

families lying to its east and west; the first, belonging not only geographically speaking to the map of Central India, but also sharing in many of the characteristics of its people. Thus the lands of the Rajpoot princes of Tonk and Jullawar, lying to the east of this great chain, are curiously dovetailed into the surrounding states in the same manner as the Central India principalities of Dewas and Jowra—all four following apparently the example set them by Madhaji Scindia, who, in a previous century, carved out for himself an irregular kingdom by taking here and there a slice of territory as opportunity or temporary embarrassment permitted. The second group was formed in very early days by conquest by Rajpoots of the purest breed, who, previous to Mogul contamination and fear of the Mahratta issuing from their cradles of Meywar and Jeypore, crossed the chain of mountains to the west, and spread like locusts over the desert wastes between them and the burning sands of Scinde, acquiring ascendancy and rule over the wild and scattered Jâts, by whom alone that country was then inhabited.

Those ancient cradles of the Rajpoot race are sufficiently curious as specimens of the extent to which superstition sometimes sinks its votaries to merit some few words. Thus Amber, the early capital of Jeypore, was formerly a city of great architectural beauty, built by Jey Singh as a lasting monument of his contributions to science in the reform of the calendar, a work intrusted to him by the Emperor Mahomed Shah of Delhi; and it has recently been thus described:—
“Imagine on the margin of a small lake in a lovely

valley, temples, houses, streets, scattered among numerous ravines furrowing the slopes of the surrounding hills down to the very water's edge. Those streets, intricate and gloomy by site and the shade of numerous trees, are now uninhabited except by ghastly Hindoo ascetics, with their hair in elf-knots, and their faces covered with chalk, sitting naked and hideous amongst tombs and ruined houses. On the slope of the hill westward of the lake rises the vast and gorgeous palace of Amber. Neither Jaquemont nor Heber ever viewed a scene more striking, picturesque, and beautiful. Here is the zenana crowned by four kiosks; and communicating with the palace by a succession of towers and gateways, is a huge gloomy castle with machicollated battlements and many loopholes; there is a small temple where a goat is daily offered up to Kali, substituted for the human beings sacrificed each morning during the darker and more unmitigated sway of paganism." This was the capital of a country described by a traveller in 1835 as exhibiting "an empty treasury, desolate palaces, stagnating commerce, a ferocious populace, and a rabble army."

The desert wastes over which the Rajpoot people spread themselves, have now been long partitioned among the sovereigns of Jhodpore, Jessulmere, and Bikaner, who dwell and have their being in walled cities of some size but inconsiderable strength, possessed of little beauty though much interest. On each of these the Agent to the Governor-General has to keep a watchful eye; and though the bulk of his responsibility no doubt clusters round the oasis of

Ajmere, which, as British territory administered by him on behalf of the North-West Provinces and surrounded on all sides by native states, affords a sanctuary for every class of Indian political offender, yet elements of disorder are not wanting in more western camps, whereto Patan and Mussulman, the soldier and the saint, alike retire, to hatch in desert solitudes schemes for our discomfiture.

With such a past as has been here described, and such a present state of things as now exists in Rajpootana, where political intrigue goes hand in hand with jealousy, creating ~~mutual~~ distrust, the future of the country is indissolubly bound up with the paramount sway of England in the East. To us alone experience has taught that it may look for the protection of its frontiers from trans-Indus enemies and the Mahratta; and since the British Agent-Governor-General's court has proved itself to all the surest channel for redressing wrongs inflicted by some hostile neighbours, wrongs that hitherto the sword alone could cure or mitigate, much of the necessity has passed away for the crowds of armed retainers who preyed upon the vitals of the state in times of peace, and by the mere fact of their existence made war the first and last resort, and force the only argument employed in settling disputes. Young Rajas like Ulwur and Bhurtpoor, under the guidance of a sort of tutor in things political, now attain to manhood and a sense of their responsibilities under happier influences than those by which their fathers were surrounded. Some acquaintance with the English

language, and in many cases real veneration for the Agent who has nursed with care their perhaps embarrassed revenues, has prompted more than once in the minds of native rulers a desire to visit England, and become the patrons of more noble undertakings than were embraced in the ambitions of their predecessors. Yet these Rajpoot states differ as yet little in essentials from the Central India group. They are governed ill enough by some score of native Cabinets, all more or less deficient in the science of political economy. The *duty* of the Agent-Governor-General is much the same in both; Scindia or Holkar are martial princes fairly comparable to Jeypore or Meywar, and Major Osborne of Bhopal found in Oodeypore a rival to his zeal in Colonel William Eden.

This chapter hitherto has been confined to pictures of two constellations of native states lying, with some trifling exceptions, north of the Nerbudda, and divided by the Aravulli range into unequal halves, inhabited by races quite distinct—entertaining for each other a fierce hatred, not unmixed with fear—who have sought in our protection a mutual defence against each other. But now, proceeding south, we shall quit the confines of these states, and, entering the Nizam's dominions, tread a soil on which diplomacy has fought many well-contested fields.

