all, write often. I trust to hear that you are all in good health and as happy as your affectionate son.

E. J.

**Extent and population of India.**

|  | Area in square miles. | Population. |
|--|-----------------------|-------------|
| Under the Supreme Government of India, . . . . .     | 246,050               | 23,255,972  |
| Under the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, . . . . .       | 222,609               | 41,212,562  |
| Under Lieut.-Governors of N. W. Provinces, . . . . . | 105,726               | 33,216,365  |
| Bengal, &c., . . . . .                               | 574,385               | 97,684,899  |
| Under the Madras Government, . . . . .               | 132,090               | 22,437,297  |
| Under the Bombay Government, . . . . .               | 131,544               | 11,790,042  |
| Total British India, . . . . .                       | 538,019               | 131,912,238 |
| Native States, . . . . .                             | 627,910               | 48,423,630  |
| French and Portuguese, . . . . .                     | 1,254                 | 517,149     |
| Total, . . . . .                                     | 1,167,183             | 180,853,017 |

**Summary of the last News.**

Delhi was taken after a struggle of six days, the bravest of the Sepoys defending the forts and public buildings, while crowds of their comrades had fled. The assault was given on the 14th of September, and on the 21st the whole place was in the possession of the British troops.

General Wilson had published a general order, by which he di-

rected that no quarter should be given to the Sepoys; but that the lives of women and children should be spared.

A great number, some say 10,000 Sepoys, were bayoneted; but it is supposed that the report was exaggerated. Among the fugitives, were the King of Delhi and his sons; they have been taken prisoners: the two sons and a grandson of the old monarch were killed as rebels.

The loss of the British army in the storming of Delhi and the fight in the town is said not to exceed 1,600. General Nicholson, who was wounded, died a few days after. He was lieutenant-colonel of the 27th Bengal native infantry, having the local rank of General.

This gallant officer and shrewd civil agent was a son of the late Dr. Alexander Nicholson of Virgemont, near Dublin, and was born in 1822. He was a nephew of Sir James Weir Hogg, late Chairman of the East India Company. Young Nicholson was appointed a cadet of infantry in 1839, and arrived in India at the age of sixteen.

At the period of the murder of Sir W. McNaughton and the massacre of the British troops, Nicholson was in the fortress of Ghuznee, under Colonel Palmer, who capitulated, on being allowed to retire to Peshawer with arms, baggages and ammunition. But no sooner was this signed, than a massacre of the Sepoys and British took place by Ghazees and the other religious fanatics, in which the chiefs declared that if the British gave up their arms, they would answer for their safety. When the order to give up the arms came, Nicholson drove the Affghans back beyond the walls at the point of the bayonet, before he would listen to the order given him to make his company lay down their arms. He at length obeyed, gave up his sword with bitter tears, and accompanied his comrades to an almost hopeless imprisonment. After the brilliant operations of Sir George Pollock and recapture of Cabul, the prisoners were liberated, and Nicholson was next engaged in the Sutledj campaign of 1845-'46, and gained great distinction by giving the first advice of the approach of the Sikh army, and received a medal for his services. The second Punjaub campaign tended still further to raise Nicholson higher in the opinion of the Indian army, and his name is inseparable from that of Edwards. While the siege of Moodtan was proceeding, a mutiny having broken out in the Hazareh country, Major Lawrence dispatched Nicholson at the head of a detachment of cavalry and infantry to take possession of the fortress of Attock, which by a forced march he was enabled to do. His exertions during the whole campaign were faithfully acknowledged by Lord Gough in his dispatches, the young officer having distinguished himself on many occasions, and namely at the battles of Chillianwallah and of Goojerat. Immediately after that campaign, he was promoted, by special brevet, to the rank of Major, and received a medal and clasp. His activity in the Punjaub army since the revolt of the Indian army is well known, and the attempts of the General of the King of Delhi to destroy the relieving force which he led, have ended in the triumph of British arms, and if Delhi is now in the possession of the English troops, it is due to Nicholson as much as to any other general officer. It is then doubly to be regretted for his country, although not for his fame, that he should have sealed by his untimely death, at the age of 36, so important an event, in which he played so distinguished a part. As if the whole family was to be offered as victims of this terrible war, one of his brothers was killed in the action at the Khyber Pass, and another was severely wounded before Delhi. We have noticed also with deep concern, on the list of the dead, the name of lieutenant Bradshaw, son of the respected and talented Manager of the Upper Canada Bank at Quebec.

While this great success was obtained, another victory, almost as important, was achieved at Lucknow. The heroic garrison of that place was relieved on the 25th of September. The loss was severe and General Neil was among the dead.

Notwithstanding the great moral effect of those victories, which are more than auspicious, when all the circumstances of the war are taken into consideration, the private correspondence of some of the French, of the American, and even of the English papers, still represent the aspect of affairs as more gloomy than it ought to be.

The Mulwa country is in a disturbed state; Khan, Amjheers, and Mundesor are disaffected; forces are moved towards Mhow. There has been an outbreak near Nassick, in the Bombay Presidency, in the suppression of which Lieut. Henry was killed, and a plot has been discovered at Bombay. It is also asserted that Nana Sahib is with a large force in the neighborhood of Lucknow, and that although relieved, the garrison of that place may yet be re-besieged by a more formidable enemy. On the whole, however, the great majority of the French and English newspapers seem to entertain no doubt as to the ultimate and even speedy suppression of the rebellion.

## OFFICIAL NOTICES.



## SCHOOL MUNICIPALITIES.

His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to reunite to the school municipality of cote Ste. Marie, Ste. Scholastique, in the County of Two Mountains, that portion of the said municipality of Côte Ste. Marie, which heretofore formed part of the school municipality of St. Jerome No. 4, in the county of Terrebonne, it having been found that the extent of land comprised within the limits of the said last mentioned municipality is too small to admit of its forming a separate municipality,

Also.—To erect into separate school municipalities, each of the school district numbers, one, two and three, in the school municipality of Ste. Angele des Mille Isles, in the county of Argenteuil; number one, to comprise côte St. Eustache, with lots, numbers one, two, three, four, five and six of côte Ste. Angélique on both sides, and also number seven of côte Ste. Marguerite; number two, to comprise côte Ste. Angélique, taking from number seven inclusively, as far as the property of one Robert Pollock including the properties of Henry Hamon and William Hughes: number three commencing at the point, at which number two finishes and continuing as far as the Wentworth and Morn Boundary line.

