

Gautier's most respectable parent locking him in to write "Mademoiselle de Maupin." On p. 70, Mr. Minchin will doubtless correct in his next edition "Couring" to "Conring," or people who know the learned "Conringius" very well may mistake him. One of the most interesting passages of the book is the careful and unusually conclusive inquiry into the circumstances which made "Sordello"—originally planned as a "popular" poem—what it is. But one wishes that Mr. Griffin had not called the metre of the intrusive Mrs. Busk "tetrameter," which it is not, but dimeter. It is difficult to think of anything odder in the anecdotic history of poetry than the elder Browning's scenario for "Sordello" itself (p. 99). The unfortunately decreasing knowledge of the Bible is illustrated by the remark that the symbolism of "Bells and Pomegranates" is "not obvious," but "becomes rather clearer" in reading the passage of Exodus which suggested it, and where, by the way, the rhythm has been spoilt in quotation by omitting the reduplication of "a golden bell and a pomegranate." The meaning of the title was obvious to some, who were not born when the first part appeared, long before they ever read the poems published under it. But as Mr. Toobad might have observed, "Nobody seems to know anything that is worth knowing now." The writer once had to explain to a subordinate member of the Government of the day and to a well-known newspaper editor what the "disappointing little book in the Revelations" meant.

Does the metre of "The Glove" "jar"? Not on some people. But "The Romaunt of Margret" does jar dreadfully on these same. One can no more do with the *a* in that poem than one could do without it in "The Forsaken Merman." Mr. Griffin seems to have been to some extent puzzled by the contrast of Mrs. Browning's effusive Italomania with her husband's few (and latterly almost non-existent) utterances on the subject. But Browning's common sense, which was very considerable, is surely a sufficient explanation. Why should it be "curious enough" that "to Swinburne Euripides was anathema"? Many very respectable and rather clever people—one Aristophanes might be noted—have been, and are, in at least two minds about the "Third Poet." One of the most interesting

things in the Domett diary is an entry in 1873 telling us that Browning apologised for the rhyme "you" and "dew" at only two lines interval in the blank verse of "Paracelsus" and that Domett thought him "hypercritical." Of course the poet was right, and the New Zealand Prime Minister utterly wrong: and the thing is valuable as showing how thoroughly correct Browning's ear became. In fact, the author of "Ranolf and Amohia" does not seem to have shone in criticism. After telling us, what one is sorry to hear, that Browning thought Rossetti (an old and good friend) "affected" in his poetry, he stigmatises the "warming" of the bar of Heaven by the Blessed Damozel's "arm" (it was her bosom, as a matter of fact) as "absurd" and "originally and better" given in "Sordello" where Palma throws her scarf with "her neck's warmth and all."

"After this, one's glad that Waring
Did not take to critic-faring."

It is an odd compliment to tell a friend that he has "originated" an "absurdity"; the two phrases have little or nothing in common; and God help any one who does not see the added beauty of the suggestion of the cold gold bar of passionless Heaven, with the dread waste of Space and Time beyond it, warmed by the contact of the blessed flesh. The Honourable Alfred Domett must have had little sympathy with Folquet and Cunizza, or indeed with the whole of their canto.

Of at all serious mistakes of facts we have noticed few, perhaps only one. To say that William Morris's "Defence of Guenevere" appeared in 1875 is to be seventeen years after the fair. But these things are practically inevitable in a first edition; and nothing that has been said here interferes in the least with the expression of very hearty thanks to Mr. Minchin for preventing what would have been a real calamity—the loss of this full, accurate, and well-arranged book. His task was, as he says, "delicate and honourable," but it was also one much more likely to meet with criticism than with cordial recognition. If there has been here hinted a very little of the former, the latter can be given in full measure and without any hesitation.

THE GREATEST OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF INDIA.

BY GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D.

SINCE Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India on October 20, 1774, the greatest office in the Empire next to that of the Prime Minister has been held by twenty-seven statesmen, including the fourth Earl of Minto, who has just completed his memorable administration. Of these, reckoning Lord Canning once only, sixteen were Governors-General under the East India Company, and eleven were also Viceroys of the Crown. Of the former

Lord Amherst and Lord Auckland have come down to history undistinguished, save by wasteful expenditure and such a disaster as the First Afghan War. Of the Viceroys Lord Lytton is responsible for the Second Afghan War, and the Marquess of Ripon's administration was as weak as that of Lord Amherst. The great political parties of the State divide the responsibility for these four failures. That so many should have proved more or less brilliant rulers for the good of

**Lord Dalhousie.**

From the engraving by H. Robinson after G. Richmond.

humanity during a period of one hundred and thirty-six years, creating, saving, and extending the marvellous Empire within an Empire, is perhaps the greatest fact in the later history of the United Kingdom.