Nizam Ool Moolk, a "Regulator" of the state called after its capital Hyderabad, laid the foundation of his royal house early in the eighteenth century, in the accustomed manner, by a judicious mixture of treason and the sword. Holding under Aurungzebe high office

as Viceroy of the Deccan, he deemed that a compact country counting 100,000 square miles of area might well renounce allegiance to a capital far distant; and his judgment, if not based on fealty, lacks not at least the justification of success. Thus was formed a state which at the present day stands alone in India as being still virtually sovereign; and which, though paying tribute to the British Crown in more ways than one, yet retains sufficient power to wallow in misrule to an extent challenging comparison with the darkest days of Delhi and Lucknow.

Yet when Nizam Ool Moolk, having attained a hundred years, was gathered to his fathers, the succession to this crown did not escape the fierce contests inseparable from Asiatic sovereignty; and, as usual, after many less important candidates had been disposed of, two remained—one in virtue of testamentary bequest, the second a usurper who, backed by the army, had laid violent hands upon the treasure of the state. In those days, also, France and England were contending for an Eastern empire, and it happened that each of these two candidates managed to secure the countenance of one or other party. Practical England espoused the cause that based its right on might and actual possession, while the French commander, the chivalrous Dupleix, embraced the interests of his opponent. After many complications, at length an end was put to this dispute; for the English, successful in the first instance, having withdrawn their aid by reason of dissensions among themselves, Mosuffer Jung became in fact a French proconsul. His reign was

short, and then intrigue ensued, which a more lengthy narrative than this could scarce attempt to follow. For many wasting years the Deccan and Carnatic were bathed in blood; and the day of Tippoo, the son of Hyder Ali, dawned before a treaty offensive and defensive between the Nizam, the Peishwa, and the British Government, paved the way to what was called a permanent peace.

During this fluctuating war Hyderabad attained a prominence in Indian history which she has since preserved intact; and shortly afterwards the building of a British Residency of unmatched splendour accustomed her inhabitants to red coats and negotiation. Following in the wake of these events came one Mahratta war upon the other, and the names of Rao Scindia and Lord Lake were alternately whispered in the audience-halls of the most dissolute of rulers by trembling attendants, and shouted through the streets by an infuriated mob clamouring for bread and participation in the pending struggle for ascendancy. In these and similar crises it has been the duty of the British Resident to steer a course consistent with his dignity and the interests at stake, and, keeping within the Residency walls, so to conduct his correspondence and himself, as to leave the Company unfettered to act according to the ever-changing kaleidoscope of events. The names of those who led this life, and notwithstanding the difficulties of their position, backed, 'tis true, by some few Sepoys and the command of British gold, knew how to bring to a successful issue long-pending difficulties with the Nizam, whence the assigned districts, the Hyderabad

contingent, and tribute paid in coin, all trace their origin—their names are known and cherished in our Anglo-Indian annals ; and they in turn have been succeeded in more recent times by others, for whose memories a certain margin of respect should be reserved. These lived in happier times ; their arguments could always gather eloquence by dwelling on the records of the past, they had armies at their back and still more gold at their disposal, yet it had become patent to the treasury of the Nizam that the days were different, and that this gold had already changed its master more than once. The opinion expressed in England at the outset of Secession in America, that the Union was too large, affords a not inapt illustration of the turn that native thought had taken. The Company, they argued, had grown unwieldy, and the only means at the Resident's command to dispel this fond illusion, which cost such seas of blood in 1857, was a bold front and personal ascendancy : in other words, of plainer comprehension, in India as elsewhere a policy of peace at any price proved just the surest road to endless trouble and hostility. Meanwhile the times were hard and famine was abroad ; and in Hyderabad this never happens without crowds surrounding the British Residency, by all alike considered as the origin of evil and the panacea for all ill. Amid these and similar scenes, weighed down by years and a deep sense of his responsibility, Colonel Davidson, the Resident at Hyderabad, died in office in 1862, and was succeeded in his duties by Mr Yule from Oude.