Also.—To erect into a separate school municipality, the Indian village of Ristigouche giving it a front of two miles in extent on the river Ristigouche; to be bounded on the west-side by the lands of Mr. Busted, on the north, by lands belonging to the crown, and on the east, by land belonging to John Fraser.

To erect the new parish of St. Sauveur, in the county of Terrebonne, into a separate school municipality to be comprised within the limits prescribed by the canonical decree, dated 6th February 1854, and which are as follows, viz. Cotes St. Godefroy, Ste. Elmire, St. Lambert and St. Gabriel, with the exception of the nine first lots of the said cote St. Gabriel, the seventh and eighth ranges of lots in the Township of Abercrombie, and all the lots of land on each side the North River, from the land of William Shaw inclusively as far as côte St. Lambert; the rear of said lands, joining on the South West side, the seigniorial line dividing the properties of the families Dumont and De Bellefeuille; on the North West side partly, the Township of Abercrombie: on the South East side, côte St. Alphonse: on the North East side, the said Township of Abercrombie; and, on the North River on one side, the land of Martin Paquet, and on the other side, the land of Seth Bell.

To approve of the first fourteen lots in each of the first six ranges of the Township of Wickham, in the county of Drummond, remaining part of the school municipality of Wickham, notwithstanding the creation of the new parish of St. Frederick de Grantham.

To annex that part of the fifth range of the seignior of St. Denis, situated in the county of St. Hyacinthe, to the school municipality of La Présentation.

## BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to approve of the following appointments, viz:

Board of examiners, Three-Rivers.—The Reverend Olivier Caron, and the Reverend Frederick A. Smith, to be members of the said board, in the place of the Revd. T. G. Loranger and the Reverend S. Wood, who have resigned.

## SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS AND TRUSTEES.

His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to approve of the following appointments of school commissioners and trustees.

- County of Hochelaga.—Côte des Neiges, (dissentients): Mr. James Snowdon  
 County of St. Jean.—St. Jean, (dissentients): Messrs. Michael Whelan, Henry Gillespie and John Easton.  
 County of Chicoutimi.—St. Joseph: Messrs. François Levesque and George Gauthier.  
 County of Arthabaska.—Warwick: Messrs. François Chenard, Augustin Bourk, Pierre Beauchêne, Joseph Leclerc and Isaie Germain.  
 County of Argenteuil.—Ste. Angélique des Mille Isles, No. 1: Messrs. Thos. Taylor, James Noble, Thomas G. Strong, John Maxwell and William Craig.  
 —Ste. Angélique des Mille Isles, No. 2: Messrs. John Pollock, Andrew Elliott, William Dawson, Joseph Elliot and James Morrow.  
 —Ste. Angélique des Mille Isles, No. 3: Messrs. Robert McGrath, David Amon, James Elliott, George Eris and William Ford.  
 County of Terrebonne.—St. Sauveur: Messrs. J. Bte. Lamonde, J. Bte. Paradis, Basile Corbeil, Moïse Desjardins, Callixte Viau, and Edouard Desjardins, secretary Treasurer.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

We again call the attention of teachers, both male and female, to the regulations of the retired teachers pension fund according to which, no teacher, whose name shall not be inscribed in the register, before the first day of January next, will be allowed any remuneration for the years previously passed in teaching.

## SITUATION WANTED.

Mr. Paul Léon Laroche, a native of Paris, aged 28 years, and unmarried, who has received a model school Diploma from the catholic board of examiners for the district of Montreal, will accept a situation. Address, Mr. Paul Léon Laroche, (to be left at the Post Office) Montreal.

## JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

MONTREAL, (LOWER CANADA) NOVEMBER, 1857.

## India.

We have devoted the greatest part of this number to Indian affairs to the exclusion of other matters. We present with it to our readers Abbington's panoramic view of India. We think it of great importance that teachers should be well informed on the great events of the day, inasmuch as facts from contemporaneous history may be usefully availed of for the illustration of history and of geography.

## Report of the Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada for the year 1856.

This report has just been published, but without the statistical tables, and reports of the local Superintendents, which generally accompany it, and have hitherto rendered it, a rather voluminous document.

It refers principally to the annual statistics, to the progress made in the schools known as Grammar Schools, to the parochial libraries, to the new educational museum, to the picture and statue gallery lately established by the Superintendent the Revd. Dr. Ryerson, for the purpose of eventually introducing into the establishment a school of design; it also contains sum remarks in which allusion is made to the great discussion, that has now so long existed in relation to the separate school system. The statistical tables will only appear in the edition of the report which will be published by the legislature.

The amount of the legislative grant for common schools in Upper Canada for the year 1856, was £29,869; the amount collected by the several municipalities, £54,256; amount collected by school trustees, £135,534. The revenue arising from the rate bills or monthly rates amounted to £34,966.

The total amount expended on account of common schools (exclusive of what was expended on account of colleges and grammar schools) was, £274,587, exceeding the amount expended last year by £44,708.

Of this sum there was paid during the year, for maps, globes, philosophical and chemical apparatus £2,410, for the purchase of land, and for building school houses £42,807, for repairs and rent of school houses, £10,196.

The salaries paid to teachers male and female, amount to

the sum of £194,920, being an increase over the previous year of £24,893—which circumstance redounds greatly to the honor of the population of Upper Canada, more particularly when taking into consideration that this augmentation is entirely owing to the increase of the assessments and monthly rates with which the government have nothing to do.

The salaries of female teachers vary from £50 to £125 per annum, and those of male teachers from £60 to £350. The total number of male teachers is 2,622, being an increase of 54 on the previous year: of female teachers, 1,067, being an increase of 70 for the same period, making a total of 3,199. The several religious denominations, showing the greatest number of teachers, are: Firstly, the Methodists, 1,102—increase 145; secondly, the Presbyterians, 905—decrease 93; Church of England, 684—decrease 32; Catholics, 414—increase 14; Baptists, 225—increase 41; Congregationalists, 94—increase 35. The remainder are distributed among a variety of religious denominations.

We are under the impression that many catholic teachers, belonging to different religious orders, and, not being under the control of the school authorities, have not been comprised in this statement.