From this roll of the twenty-seven Governor-Generals three names stand out—Warren Hastings (1774–85), the Marquess Wellesley (1798–1805), and the Marquess of Dalhousie (1848–56). The first holds a position of his own—that of the pioneer, with unique opportunities and advantages. He may be placed beside (Colonel Robert) Lord Clive (1765–7), who after his brilliant conquests was the third last of the twenty-four “Presidents and Governors of Fort William in Bengal” from its establishment as a Presidency in 1700. The question who was the greater of the two Marquesses, the Irish Wellesley or the Scottish Dalhousie, has been in the balance, till the publication of the Private Letters of the latter, fifty years after his death on December 19, 1860. When preparing an estimate of his career for the “Encyclopædia Britannica” in 1876 I was privileged by his daughter, the Lady Susan, to consult his daily “Journal,” then preserved in Colstoun House, and to verify certain points in the controversy with the erratic Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier. Since that time, in 1904, Sir William Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I., has published “The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie, K.T.” in two volumes. Based on the official documents and only consulting “the diary kept by Lord Dalhousie from boyhood up to the day of his leaving India,” that work is a storehouse of information and criticism. But its author did not personally know Dalhousie, nor was he in India at the time of the brilliant eight years’ administration, while his service was con-

finied to Western India. Now that the fifty years’ embargo on the publication of the diary or “Journal” as well as the Letters has ceased, all the materials are available for a full and careful study of the great Marquess—for the preparation of a complete biography worthy of the great Scotsman, of his powerful personality, his devotion to duty to which he sacrificed his young life, and his, as yet, unequalled services to his country and to the Empire.

Meanwhile this edition of the Private Letters prepared by Mr. J. G. A. Baird,* who married Dalhousie’s eldest granddaughter, satisfactorily supplies further data for a really adequate Life of the man and the statesman, such as Sir G. O. Trevelyan might be tempted to write. This revelation of his personality is unmatched in literature, biographical or autobiographical, although he died at forty-eight after the busiest and most responsible of careers alike as Cabinet Minister and Governor-General. Spared just long enough after the Mutiny of 1857 to suffer from the ignorant misrepresentation of his policy, and the neglect of his services by his country, as such, though not by his Sovereign, he shut up his defence for half a century. It now falls to posterity to do him that justice which such experts among his contemporaries as the great Duke of Wellington and the late Duke of Argyll did not fail to render.

Unconsciously young Dalhousie strikes the key-note of his character in one of the earliest letters to his old

* “Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie.” Edited by J. G. A. Baird. With Portraits and Illustrations. 15s. net. (William Blackwood & Sons.)

**Christian, Countess of Dalhousie.**

From “Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie.” (Blackwood.)

friend and his father's friend, Sir George Couper, Bart., in March, 1838, on the death of his father:

"The advantages natural and acquired which I possess *may* be, as you say, superior to his. . . . In one point at least I will not soil his memory, bright as it is, for in a strict adherence to his manly straightforwardness, in a firm adherence to principles of honour and integrity, and in a jealous adherence to the path of honour I will not be surpassed even by him. There is no boasting in what I say, for all this is within any man's power who desires to live as a Christian and a gentleman."

Six years after the beginning of his Governor-Generalship he writes:

"You say that I have cause for thankfulness that the blessing has rested on my administration. Most true, and I am deeply, devoutly thankful. It is my belief that the blessing has so rested for four reasons: (1) Because I have never undertaken anything which in my soul I did not believe to be honestly right; (2) Because when I had once resolved upon it, I fought with all my human might and main to accomplish it; (3) Because I always wished, and I believe I seldom failed, to ask God's blessing on the fight; and (4) Because I have *never* failed, publicly and privately, to give Him the glory when all was done. I know very well that I am no better than my neighbours—worse than many of them—and good for nothing at all in His pure sight; but He has said, 'Ask and ye shall receive'; and having done so through my public life, in which with no extraordinary abilities I have gained as much reputation and honour as most men at forty-two, I feel implicit faith in that Refuge."

When Lord Ramsay, M.P., and an Elder in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1839 he severed his friendship with Dr. Chalmers in the Disruption controversy, on the ground that the Church ought to obey the law of the land. This he did not because he was an Erastian, for, as is now explained, if the Evangelical party got an Act of Parliament embodying their veto resolution, "I am ready to act with them, to act under them, to act for them in any way in which I can serve them." His personal devotion to Christianity was splendidly and wisely illustrated on the conversion of the young Maharaja Duleep Singh, and that Sikh Prince's baptism by a Government chaplain. "I look upon him as in some sort my son. . . . I earnestly desire that this boy should make a good impression in England, and equally so that he should not be spoiled and made a fool of." Unfortunately this is what



The Marquess of Dalhousie on "Maharajah" entering Camp at Cawnpore, 1852.