The antecedents of Mr George Udney Yule had

been for many years obscure. His path of duty followed in the rut of Bengal magistracy. At Bhagulpore he had devoted many years to an admixture of Shikar and scholastic life. He lived in a small house perched above the Ganges, just so high that the recurring floods of autumn and the spring passed him by unscathed, imparting to his garden-ground a rich percentage of fertility. His sister lived with him--no other human being. In animals he much delighted; and while the best-bred horses and most noted elephants grazed well cared for in his compound, his house and its contents were placed at the disposal of chosen friends belonging to the canine and the feline families. It has been said by those who knew him, that no servant's brush had ever been permitted to wipe away the cobwebs that collected in his study; yet it is on record that, while appeals from his decisions were unknown, no zemindaree difficulty within his jurisdiction was ever left unsettled. He never had arrears; and when his work was done, though not before, he rode into the jungles, and there passed his time with native friends amid the pure delights of nature until official duties recalled him to his desk. He was the Henry Lawrence of the Bengal Civil Service; and when Lord Canning appointed him to Oude as acting Chief Commissioner, a happier selection could hardly have been made. Thence he had gone to Hyderabad, appointed by Lord Elgin—an office which he, of true modesty, scrupled to accept, having, as he often said, "but a little executive experience and no political ability." More than once, indeed, at irregular intervals rumours had reached

the columns of the Indian press of the mode in which the Star of India had been accepted by His Highness the Nizam. Report had said, with how much truth cannot now be clearly known, that the Nizam had with his left hand snatched the insignia of knighthood from the grasp of Colonel Davidson, and cast it unheeded on the ground beside him. At no other court in India could such a scene have been supposed and passed by without notice or refutation, yet little doubt exists that latter years have witnessed within the palace walls of Hyderabad many acts of equal if not greater insult heaped upon perhaps a too forbearing paramount power; and it is to the acute intelligence of a native Minister, the distinguished Salar Jung Bahadoor, and to the sagacity of Shums-ool-Omrah, the venerable uncle of the Nizam, that we owe alone the neutral attitude of the Deccan in 1857.

That a man of tastes so simple, and influenced so little by ambition, as Mr Yule, should shrink from entering on the conduct of a state of things so unsatisfactory to all, cannot afford much matter for surprise; and with him the case was stronger still. At Lucknow he had become endeared to every class of the inhabitants. As years went on the Terai lost perhaps some part of its attractions; but nature, ever willing to repay with interest the debt of gratitude she owes to all that use her well, had found for him society, which changed the aspect of his life; and when the Residency of Hyderabad was offered him on public grounds, he met the call of duty upon an equal footing. One fortnight's leave he asked to pass from the condition of a bachelor into

married life, and then, leaving far behind him Oude and all he loved save one, he set out for his future and far-distant home in Hyderabad.

This sketch of Mr Yule may be pardonable, perhaps, as illustrative of a class of civil servant now wellnigh extinct. The present generation may possess more learning of a classic kind ; but, entering later on Indian life, they have unfortunately too often home associations that point to the accumulation of a rapid fortune and retirement, whereas in former times Hindostan became the home of the majority of its civil servants : there they lived, and there they often died—the sons succeeding to their father's office ; and thus such families became identified with those they ruled, incomparably more than can now happen with the offspring of the competition system.

Quitting the Nizam's dominions and Mr Yule, we shall finally cast a hasty glance upon Nipal, as being—with the exception of Cashmere, already dwelt on in connection with the Punjab—the only native state hitherto unmentioned with which the Government of India maintains on equal terms relations of amity and commerce.

That this mountain kingdom is beneath the sway of Jung Bahadoor, is better known in England than the means whereby he reached his actual position ; and these means are of a tragic character so marked, that even in an Eastern tale a simple narrative of the facts could hardly lack of interest. Jung's youth, we are told, "was devoted to gambling ; and his expertness in the avocation which he chose repaired the financial

dilapidation occasioned by his wild excesses." On his uncle becoming* Prime Minister, Jung quitted the obscurity of an outpost for the capital, which he regarded as the only field for the development of genius like his own. There he was the subject of many remarkable adventures, and committed sundry acts not recognised as lawful by the moral codes of the Western world. Among the latter may be classed "the murder of his uncle, which he undertook and perpetrated at the instigation of the Nipalese Queen. Thereupon a new ministry was formed, and Jung became Commander-in-Chief. The opportunity of slaughter on a larger scale soon awaited him; the new Premier was assassinated, and the Queen demanded vengeance. One of the colleagues of the murdered minister was suspected of the crime, and Jung suggested that the suspected man should die, and the Government devolve upon the sole survivor. But the latter, displaying hesitation, fell pierced by a bullet from the rifle of Jung Bahadur, his son falling likewise in a vain attempt to save his father's life. This was, however, but the prelude of what was yet to follow. Fourteen hostile chiefs confronted Jung, who levelled his rifle fourteen times in quick succession, and at each discharge excepting one brought down his well-selected victim. The only man who escaped his aim was the falsely-accused assassin; but his reprieve was short, and a few moments later he also met his death at the point of Jung Bahadur's sword. The bodies of the slain were Jung's stepping-stones to power, for before the dawn of the succeeding day he was invested with the office of Prime Minister;" and

the historian concludes this short account of Jung's ascent to the actual sovereignty of Nipal with the trite remark that "his future reign did not prove inconsistent with its commencement."