The total number of scholars attending the different establishments of superior education is not stated in the report, neither is the number of children of school age mentioned. The Superintendent remarks, on the latter subject, that the several local reports are too incomplete to enable him to prepare any correct statements. We only find that the total number of children attending the common schools is 251,145—being an increase of 23,281. The total number of pupils in the grammar schools—an intermediate school between colleges and common schools—is 3,386—decrease 318. This decrease is to be attributed to the requirement in force this year—that each scholar should show a certain degree of proficiency before being admitted into these schools. On this subject, the Superintendent remarks “that the increase in the number of grammar schools, if not kept on a proper footing, would prove a disadvantage rather than an advantage; and that it would be far better to support, in each county, but one or two of this class of schools, regularly kept, than a dozen, which are not what they pretend to be, and that are not in fact so beneficial to the public, as well organized elementary schools.”

The progress made in the establishment of public libraries is also remarkable. During the year 1856, 13,701 volumes were sold to them, from the depository of the education office. Nearly double that number of volumes was sold during the first six months of 1857.

The great advance manifested in the establishment of these libraries is mainly attributable to the fact, that most of the municipalities have given over to them a part of the revenue they derive from the sale of the lands of the clergy reserves.

During the last two years, the organisation of a picture and statue gallery, of a museum of philosophical and chemical apparatus and other school implements appears to have taken up a great part of the time and atten-

tion of the Revd. Dr. Ryerson. It is well known that he has already gone twice to Europe for this purpose, and that he has once more crossed the Ocean, with the same object.

The museum is now open for inspection, and we have ourselves met a great number of visitors there: several copies of pictures by the great masters, and more particularly those made by our countryman Mr. Falardeau possess great merit and the whole of the collection as an ensemble cannot fail to attract the attention of the public towards the fine arts.

The Normal School during its last session, was attended by 91 pupils, 66 male, and 25 female teachers. A beautiful edifice is now being built in the rear of this school, for a grammar model school.

The above remarks we have no doubt will prove useful to our readers, and incite them to greater exertions in the noble cause of education.

#### American Association for the advancement of Science.

(Continued from our last.)

These experiments justify us, I think, in assuming, that owing to diffusion, the surface waters of the sea do not become heavier than the lower strata simply by losing water by evaporation. It is quite true, that under the influence of evaporation a lowering of temperature may take place, and that an upward and downward circulation, to a certain extent, may in this manner be produced; but the same reasoning will apply to bodies of fresh-water,—and hence the object of the salt in the sea remains still unexplained. In conclusion, therefore, I feel justified in expressing my sustained belief, that the theory which I have proposed to account for the saltiness of the sea is worthy of our acceptance; this theory being, that the sea is salt, essentially if not principally, in order to regulate evaporation.

The fluctuations of level of the American lakes, have often formed a subject of inquiry and speculation. They were brought before the Association by Mr. Whittlesey. “These fluctuations presented three distinct features. There was first the general rise and fall, extending through a long period of time; then the annual rise and fall which occurs regularly within a certain period of each year, and which he styled the annual fluctuation; then there was the third, a local, fitful, and irregular oscillation, lasting sometimes from three to five minutes, and varying in duration from one to twenty-four hours. He had no difficulty in explaining the general rise and fall of the lakes, as they were merely the reservoirs for the drainage of the country of the surplus water, which passes thence by the St. Lawrence as a general opening to the sea. Mr. Whittlesey read a variety of statistics in reference to the range and extent of the two first named fluctuations, and said he was unable to find in these, or in the examinations he had made, any confirmation of the popular belief that there is a seven years rise and fall of water in the Lakes. He then directed attention to the cause of the third phenomenon—the irregular fluctuations which occur without any particular known cause. Although these pulsations, as they might be termed, were the first to attract notice, they were the last to have received any attention. They occur in all conditions of the atmosphere, but whether produced by electro-magnetic influence or not he could not say, although he thought it not unphilosophic to look in that direction for their cause.”

Prof. Ramsay presented an elaborate paper on the succession of life in British rocks, illustrated by a diagram exhibiting the number of species and genera of fossils in each formation, and the number common to each pair of successive formations. The subject is a large one, even in the facts relating to a single limited area. It is still more difficult if we attempt to extend our view to the world; and in reasoning on the facts attained, defects in the data appear at every step. Above all we are as yet quite uncertain as to the relative value in point of time of geological formations, or of the intervals which may separate them, nor do we know the proportion of species lost and preserved in any one epoch. Prof. Ramsay, however, took a firm hold of his subject, and pointed

out some very remarkable facts indicated by his comparisons of British formations.

“Professor Ramsay said the subject to which he intended to direct the attention of the Association was one which had necessarily engaged the attention of Geologists ever since it became an established fact that there was such a thing as order in the superposition of strata, each formation being characterised by its peculiar suite of organic remains. It was found that genera and species had long succession, and had several times been extinct on the face of the earth. It was an easy way of accounting for this to suppose that each great extinction was marked by some great catastrophe which swept all clean from the face of the earth, and then there was a new creation. Few geologists now believed this, and some assert that as one species died out another was created, so that had we all the links perfect there would be found a gradual dovetailing—a perfect passage of one formation into the other. The diagram before them he had constructed to aid himself in investigating this subject. It was constructed purely with reference to the formations in the British islands, and the various fossils found in these various formations. But the same general laws would be found to obtain, in a modified manner, in other localities. The first division in the diagram is the Silurian flags, where we have the first development of organic life. In these we have twenty species and fifteen genera. Eight of these are trilobites. Apparently the succeeding Lower Silurian rocks rest upon them with perfect conformity. There is no appearance of a break in the series; yet we find only five genera and one species pass into the next strata. What was the reason for this extinction of species and the sudden appearance of a great number of others, he could not say. He brought this subject before the Association to hear, if possible, some suggestions as to the illustration of this important question. In the Lower Silurian we have 445 species and 150 genera; in the Upper Silurian 464 species and 150 genera, while 14 genera pass from the Lower into the Upper, and 43 species. There is here a considerable link, yet the break is remarkable, and is marked by strong physical unconformity. In the Devonian we have 415 species and 131 genera. There is apparently a much more gentle passage from the Upper Silurian to the Devonian than from the Lower to the Upper Silurian, yet only 8 species and 60 genera pass into the Devonian. In the Carboniferous we have 1646 species and 302 genera. The passage from the Devonian to the Carboniferous is easy, yet only 58 species and 43 genera pass into this formation. It is a remarkable circumstance that there is here a great decrease in the development of life. In the Permian we have only 157 species and 78 genera, while only 37 genera and 5 species pass from the Carboniferous into the Permian. When we reach the bunter sandstone formation we have no fossils at all in Britain, so that there the break is complete. In the Keuper we have 18 species and 15 genera. In the Lias 454 species and 129 genera; of these there pass into the Oolite 62 genera and 6 species. In the Lower Oolite we have 994 species and 224 genera, 89 genera and 36 species of which pass into the Middle Oolite. The Middle Oolite yields 107 genera and 264 species, and the Upper Oolite 130 genera and 218 species. From the Middle to the Upper Oolite there pass 30 genera and 9 species, while 36 genera and 5 species pass from the Oolite to the Cretaceous; 49 genera and 16 species pass from the Lower Cretaceous to the Upper Cretaceous. In the Upper Cretaceous times we have a great development of life, viz., 1275 species and 314 genera. In the Middle Eocene we have 977 species and 274 genera. We have no Miocene in Britain. In the Pliocene we have 631 species and 202 genera; and from the Pliocene there pass 50 genera and 236 species to the Pleistocene. With respect to physical breaks in the foregoing formations, the Permian rocks lie quite unconformably on the Carboniferous, and the New Red on the Permian; and though in any one locality where the marine Cretaceous beds lie direct on the Oolite, they appear conformable; yet the local occurrence of intervening breaks in the Purbeck and Wealden beds shew the enormous lapse of time that lay between; and it was argued that between other strata similar lapses of time may have intervened, possibly marked by the occurrence of great rivers, the deposits of which have not been preserved. The most perfect sequence of formations, even over large areas, was only a collection of fragments. Mr. Ramsay then referred at some length to the Glacial Epoch. It was generally believed that the whole of the British territory, if we except perhaps some of the mountains in the north part, had been submerged during the Glacial Epoch. We find marine shells of an Arctic type at 1,300 feet above the level of the sea. This of itself would not be a demonstrative proof that our country had a cold climate during that time; but proof is quite perfect of glaciers having existed at that period. He had recorded it as his opinion that the chief causes