From "Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie." (Blackwood.)

happened, and the result was, in the end, a tragedy.* The beautiful lad, of whom G. Beechey's portrait is here given, was a special favourite of Queen Victoria, whose gracious regard ever went out to his Highness. This letter, dated Government House, March 12, 1853, reveals Lord Dalhousie's inner life:

"A strange and interesting event has now to be recorded in the history of India, for it is well worthy of a place there—I mean the baptism of Maharaja Duleep Singh. He was baptized publicly but unostentatiously in his own house on the 8th in the presence of his own servants and of the principal residents of Futtegurh. I have told you from time to time of the course of the boy's conversion. I am convinced that, if ever the shadow of the hand of God was made visible to mortal sight, in a human transaction of these later days, it has been visible here in the turning of the boy's heart from darkness to light. This is the first Indian Prince of the many who have succumbed to our power, or have acknowledged it, that has adopted the faith of the stranger. Who shall say to what it may not lead? God prosper the seed and multiply it. I have never, from the hour in which I signed the decree, had one moment's hesitation or doubt as to the justice or necessity of my act in dethroning the boy. If I had had such a doubt, the sight of the blessed result for him, to which that act has led, would now have thoroughly consoled me for what I did then. As it is, my mind is doubly content as to what he lost; immeasurably content as to the gain he has found in his loss."

Among many other subjects, civil and military, on which new light is thrown by this volume, is Education, and especially that of Hindu women. James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of what is now the United Provinces, was a hero of Dalhousie's, of whose

* His son, Prince Victor Duleep Singh, was educated at Eton, Sandhurst, and Trinity College, Cambridge; has been an officer of the 1st Royal Dragoons for years, and in 1898 married Lady Anne, youngest daughter of the Earl of Coventry. His mother, the Maharani, was the daughter of a German merchant in Egypt whom his father first saw when visiting the School of the American Presbyterians, whose missionaries had been the means of his conversion at Futtegurh. To the last he showed his regard for them.



Sirdar Chutter Singh.

From "Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie." (Blackwood.)

death he wrote—"for him it is a great gain. I wish I was where he is." Alike in that civilian's devotion to the education of the people in their mother tongue and in carrying out the great Dispatch of 1854, Dalhousie started India on those reforms which have culminated in Lord Curzon's and Lord Minto's. When the law member of his Council, Mr. Bethune, left Calcutta and ceased to support the Girls' School which bears his name, the Governor-General maintained it out of his own pocket. His answer to the critics of the annexation of lapsed States is this:

"When a Principality so falls (by lapse for want of heirs) to our disposal it does seem to me cruel to hand over its inhabitants to be squeezed and skinned by a

native despot merely that our own subjects may be able to compare their own lot favourably with that of those whom we have abandoned."

It is long since he was attacked as responsible for the Mutiny of 1857; his answers in these Letters are as effective as they are noble. His references to his subordinates are full of interest and generosity, unless, perhaps, in the case of Henry Lawrence, though even there he was right in his preference of the younger brother, the great John Lawrence, as an administrator. He puts Lord Canning in the right place in history, between those who would have recalled that first Viceroy and those who exaggerate his services. The application of the Press Gaggling Act to the *Friend of India* Dalhousie emphatically condemns, and likewise Canning's Oudh confiscation proclamation and his dilatoriness in disarming its people. We now learn that the famous dispatches protesting against the reduction of the European Army in India, which were first pigeon-holed in the India Office, were finally lost in Lord Canning's hands. New light is thrown on Outram and other Anglo-Indian administrators, as well as on such incompetent Secretaries of State as Lord Broughton (Board of Control), Mr. Vernon Smith, and Sir C. Wood. Most interesting new facts are published on the Koh-i-Noor diamond and the Cashmere Tribute Shawls sent every year to Queen Victoria and her successors.

In the terse Minute of February 28, 1856, in which the departing Governor-General reviews in one hundred and eighty short paragraphs as many military triumphs and civil reforms, he specially characterises as "not the least important" his order requiring "annual Reports from the Presidencies and Provinces under our rule." It fell to me, along with the late Sir George Campbell and Mr. Claude Erskine, to draw up the statistical plan, ultimately adopted by Parliament also, for the great State Paper on the Moral and Material Progress of India.

I was one of the crowd of white and dark faces who saw the martyr to duty, the then dying Proconsul, leave Prinsep's Ghaut, Calcutta, in March, 1856, and can testify that "never were so many tears shed." The Most Noble the Marquess of Dalhousie's place in history is undoubtedly that of the greatest of the Governor-Generals.

New Books.

LORD ROSEBERY ON CHATHAM.*

Chatham is, perhaps, after William the Conqueror and Queen Elizabeth, the most awe-inspiring figure in English politics. For the biographer fortunate enough to possess rhetorical gifts he is an unrivalled subject. In picturesqueness and glamour his career is only surpassed by that of Disraeli. In grandeur the elder Pitt as a statesman is not only unsurpassed but unapproached. He stands alone, like a purple figure among dun-coloured mediocrities. His son, the pilot who weathered the storm, may have

* "Chatham: His Early Life and Connections." By Lord Rosebery. (Arthur L. Humphreys.)

done more for his country. But the younger Pitt's work can be definitely analysed and appraised. There is an element about Chatham, as there is always about a star-actor and a man of destiny, that resists analysis altogether, is incalculable. There is a mystery about the terror which he inspired among his contemporaries. When Chatham lashed himself up into a fury and began to roar, the greatest bashaws of the borough interest trembled before him as his short-lived viziers trembled in the presence of Selim the Grim. Did he appeal to the historical instinct among the spoiled nobles of his day? At any rate, they quivered under his lash like a pack of school-boys. He dominated them with his glance. They tremblingly averted their