This is the man in whose honour the London world could not do too much some few years since; on whom the Government of England of 1858 bestowed the Bath Grand Cross, a dignity till then confined to friendly sovereigns or prominent statesmen, and never once before conferred upon an Indian ruler; and it is right to state that Jung's title to this exceptional distinction has been rightly stated by Mr Montgomery Martin to consist in the fact that his Ghorkas, "though too late for the fighting at Lucknow, were in time for the sack and the plunder;" and that when at our request they took their departure, "the whole force was a mere baggage-guard, and it was even necessary to detach a British column to escort them safely on their homeward march."

The country over which this bold usurper reigns is classed among the world's most favoured regions. Forests and deep valleys forming beds for foaming torrents, and more sluggish streams invaluable for purposes of irrigation, parcel it out in granaries and pine-clad hills. The climate is generally superb, although the frequency of fever in some of those more marshy lower Himalayan slopes known as the Terai, to which the love of sport attracts most European visitors, has gained for it a reputation far from good. Khatmandoo is its capital, and the Resident abides in a well-furnished English-looking house, surrounded by pleasant gardens, and backed by mountain-ranges rising to an altitude of eight-

and-twenty thousand feet, and stretching over two-and-twenty longitudinal degrees. The language mostly spoken is a Hindoo mountain dialect, though the aborigines, apparently of Mongol extraction, lay claim in portions still remote to a patois of their own called "Newar"—boasting, it is said, considerable richness of expression, and a literature by no means to be despised. With such a ruler and such a population, with both of whom force and selfish motives are the only available arguments, the duties of the Resident are necessarily of an elementary order, and the post is usually conferred on men qualified for so honourable a retreat by long labour and good service in the sultry plains below.

We must now conclude this sketch of the Political Department. The Guickwar of Baroda has long lost his sovereign independence; and though he wears the decoration of the Star of India, and retains the show and many of the attributes of power, his actual position is one of purest vassalage, where the Resident dictates, and is dictated to in turn by the Government of Bombay. The Poona Peishwa's fall from a dynastic seat, "founded in usurpation and terminated in treachery," made way for the establishment of the petty Raja of Sattara as representative of the founder of Mahratta rule: his line became extinct in 1848, and then his territory also "lapsed," and became incorporated with our dominions.

Following the valley of the Indus, and traversing the dark historic passes of Bolan and the Khyber, the English people have discovered that their true policy towards the Affghans is one of absolute non-intervention. At the court of the Ameer of Cabul we indeed maintain a

native agent or vakeel, possessing neither responsibility nor power. He officially reports to the Foreign Secretariat at Calcutta events as they occur, and occasionally, perhaps, hands some formal compliment or protest to the Government *de facto*. Nothing he can say or do can compromise the Government of India; and until the Queen's legation at the Court of Teheran is again taken from the London Foreign Office and handed over to the tenderer mercies of the Secretariat of State for India, it is little likely that the destiny of England will play a prominent part in Central Asian politics.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PROVINCES BEYOND THE SEA.

UNDER this generic term we shall class those appanages of the Government of India to which access can alone be had by traversing the ocean. Although their administration is conducted through many of the departmental channels already dealt with, such as the Home and Foreign Offices in Calcutta, some being even subject to the minor Presidencies of Bombay or Madras, they may yet be treated of collectively as forming, in respect to British Hindostan, a colonial system of its own.

First among these colonies rank the Provinces of Burma, wrested from the stiff-necked court of Ava by Lord Dalhousie in 1852; and, when added to our previous possessions beyond the Brahmapootra of Tenasserim and Aracan, ceded to us at the treaty of Yandabo in 1826, these constitute a kingdom of no mean extent, now known as British Burma, and ruled by a Chief Commissioner appointed by the Governor-General. Second in size, though perhaps of first political significance, come what are termed the Straits Settlements, embracing Singapore, Malacca, Province

Wellesley, and Penang. Next we have the interesting groups of Andamans and Nicobars, the less valuable Laccadives, including Minicoy, and the strongly-fortified rocks of Aden and Perim, the Ceuta and Gibraltar of the East.

The footing taken by English enterprise in Burma dates far back among the first of our Eastern undertakings. A country possessed of great mineral wealth and unmatched timber, and little subject to many noxious influences to which the European in those latitudes too generally succumbs, naturally attracted the attention of our earliest navigators. In 1687 the British landed at Negrais, an island lying at the Bassein mouth of the river Irawadi, well situated for a commercial site, and for a space of seventy years our relations with the local chiefs were conducted without jealousy, and confined to furthering the interests of trade; but when the Burmese conqueror, Alompra, overran Pegu, the East India Company awoke from dreams of wealth alone to war and annexation. A rude race of "robber kings" from Aracan, called Mughs, boasting of a "long and treacherous descent," shortly after came by thousands to complete the spread of anarchy, and for many years the history of our intercourse with Ava was little but a record of extortion on the one side and arrogance upon the other. The Mughs took refuge alternately with English and Burmese, laying waste the land of their respective enemies; mutual recriminations ensued; the surrender of the Mughs was demanded in peremptory terms, which seldom were acceded to, and another war was the