of the extinction of species, and of the changes of the species, in the different formations, were to be found in the great changes in the physical geography, such as large tracts of land being for a length of time out of water, and being again submerged; and also from climatal changes, which might be due to changes in physical geography.”

A very remarkable paper was read by Prof. Pierce, on the origin of the great lines of land and water on the surface of our globe. The author went back to the supposed fluid condition of our planet and attempted to show that the diurnal solar action on a cooling sphere would establish a tendency to the production of lines of cleavage along great circles tangential to the arctic circle, these directions being actually those of the principal lines of our existing continents. This view, though probably not current with most of the geologists present, points to at least a curious coincidence, which in its connection with the direction of the earliest dry land and our modern coast lines, merits attention.

“Professor Pierce remarked that the principal lines of the continents were great circles, tangent to the polar circle. This was especially the case with the coasts of the Pacific ocean. He illustrated this on the terrestrial globe. He then pointed out the same fact as regarded the eastern coast of Africa, the eastern coast of Hindostan, the eastern coast of Asia, the eastern coast of North America, the western coast of Hindostan, the line of the eastern Archipelago, the western coast of America, and (perhaps) the western coast of Africa. Any one might perceive these remarkable facts by elevating the pole of the terrestrial globe twenty-one and a-half degrees above the horizon and then causing the globe to revolve. The northern line of South America, a portion of the coast of Africa, a portion of the Central American coast, most of the Pacific Islands, &c. were portions of great circles, tangent to the tropics. Prof. Pierce said this seemed to indicate that the sun had something to do with the formation of continents. Indeed the sun had very great influence even now, and when, at the formation of the earth the mass was in a fluid state, the difference of one or two degrees might make all the difference whether congelation should take place at one time during the day or not. And the action of the sun, in allowing the mass to cool or grow warm, to congeal or solidify, would cause a tendency to the formation of lines of cleavage in the mass or crust of the earth. These lines of cleavage were all that geologists required to enable them to account for the formation of chains of mountains and lines of coasts. The solidifying of certain portions of certain continents would account for the formation of ocean currents.

On the last day of the Session, Prof. Ramsay gave a verbal explanation of the mode of conducting the geological survey of Great Britain. The American geologists present were very much interested in the subject, and spoke in terms of admiration of the thorough manner in which the work is carried on. Prof. Ramsay was requested prepare his remarks for publication.

Prof. Swallow, of Missouri, followed Prof. Ramsay with an account of the survey of this and the neighboring States. The principal feature referred to was the enormous extent of the coal fields in the West, and the remarkable subdivision of parts of their margins into isolated patches or basins.

The section of physical sciences had a good portion of its time occupied by meteorological subjects.

Papers on subjects now innately connected, the zodiacal light and the aurora borealis were read by Commodore Wilkes, the Rev. E. Jones, and Professor Olmstead.

Commodore Wilkes, in a short paper, directed the attention of Section A to a very extended series of observations made by the officers of the United States Exploring Expedition, and more fully followed out, and represented in maps of the heavens, by the Japan expedition. The result of these observations is to suggest a very simple mode of accounting for this singular appearance. “When in command of the United States expeditions he had been especially directed to observe this light, and orders were accordingly given to the officers of the watch to look out for the light, and when they saw it to call the command and such other officers as took an interest in its observation. These gentlemen made diagrams of the appearance, which were handed to him for comparison, so that the results were not those of the observation of one but of many observers. At first few could distinguish this light, but after some time, they could readily point it out in its relation to the stars. In these observations he was much indebted to Mr. Dana. The first time of passing through the tropics, where the light is most visible, it was unfortunate that there was great obscurity of the atmosphere. This caused a want of means for comparison; but this deficiency had been sup-