invariable result, equally invariably terminating in some fresh addition to our territory, tending only to enhance our future difficulties. In 1852, however, India was ruled by Lord Dalhousie, who seemed to hold it for his destiny to preclude the possible recurrence of disputes like these by obtaining, either through a prompt and full submission or formal annexation, some better security for tranquillity than could be found in so-called treaties of eternal peace and amity between unequal powers. He did not, as a rule, consider in such cases the origin of the dispute of much importance; he only recognised its actual existence. He was not responsible for the doings of his predecessors; he had been sent out to "rule the Indies," and not to spend his time in a tardy investigation of our title to disputed territory or the merits of a war which had assumed the aspect of a political necessity. Thus arguing, he undertook a war against Pegu, of greater magnitude than any of our previous Burmese expeditions; and though it was one perhaps that European jurists might not have deemed quite justifiable, it was not the less successful; and after some expense of human life, and much captured prize, the conquest of Pegu was finally proclaimed in words sufficiently characteristic to merit their quotation *in extenso* :—

"The Court of Ava having refused to make amends for the injuries and insults which British subjects had suffered at the hands of its servants, the Governor-General of India in Council resolved to exact reparation by force of arms. The forts and cities upon the coast were forthwith attacked and captured; the Bur-

mese forces have been dispersed wherever they have been met, and the province of Pegu is now in the occupation of British troops. The just and moderate demands of the Government of India have been rejected by the King; the ample opportunity that has been afforded him for repairing the injury that was done has been disregarded; and the timely submission which alone could have been effectual to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom is still withheld. Wherefore in compensation for the past, and for better security in the future, the Governor-General in Council has resolved, and hereby proclaims, that the province of Pegu is now, and shall be henceforth, a portion of the British territories in the East. Such Burman troops as may still remain within the province shall be driven out; civil government shall immediately be established, and officers shall be appointed to administer the affairs of the several districts. The Governor-General in Council hereby calls on the inhabitants of Pegu to submit themselves to the authority, and to confide securely in the protection, of the British Government, whose power they have seen to be irresistible, and whose rule is marked by justice and beneficence. The Governor-General in Council having exacted the reparation he deems sufficient, desires no further conquest in Burma, and is willing to consent that hostilities should cease. But if the King of Ava shall fail to renew his former relations of friendship with the British Government, and if he shall recklessly seek to dispute its quiet possession of the province it has now declared to be its own, the Governor-General in Council will

again put forth the power he holds, and will visit with full retribution aggressions which, if they be persisted in, must of necessity lead to the total subversion of the Burmese State, and the ruin and exile of the King and his race."

Such was the picture Lord Dalhousie drew, and perhaps unwisely, of the policy pursued by the paramount Christian power in Southern Asia, and such was the penalty he decreed to all who should presume to question the legality of a title, based confessedly upon a declaration made in Council by the Governor-General, that a fertile province had become his own by conquest. Yet a proclamation penned for Eastern hearts and minds can hardly bear the stamp of righteous dealing required by the more fastidious morality of the West; and, right or wrong, Pegu became a British province, and has since been ruled as such to its own great advantage; first by Major Phayre, as virtual Governor of Pegu alone, and later, as years passed on and brought to him increase of honours and of army rank, as Chief Commissioner for the whole of British Burma.

Colonel Phayre is one of those whose character should not be hastily slurred over with a few slender words of praise in a work that seeks especially to make apparent the high importance of a right selection of mankind for different place. Tall, thin, slightly curved, rather by much thought than by the weight of years, still light in number, his best services have been performed among that people to whose interests his whole being seems now devoted. In the expression of his countenance, at once upright and refined, those

even least versed in the science of deducing human actions from a facial angle may read a happy combination of prudence, natural sagacity, courage of the highest order, love of accuracy, and something like a deference to others and slight distrust of self, which taken singly may mean weakness, but when blended with an administrative success of twenty years can only indicate a great superiority.

Some outline of the history of Colonel Playre's first years of Burmese rule may be gathered indirectly from Colonel Henry Yule's able narrative of a special mission to the Court of Ava in 1855. Colonel, then Captain, Yule occupied the place of Secretary to the mission, being given to understand that one of the chief duties of his office would be the preparation of that narrative. The work thus produced has since taken a high place in descriptive literature, and has become the text-book of all who seek for information with reference to Burmese affairs; and though the author avoids with rare delicacy recording in too prominent a manner his own appreciation of his chief's ability and learning, it is evident, from the tone and language used throughout, that the force of Major Playre's example had sunk deep into a mind singularly sensitive to all outward influence for good. Not less remarkable is the record of the deep impression evidently produced upon the rulers of those states, whether tributary to Ava or Siam, and upon Kareen chiefs, both red and white, with whom the envoy came in contact; and taken as a whole, in its objects, record, and results, that mission sent by Lord Dalhousie in 1855, composed of men of modesty and

learning, perhaps at once affords the ablest vindication of the act of 1852, and displays a kind of tacit penitence for the rudeness of its mode of execution.