plied by some obtained from the Japan expedition. All the observations of the Zodiacal light showed that it had not changed its appearance since two centuries ago when first noticed by Cassini, and by observing it particularly, with reference to the great circles of the globe—ecliptic and equinoctial—it becomes manifest that all changes of its appearances depend on the position of the spectator on the surface of the globe. After mentioning the several theories which have been promulgated at different times to account for this phenomenon, he stated his opinion that none of them satisfactorily accounted for the observed facts. The drawings were made as the phenomena appeared to the eye, being projected therefore on vertical and horizontal lines. When the light first appeared it was generally as an arc near the horizon; but it rose in a few minutes from  $30^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$ . The light then began to spread, and show a diffused light, which gradually became more visible, till it was in its perfection at the moment when the arc obtained its highest altitude, and it became difficult to ascertain where the diffused light began and ended. At length it lessened in intensity and the whole gradually subsided. The apex of the light was always East or West of the Sun, usually about  $90^{\circ}$ , sometimes  $100^{\circ}$ . The evening and the morning zodiacal light did not agree in phase or azimuth. In fact it was plain that the cause of this light could not be far removed from the earth's atmosphere. Within the tropics, and when the ecliptic was perpendicular to the horizon, the zodiacal light was confined to a slender column, having its diffused light little extended. Without the tropics it was always inclined to the horizon. Corresponding observations made on the same day also showed an inclination in opposite directions, the two appearances of the light being inclined towards each other. This showed that it was the same object seen from different positions, North or South of the ecliptic, and having its locality within the tropics. The Zodiacal light was not seen till the twilight ceased, but that gave only an indefinite idea of the time when it became visible at different places, because in the tropics there was little twilight. In Northern latitudes the light had a greater altitude; but owing to the long twilights, was little visible, though it might be observed in the vernal and autumnal equinoxes even in this latitude. The light in the morning was not of the same colour as in the evening; in the first case being greyish, in the other having a reddish hue, depending on the approach or heat of the sun. After sunrise, he had seen it reach the zenith, with a breadth of only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. Sometimes the phenomenon was very beautiful, as if a gauze veil were spread over the atmosphere, through which the stars could be readily, though dimly seen. Thus the light stood alone and distinct from all others, its central line being parallel to the ecliptic, a little to the north or south of it, but sometimes corresponding with it. His idea of the origin of the light, from all these facts, was that it was the effect of the illumination of that portion of the earth's atmosphere on which the sun's rays fell in a perpendicular direction. To illustrate this, let it be remembered that if the sun's rays were admitted perpendicularly through a hole in the shutter, and all reflected light cut off, the atmosphere, or the particles floating in it, become plainly visible as well-defined objects.<sup>22</sup>

On a subsequent day the same subject was brought forward by the Rev. M. Jones, U. S. N., who on the basis of a series of observations made by himself at Quito, maintained the conclusion that the Zodiacal light is a circle of nebulous matter not heliocentric, as heretofore supposed, but geocentric; in short if we understand the view correctly, that this mysterious appearance is an attendant on our planet, related to it as the well known rings are to Saturn. We are not in a position so to investigate the facts presented, as to accept either of these theories as final, but it is evident that Commodore Wilkes and Mr. Jones have collected facts that will bring us nearer to settled conclusions on the subject.

Prof. Olmstead of Yale College, communicated an interesting paper on the aurora borealis, in which he criticised the Electric theories of this phenomenon: he referred to a paper which he had previously written on this subject, and which was published among the contributions to the Smithsonian Institute. In this paper he had recorded a number of facts derived from a series of observations upon the very strikingly magnificent Auroras which had been witnessed during a period of about twenty years, commencing about the year 1837. The theory which he had deduced from these facts was, that contrary to the general hypothesis which ascribes the Aurora to Terrestrial sources, its origin was cosmical, the matter being derived from planetary spaces.—His arguments in favor of this theory, in opposition to the electrical basis, were based upon the immense extent of the phenomena beyond the reach of atmospheric excitations; secondly, from their occurring at the same hours of the night in places very far distant from each other; thirdly, from the velocity of their motions; and fourthly from the periodicity of their occurrence during a certain

time, and then disappearing altogether from the heavens. With regard to their having a revolution round the sun, he thought that to be affected by the question of zodiacal light, with which he thought they had some connection; and if it should appear that the Zodiacal Light was a ring round the earth it would not affect this conclusion. He had previously stated that the long series of brilliant Auroras which had been recently witnessed would soon be over and not appear again until after a period of about forty years; the regular period being calculated at sixty years. He would ask members of the Association to remark that for five or six years past the brilliancy of the Aurora had diminished, and he would ask those who could not look back to 1837 and 1840 when the maximum brightness of the Aurora was observed, not to consider the appearances now seen as comparable to those exhibitions which the older members could remember. He would ask them only to consider as the Aurora those immense banks of light which, in 1835 and 1837 used to appear in the North West, rising into columns of a scarlet or blood-red colour, with spindles moving to the South East, and arranging themselves in a magnificent crown round the zenith; while the whole heavens were suffused with a crimson light. For five or six years no such exhibition had occurred. In 1840 there were 75 strikingly magnificent exhibitions of the Aurora, while for several years they had scarcely seen one. After the discovery of the analogy between electricity and lightning, it became the practice to ascribe everything to electricity. No one could doubt that electricity holds a high place among the ultimate causes of natural phenomena; he only objected to ascribing everything to that agency without even first proving its presence. This practice had damped enquiry into many phenomena, and among others, into those relating to the Aurora Borealis, and it was always deemed sufficient to say that the Aurora was an electrical phenomenon. Various arguments were urged in favor of the electrical hypothesis, and upon them he would remark that the resemblances between electricity and the Aurora had been greatly overstated. Fire, the sun, a lamp, or a star have all some resemblance to the Aurora, but from his own observation he was compelled to say that the likeness was very faint, both with regard to the shape of the light and its motions. The reasoning was this. Lightning was known to be the discharge of electric clouds in the higher strata of the atmosphere. This rested on very small foundations; for instance, the same Aurora had been known to be visible from the extreme point of Asia to the coast of California. Electricity would not account for this. As for the shape and form of the phenomena they might be accounted for by various means as well as by electricity. From the foregoing consideration he was led to conclude that any argument founded upon the resemblance between electricity and the Aurora was inconclusive and unsatisfactory. The defenders of this hypothesis had not agreed in anything but that the Aurora was in some way or other connected with electricity, but they disagree as to the mode in which it is done. The Professor then went on to discuss the various theories that had been advanced by different writers upon the cause of the Aurora, and in commenting upon them he begged to call attention to the real question, which was this—What is the origin of the Aurora Borealis? Is the matter which composes it derived from the earth in any way, or does it come down from the planetary spaces? If the Zodiacal Light is a ring round the earth and affords material for meteoric stones, much more fully might it be concluded that the Aurora is ferruginous, and that it would help them to explain the hypothesis that the Aurora is magnetic. No doubt, electricity might present some of the appearances of the Aurora, but it was not sufficient to account for them all. The motions of the Aurora were progressive and not instantaneous, as was the case with electric flashes. Moreover the periodicity of the Aurora was not accounted for by the electric hypothesis. By another hypothesis the Aurora was ascribed to magnetism. It must be admitted that there is some connection between the two, as is shown in various ways, but these facts merely prove that it has magnetic qualities—they prove nothing as to its origin. The material of which it is composed and its extent, are not accounted for by any of these hypothesis, while they are satisfactorily accounted for by ascribing it to a cosmical origin.<sup>23</sup>

(To be concluded in our next.)

## MONTHLY SUMMARY.

### EDUCATIONAL INTELLIGENCE.

—The following article on the uneducated children in the States is from the *Illinois Teacher*, an able periodical which we have much pleasure in counting among our exchanges:

"The New York Board of Education estimates the number of children, in that city, who are not partaking of the benefits of public instruction, at about thirty thousand. Ample provision is made for the thorough training of every child of school age in the city; the schools are in a state of the highest efficiency, yet nearly thirty thousand children who should be within are continually outside the circle of their beneficent influence, growing up amid the crime, temptation, poverty and wretchedness so rife around them, unprotected by those moral and intellectual motives and safeguards their exposed position so imperatively demands. It is a sad subject of contemplation—sad for humanity, sad for the country.

Nor can we borrow much consolation from outlooks in other directions. Cincinnati with its 3,000 uneducated children, Chicago with its 3,000, and the multitude of other towns and cities which contribute their hundreds and thousands to swell this formidable force, forbid us to indulge in any Utopian reflections. Even the 'rural districts' refuse to come to our rescue; for there is scarcely one in the United States that is not largely represented in this fearful array of uneducated youth; scarcely one that does not witness a most lamentable waste of the time and golden energies of its children.

Here is not only a grand obstacle in the way of our school system, but probably the greatest danger to the peace and prosperity of the country, and to the perpetuity of our republican institutions. It can never be a matter of indifference to any lover of his kind that one child out of every ten or a hundred in the United States is growing up in the dark thralldom of ignorance, to the patriot it must afford just grounds of apprehension. Were statistics gathered upon this point, were the list of school absentees throughout the length and breadth of the land thoroughly canvassed and published, we apprehend it would present the most startling aggregate of numbers ever collected in this or any country.

The facts of the case are bad enough of themselves, but they borrow an intensity of painful interest from the general indifference with which they are received. Let there be the slightest fluctuation in the New York money-market, and immediately every nerve in the great network of business throughout the land is tremblingly alive to the tidings. Let the pork-packing of Salt & Co. become insolvent, with liabilities to the amount of \$30,000; instantly every telegraph-wire flames out the intelligence, and the popular press puts out its extra announcing it. But how is it with those 30,000 young souls and their liabilities? Are the telegraph and the newspaper put into immediate requisition when the New York School Authorities proclaim that so many immortal minds are, most of them, going untaught, untrained, untended, uncared-for? Is the fearful news flashed forth in thunder and in flame over every neighborhood and into every heart? No, for it is not generally regarded as *fearful*, or as *news*; it is not *interesting* and will not be heeded. It will not pay to telegraph such matter as that; the 'fast' city press oversteps and overlooks it, and it is only some educational journal or slow provincial paper that gives it its limited currency. Yet look at it: so many souls, so many dollars: so much interest in the money, so little in the mind! Mr. A. finds a stale paragraph chronicling the fact, traveling by easy stages, from this to that obscure newspaper; he inwardly congratulates himself that he is not responsible for such a state of things, for his children are constantly at school. Mr. B. pharasaically acquits himself of all blame, for he pays his school-tax. Yet the responsibility and blame lie somewhere; and it is a very narrow reading of the selfish code of *meum* and *tuum* that makes the payment of a few dollars tax a full absolution from those duties of care, personal oversight, and influence, which every citizen owes to the cause of education, and to those upon whose shoulders he will, one day, cast the mantle of that citizenship which now so grandly and bountifully circles him round.

We know not that we are more of a desponding nature than others; that the atrabiliar element mingles with our circulation in any undue proportion; yet we will confess that, as we seriously reflect upon this subject, we find it wrapped up in gloom and difficulty. When we think of the inexorable condition on which social safety, rational liberty, and the countless human blessings consequent thereon, are accorded to man; and when we see how loosely the most important of these conditions are met, we are not permitted to regard the prospect as at all cheering. We know that the young life of our country has in it an element of intense and tough vitality: that its recuperative power still vastly overbalances those destructive agencies which so vigorously war against its well-being. In fact, were it otherwise, so formidable have its assailants become, it would ere now present a more diseased and debilitated spectacle. But is the law of continuation apparent from this? Can we securely fold our arms and leave the battle to be fought out alone by this inherent intensity and toughness? We think not. Something must be done, and quickly, for the danger comes on with vast strides. Every hour swells the terrible ranks of the enemy.

What that something is we have not the ability to devise. We would merely indicate the necessity for immediate and earnest action. This necessity presses with full force upon educators throughout the land. It is a problem as difficult and urgent as any they may be called upon to solve. It makes an impressive appeal for abatement and remedy to legislators and statesmen; it is as well worthy their thought, and toil, and time, as any other question of public policy whatever. Other interests and issues may claim their efforts, this *does*. There may be danger to the country in other directions; in this there is real danger, capable of demonstration, susceptible of prediction; for every man who grows up and continues in the darkness and slavery of mental and moral bondage is a

potential foe to all that is best in the theory and practice of our government.

We present an extract to show that this non-attendance of children upon school is not confined to the United States. Other countries have had to encounter the difficulty, have had to legislate for it; and, while we are not prepared to assent to the principle of compulsory education as a matter of policy in the present state of our school systems, still, we are not sure but that, in any event, such a course is better than the 'let-alone,' free and easy, voluntary, and, we were going to say, destructive system now pursued.

"In many of the European States parents are compelled to send their children to school. In Prussia absentees are liable to full school fees, and a fine or a day's labor in compensation. In Saxony nothing is an excuse for absence from school but sickness, and attendance is compelled by fine and imprisonment. In Hanover the ecclesiastical authorities are charged with the inspection of schools, where every child from the age of six is required to attend, unless sufficiently instructed elsewhere. In Bavaria no child is allowed to leave school till it has arrived at the age of twelve years, and then not without an examination and a certificate, which is necessary to apprenticeship and marriage. In Austria all the children, from the age of six years, must go to school till they are twelve years of age. A Commissioner from the French Government, who has been examining the school systems of Germany, urges the necessity of compulsory instruction—of some system which shall compel the attendance upon instruction of some kind of all the children of the State. If it is wise in the State to take authority out of parents' hands, it is in such a case as this. Education makes the citizen, and the evils of ignorance, or a misdirected education, do not fall simply upon individuals, but are entailed upon society."