But Colonel Phayre's experience of the so-called Court of Ava was not destined to be confined to the journey undertaken in 1855; for in 1862 Lord Elgin, wishing to establish more accessible relations with the Burmese Government, made him the bearer of a complimentary khureta to the King. Upon this second mission Colonel Phayre entered with undiminished zeal; and after many weary days and nights exhausted in delays, the flat-bottomed boats bearing him and his attendants were seen approaching up the stream by those who watched his advent from the towers of Mandalay. In that city he remained some weeks in daily intercourse with Burmese royalty and the members of the Government, and obtained from them a curious insight into French intrigues in Burma and Siam. These, however, partake less of a national than a personal character; and this name of "French intrigue" in Indo-China, which rings with such familiar sound upon the ears of Francophobists, is mainly owing to the circumstance of many French and Franco-Italian names being concerned in schemes for personal aggrandisement, based upon the rendering of some supposed service to the aggressive policy of France on the banks of the Cambodia. As yet these schemes have not been crowned with much success. Some enterprising men indeed have made their way from Ava to Saigon, crossing the Salween at spots unknown to European geographers, and traversing Shan

states abounding in every natural product which can conduce to future wealth. These vast tracts of country, accessible alone to trade by mounting the Salween, a river known where it strikes the British territory as the Martaban, have hitherto been isolated from the ends and aims of British energy by the hostile action of the Kareen tribes, who, inhabiting dense forests, and acknowledging but little subservience to any government whatever, carry fire and sword into every camp of immigrants that ventures to intrude upon the rich and fertile tracts that they, like Lord Dalhousie, have declared their own. Not long ago an expedition headed by a learned Doctor tried to make its way from the eastern shore of the Irawadi to the Salween, passing north of the Kareen country. It was indeed successful; and there the travellers found evidence of gold and silver and of precious stones, fully explaining the source of the costly pomp in which the Burmese Court delights to clothe itself. Perhaps, also, in the exceeding riches of this country, which increase at each step taken to the east and north, some explanation may be found of the repeated migrations of the capital towards the Irawadi's source. Captain Yule wrote that "the abandonment of Amarapoora in 1822 was looked upon as an ill-omened act, and the people had a notion that the disasters of the war of 1824-1826 were connected with it. The royal residence had always previously, as least since a very remote era, been moved up the river, from Prome to Pagān, from Pagān to Panya, from Panya to Ava, from Ava to Amarapoora;" and since that book was written a further change in the same

direction has been made to Mandalay. This falling back has been attributed by most writers to a resolution to retreat from the approach of Western civilisation; but whether it owes its origin to this cause or to increased knowledge of their country's wealth, and a consequent desire to keep it to themselves, may prove of interest to theorists alone—and to them we leave this fertile theme for speculation, while we pursue its practical result of paralysing the Pegu trade. The Government of India was not without the hope that Colonel Phayre might succeed in mitigating this evil by the establishment of some less exclusive passport system, and a more liberal customs' tariff than at that time prevailed; and his mission was indeed so far successful, in that extended forest rights and some responsibility for the acts of Kareen tribes were virtually conceded; but practically the wealth of Burma is not yet tapped, and that country still remains a *mare clausum* to European enterprise.

Returning from his mission, Colonel Phayre proceeded to Calcutta to render an account to his employers. That account was deemed satisfactory, and very creditable to himself; and among the rewards conferred upon him in recognition of his services, ranked by the side of a Bath Companionship the permission to retain the insignia of the Burmese Order of the Elephant, which had been sent him by the King as a special mark of favour the day he had his audience to take leave.

Descending the Irawadi to Rangoon, the traveller may select some south-bound ship, and, coasting through the Mergui Archipelago, he next sights the English flag where it floats upon the little island of Penang. Pulo

Penang, or Prince of Wales Island, was obtained by the Company some seventy years ago, on payment of a yearly tribute to the King of Queda, an independent semi-civilised ruler on the western coast of Lower Siam. In extreme fertility it makes amend for its minute proportions as a colony, and it is able to support a larger and more varied population of Malays, Chinese, Buttas, Bengalis, Europeans, Chuliahs, Siamese, and Burmese, than any spot of equal size encircled by the sea. Early in the present century a little strip of land upon the Queda coast was added to its jurisdiction, and called Province Wellesley. The arm of the Malacca Strait that separates the two is not so wide but what from time to time a tiger swims across, and in this strait a hundred ships or more may swing in calm security, protected by our guns from the pirates of Acheen, and by the ranges of the Rumbia mountains from the fierce gales wont suddenly to arise within those latitudes. Penang is a port of call for every European passenger-ship passing through the Malacca Straits, and scarcely a day goes by but some large steamer outward or homeward bound, belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, or Messageries Impériales, lands its living freight to enjoy a short six hours of *terra firma*, and, if the season be auspicious, to indulge in manges-teens, the only fruit perhaps of whose merit Eastern tales do not convey an exaggerated impression. Unlike the coarse fruits of those climes—the jack, the banana, and the mango—it possesses a delicacy of taste that far exceeds the flavour of the nectarine. Its beauty of appearance is, moreover, such as to cause regret it can-