To the foregoing may be added Boston, which has a truant or absentee law in force that has, by its fruits, commended itself not only to the tolerance, but the judgment, careful consideration and earnest well-wishes of the sturdiest republicans, of the most strenuous advocates for the largest liberty.

—The University of Christiania seems to become a great intellectual focus in Northern Europe. We find in the "Journal de l'Instruction Publique" of Paris, an abstract from a lecture by Mr. Geoffroy, of the Faculty of Arts of Bordeaux, in which he speaks highly of that educational institution. It was founded in 1813 by Frederick the Sixth, king of Denmark and Norway, but did not progress steadily previous to the separation of both kingdoms. It has now in its four faculties 487 students—80 in the Faculty of Theology; 195 in the Faculty of Law. 82 in the Faculty of Medicine, and 120 in the Faculty of Philosophy. The latter, besides moral and intellectual philosophy, embraces literature, history and the natural and physical sciences. The library of the institution is one of the largest of the kind. The alphabetical catalogue fills 268 volumes. The numismatical collection contains 27,444 medals. The museum of Scandinavian antiquities contains 1,833 specimens. The University has organized geological excursions in the North, and encourages the botanical explorations which are now made in Western Finmark.

—The *Salles d'Asile* or infant schools are becoming very popular in France. There is a paper in Paris devoted to their interests, and it is admirably conducted. *L'Ami de l'Enfance*, journal des Salles d'Asile, is a very interesting periodical, and contains all that is needful for the education of little children. Collects made in the churches of Notre Dame and of La Madeleine on two consecutive Sundays, in favor of those schools, have yielded the one 9,000 fr. and the other 8,200 fr.

## LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

—A discussion is now taking place in the English newspapers in England and in this country as to the new word "telegram," which the *Times* has introduced in place of the circumlocution "telegraphic despatch." Some pretend that if "telegram" is said, we ought to say a "photogram" instead of a "photograph."—and that a great many other changes ought to follow. The word "telegraph" is certainly the proper word for the instrument itself, being the literal translation of "I write far," "tele" "grapho"—and "telegram," on the same principle, would properly signify the letter sent from a distance, "tele" "gramma." But as the "Journal de Québec" observes, neither the one nor the other expresses the particular mode of conveying news at a distance used by the instrument. Almost every despatch, without the use of electricity, is sent far. The "Journal" suggests "electrograph" and "electrogram," which might perhaps be improved into "teleelectrograph" and "teleelectrogram," or simply "teleelectrograph" and "teleelectrogram." As to "photograph," it is clearly a misnomer. The daguerreotype does not write, but produces an image. Photohelicone would be the word, if such a nicety as seems to be in vogue ought to be looked for in the formation of words. But the whole appears to us to be "telelogy," that is to say "far fetched."

—A new volume of songs by Béranger is attracting great interest and attention. The book is entitled "Dernières chansons de Béranger," and opens and concludes with two touching pieces—"Plus de vers" and "Adieu." The first volume of the letters of the late Emperor Napoleon has also appeared, and of course contains many most interesting revelations. Added to these are a work on the objects exhibited at the Manchester Exhibition, by Mr. Charles Blanc, a singular collection of letters treating on the most remarkable personages and events of the day, entitled

"Eugène Sue photographié par lui-même"—written of course by his hand: and a volume about to appear, by Colonel Charras, entitled "L'Histoire de la Campagne de 1815," in which the late Emperor is little flattered. Much attention has been excited by the articles written by Mr. Louis Veillot of the "Univers," in reprobation of Béranger's songs, and by his attack on Lamartine for his eulogium of the defunct chansonnier.

—The several literary institutions of Montreal are as active as usual in getting up public lectures for the winter. The Mercantile Library Association have secured the services of several eminent popular lecturers from Canada and from the United States. The "Œuvre des bons livres" has continued vigorously the work of last season. It has already given six lectures, all universally attended. The "Institut Canadien" will also, we are informed, have a series of lectures on interesting subjects, and the Board of Arts and Manufactures are endeavoring to procure lecturers on mechanical sciences. The McGill College course of popular lectures, those of the Natural History Society, of the St. Patrick's Institute and of the Young Men's Protestant Association will also be opened to the public, who, if at all desirous of intellectual entertainments, will find no difficulty in gratifying his taste but that of the choice.

—The abbé Faillon, of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice of Paris, is now in Canada on his third visit, with the intention, this time, of remaining. This distinguished writer has brought with him a rich collection of documents on the early history of Canada, with a view of publishing shortly a "History of the colony of Montreal." We have already from the same author the life of Mr. Olier, the founder of the order of Saint-Sulpice, and those of Madame Youville, Mlle. Mance, and of Sister Bourgeois, the founders of three of the most ancient religious institutions in Canada. They form six fine octavo volumes, published in Paris, and beautifully illustrated.

—Mr. Adolphe de Puibusque has been recently raised to the dignity of Commander of the Order of Charles III. of Spain. Mr. de Puibusque is the author of a comparative history of Spanish and French Literature, of a translation of Don Juan Manoel's apologues, and had been made a Member of the Royal Academy of Madrid. He is well known in Canada, having married an Anglo-Canadian lady and having resided three years in Quebec and in Montreal. He published last year in the *Union* an article entitled "La Littérature Française au Canada."

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE.