not be preserved ; but it is so sensitive of touch, and its clear pink and white are mingled in such pure perfection, that the softest finger wounds, and at the expiration of some hours its utility for food has ceased.

Penang is governed by an officer detached from Singapore, styled Resident Councillor, and he is aided in the administration by a legal referee, who often occupies at once the manifold vocations of counsel for defence and prosecution, of magistrate, and something like Chief-Justice. Such at least appeared to visitors the position occupied by Sir Peter Benson Maxwell, who, under the elastic title of Recorder, apparently performed a variety of duties embracing every shade of legal jurisdiction. These duties are not at all times, it is true, combined in one man's hands ; but sickness or some other cause often reduces the small administration of Penang to very near a minimum, and if at intervals a case occurs which a modest man in power considers his acquaintance with the forms of justice too limited to deal with, the criminal is sent to Singapore, where the merits of the case are speedily disposed of. To this settlement of Singapore we shall now therefore turn, passing by Malacca without mention, as being very similar to Penang in many of its local characteristics, and also because, owing to its situation on the mainland, it is both less frequented and possessed of minor interest.

Singapore is a curious place, and its inhabitants have been divided by a native writer into four classes. " Malays rank first as the aborigines. These are fed upon by Europeans, who in their turn are cheated by

Chinese ; the whole three-fourths of the population being actually at the mercy of a large community of tigers, who carry off each night one human child or more, and infest the jungle ground by which the station is surrounded in such quantities as to render it unsafe to walk the streets at night." Singapore owes its importance entirely to its position. It is described as an island, but in reality it forms the extreme southern point of the continent of Asia, being separated from the mainland by what are little more than the two mouths of an unimportant river. It is the half-way house for the whole China trade, and as such its possession is a necessity for England, so long as her fleets remain the carriers of the commerce of the world. Yet it has been determined, and with wisdom, to confine its fortifications to the erection of such batteries as should prevent its falling a too easy prey to an attacking force ; and this is based upon the argument, that its possession is rather the consequence of our maritime supremacy than an abetting cause of such result.

This being the case, and applying as it does with equal force to Malacca and Penang, and the powers moreover intrusted to the government of these settlements being large enough to give scope for the exercise of administrative ability only on an unpretending scale, Colonel Orfeur Cavanagh found, on suddenly ascending to the giddy height of his Lilliputian throne, but few domestic questions of any magnitude awaiting his solution ; and it cannot afford surprise that an officer of his known activity of mind should by

preference have turned his thoughts into the more exciting channels of his foreign policy. In this spirit of adventure, and in search of occupation, were undertaken periodical visits to Sarawak and the haunts of even wilder men than Raja Brooke on the rugged coasts of Borneo. The time and labour thus withdrawn from the more immediate local interests of Singapore were well devoted to reducing piracy in the neighbouring seas; and in the performance of this task he has more than once been well supported by the strong right arm of the Christian Church, in the person of a well-known Colonial Bishop, who, in the exercise of his episcopacy at Labuan, oft laid aside his cassock and exchanged the early Fathers' homilies for the more convincing arguments of Joe Manton or a Purdie. The works of Sir Stamford Raffles, however, have left nothing to be desired in the description of this quarter of the globe; and having now reached the southernmost point of our Indian dominions, it is time to turn the traveller's head towards home.

Before we quit the waters of Bengal one last possession calls for some slight notice. This possession is of little value even to ourselves. Two straggling groups of islands, separated by a channel little traversed, occupy a position which may be roughly termed a central one as measured from Calcutta, Galle, and Singapore. To the southern of these groups, that bears the name of Nicobars, a melancholy interest attaches, from its having proved the grave of many of our early navigators, who, seeking hospitality