In consequence of the resignation of Col. Taché, a new ministry has been formed, by Mr. McDonald as premier and leader of the Upper Canada section, and by Mr. Cartier as leader of the Lower Canada section. The Upper Canadian members of the cabinet have retained their seats, as did the Lower Canadian members after the resignation of Mr. Hincks in 1854. The cabinet is now composed as follows:—

Hon. J. A. MacDonald, Premier and Attorney-General for Upper Canada; Wm. Cayley, Inspector-General; R. Spence, Postmaster-General; G. E. Cartier, Attorney-General for Lower Canada; J. C. Morrison, Receiver-General; P. Van Koughnet, Minister of Agriculture and President of the Council; L. V. Sicotte, Commissioner of Crown Lands, N. F. Belleau, Speaker of the Legislative Council; C. Alley, Commissioner of the Board of Works; T. J. J. Loranger, Provincial Secretary, and out of the cabinet, H. Smith, Esq., Solicitor-General for Upper Canada, and J. Rose, Esq., Solicitor-General for Lower Canada. This is the ninth ministry Canada has had under responsible government. The Ogden-Draper ministry in 1841—Baldwin-Lafontaine in 1842—Viger-Draper in 1843—Lafontaine-Baldwin in 1848—Hincks-Morin in 1851—MacNab-Morin in 1854—MacNab-Taché in 1855—Taché-MacDonald in 1856, and MacDonald-Cartier in 1857. But independently of the total changes and partial reconstructions where the leaders have been changed, there were a great many individual resignations, while at other times the same individuals retained the same office under a different government, which is the reason why the changes in the offices do not correspond with the changes of ministry. We give a list of the incumbents of each ministerial office in the order of their appointments.

Presidents of the Committees of the Executive Council:—Sullivan, D. B. Viger, William Morris, Leslie, Merritt, Bourret, Cameron, Rolph, MacNab, Van Koughnet—11 changes and 11 incumbents.

Ministers of Agriculture:—Cameron, Rolph, MacNab, Van Koughnet—4 changes and 4 incumbents—(This office was created in 1852.)

Provincial Secretaries:—Daly, (East) and Harrison, (West) Daly, Sullivan, Leslie, Morin, Chauveau, Cartier, Terrill, Loranger—9 changes and 8 incumbents.

Commissioners of Crown Lands:—Morin, D. B. Papineau, J. A. MacDonald, Price, Rolph, Morin, Cauchon, Taché, Sicotte—9 changes and 8 incumbents.

Commissioners of Public Works:—Killaly, Robinson, Taché, Merritt, Bourret, Young, Chabot, Lemieux, Alley—9 changes and 9 incumbents.

Assistant Commissioners of Public Works (with a seat in the Cabinet):—Cameron, Weatenhall, Bourret—3 changes and 3 incumbents. (This office was made ministerial but for a short time.)

Inspectors General:—Hincks, Robinson, Cayley, Hincks, Cayley—5 changes and 3 incumbents.

Receivers-General:—Dunn, Wm. Morris, MacDonald, Bruneau, L. M. Viger, Taché, Morrison—7 changes and 7 incumbents.

Speakers of the Legislative Council:—Caron, McGill, Caron, Morris, John Ross, Taché, Belleau—7 changes and 6 incumbents.

Postmasters-General:—J. K. Morris, M. Cameron, R. Spence—3 changes and 3 incumbents. (This office became ministerial only in 1851.)

Attorneys-General East:—Ogden, Lafontaine, Smith, Badgley, Lafontaine, Drummond, Cartier—7 changes and 6 incumbents.

Attorneys-General West:—Draper, Baldwin, Draper, Sherwood, Baldwin, Richards, John Ross, J. A. MacDonald—8 changes and 6 incumbents.

Solicitors-General East:—Day, Aylwin, Taschereau, Aylwin, Drummond, Chauveau, Ross, Rose—8 changes and 7 incumbents.

Solicitors-General West:—Baldwin, Sherwood, Small, Sherwood, J. H. Cameron, Blake, J. S. MacDonald, John Ross, Morrison, H. Smith—10 changes and 9 incumbents.

—The new ministry has dissolved Parliament, and the writs are returnable on the 13th of January, 1858.

STATEMENT of monies paid by the Department of Education for Canada East, between the 1st January and the 30th November, 1857:—

|  |         |       |   |   |
|--|---------|-------|---|---|
| Total amount paid to 30 September, 1857, as per statement published in <i>Journal of Education</i> , No. 7 | £61,615 | 9     | 0 |   |
| Paid from 1st to 30th November, 1857, viz:—  |         |       |   |   |
| On account of grant to common schools,   |         |       |   |   |
| " for 2nd half year of 1856.   | £156    | 18    | 6 |   |
| " for 1st half year of 1857,   | 297     | 6     | 1 |   |
| " Superannuated teachers pensions, .....   | 35      | 12    | 0 |   |
| " Salaries of Officers of Department, .....  | 189     | 1     | 3 |   |
| " Books for prizes, .....  | 96      | 15    | 7 |   |
| " <i>Journal of Education</i> , ...  | 69      | 0     | 0 |   |
| " School building fund, ...  | 30      | 0     | 0 |   |
| " Normal Schools, .....  | 679     | 0     | 7 |   |
| " Contingencies, .....   | 20      | 9     | 7 |   |
|  |         | 1,574 | 3 | 7 |
|  | £63,189 | 12    | 7 |   |

ADVERTISEMENTS

UPPER CANADA COLLEGE.

THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO having established a Mastership in Upper Canada College, with a special view to instruction in the highest branches of the English Language and its Literature.—Candidates are invited to forward their testimonials to the Provincial Secretary, on or before the FIRST DAY OF DECEMBER NEXT.

The Emoluments are as follows. Salary, £300 Halifax currency, with his share of the Fees, amounting at present to about £60, and a free house.

Toronto, Aug. 27, 1857.

The *Toronto Globe*, *Leader*, and *Times*, and the *Educational Journals* of Upper and Lower Canada to copy once a week till 1st December.

The terms of subscription to the "Journal de l'Instruction Publique," edited by the Superintendent of Education and M. Jos. Lenoir, will be five shillings per annum and, to the Lower Canada *Journal of Education*, edited by the Superintendent of Education and Mr. John Badger, also five shillings per annum.

Teachers will receive for five shillings per annum the two Journals, or, if they choose, two copies of either the one or of the other. Subscriptions are invariably to be paid in advance.

4,000 copies of the "Journal de l'Instruction Publique" and 2,000 copies of the "Lower Canada Journal of Education" will be issued monthly. The former will appear about the middle, and the latter towards the end of each month.

No advertisements will be published in either Journal except they have direct reference to education or to the arts and sciences. Price—one shilling per line for the first insertion, and six pence per line for every subsequent insertion, payable in advance.

Subscriptions will be received at the Office of the Department Montreal, by Mr. Thomas Roy, agent, Quebec. persons residing in the country will please apply to this office per mail, enclosing at the same time the amount of their subscription. They are requested to state clearly and legibly their names and address and also the post office to which they wish their Journals to be directed.