and shelter from the burst of the monsoon, rashly landed on these coasts. Quite recently, indeed, vessels from Rangoon having disappeared under circumstances fully justifying suspicion, a search was instituted, and a history of piracy and cannibalism systematically combined was brought to light. The more northern group of islands, the Andamans, are mainly remarkable for having preserved human nature in a lower stage of civilisation than has been ever found elsewhere. They are now utilised as a convict settlement, and a small town has sprung up called Port Blair, where a Superintendent resides, who, aided by a company of Madras Sepoys, is the jailer of some hundreds of the mutineers of 1857. Attempts to civilise the aborigines have frequently been made, but still remain unattended with the least success. These savages retire by day at our approach, and hover round our settlement at night like dogs or beasts of prey. They seem too little civilised to appreciate the fact of our intrusion, and it is even a vexed question whether they possess a *bonâ fide* language of their own. They give utterance to uncouth sounds, bearing more resemblance to the cries of the brute creation than to the inflections of the human voice. They find food apparently by instinct, sleep in trees, go totally unclothed, know the rude use of a club as against the beasts by whom they are surrounded, though scarcely against their fellow-men, and are equally incapable of organisation among themselves, and of individual resistance to white enemies. Yet missionaries have not been wanting to approach these islanders, and well-mean-

ing members of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge have sown their coasts with Bibles, whose use the finders could certainly but ill conjecture.

The office of Superintendent at Port Blair is one not widely sought for. Hitherto it has been almost always held by military men. Colonel Houghton, now known to fame from his suppression of the Jyntiah Cossiah Rebellion, once occupied this place, receiving twelve hundred Company's rupees per month in exchange for utter banishment. On his departure there ensued a kind of interregnum, during which the convicts had time to get accustomed to lax discipline ; and then there suddenly appeared among them a Colonel of the late Company's army, called Robert Christopher Tytler, who had won for himself a certain reputation in some obscure transactions in 1857. Colonel Tytler's merits were better known, and certainly had been better appreciated, at the London India Office than in the Military Department at Calcutta. Some merits he no doubt possessed ; but he was not the man to inspire a feeling of security amongst an isolated few. Neither did it appear, when he became the head of such an isolated few, that he had it in his power to feel much confidence in himself. The Anglo-Indian officer of many years' experience in comfortable stations of burra khanas and of iced champagne was ill at ease among a people who fed on roots and wore no clothes. Port Blair offers but few resources for a devotee to social life. The settlement is composed of a few mean bungalows scattered under cocoas on a sandy shore. On one side stretch the lines of some Madrassee Sepoys ; while on the opposite are seen a tiny cast-iron

church, but recently imported, and the white man's graveyard, well tenanted for so limited a community. The convict settlement occupies a central place, raked by the imaginary fire of an hospital ship, two store vessels, and some few coasting craft, peaceably at anchor in the horse-shoe bay. Certain people have it not in them to endure an existence to which they deem themselves superior; and it is to be supposed that Colonel Tytler belonged to this large category. However this may be, he first applied for leave, and almost ere his application was received his health broke down, and he left the Andamans after a reign of short duration and of few results.

Corresponding to these groups of Andamans and Nicobars, and occupying, with reference to the coast of Malabar, something of the same position they hold in respect to that of Coromandel, we find the Laccadives and Maldives, separated from each other, like their prototypes, by a channel of about a hundred miles, whose value for purposes of navigation is lessened by the existence in its centre of a coral formation, to which the name of Minicoy has been given. This island is uninhabited, save by native fishermen, who visit it from time to time, and form a floating population, which hitherto has shown but little tendency to expand. Minicoy, like all mid-channel islands, is not without its fair average of shipwreck tales, though happily the half-savage mariners frequenting it have shown a marked humanity to all whom accident has cast upon their coasts.

The Laccadives, until lately, formed a portion of the

inheritance pertaining to the Chief of Cannamore, subject to the payment of an annual tribute of a thousand pounds to the British Government. With the growth, however, of our dominion in the East, the power of native princes to enforce their rights at the hands of distant vassals has very much decreased; and hence it followed that not long since, the tribute having fallen into many years' arrears, the Government of India absolved the reigning Beebec from all responsibility of its collection past and future, assuming the administration of the islands. With them, as with the Maldives, fish is the sole produce. They are not reported as possessed of mineral or vegetable wealth. Gold-dust is not found upon their surf-bound shores, neither do costly spice trees cast a perfumed shade upon their sun-burnt soil. Their wealth consists of palms and cocoas, and the inhabitants obtain imported clothes and articles of luxury, in quantities limited by their inaccessibility, in exchange for the shells called cowries, that are used as money for small payments throughout the length and breadth of Hindostan. It has been stated, on the authority of a careful investigator, that the inhabitants of the Maldives are Mahomedans, probably of Arabic descent; that they live under a Sultan paying tribute to Ceylon, who, according to Hamilton, resides in Malē, an island about three miles in circuit, fortified by walls and batteries mounting upwards of a hundred pieces of artillery. But this account must be received with caution, as ill according with the piscatorial simplicity and indigence that form the leading characteristics of their brethren of the Laccadives.

Aden and Perim are now all that remain unnoticed of what we have termed the Indian provinces beyond the sea ; for the rich island of Ceylon forms an isolated colony, having no dependence on Calcutta. It is ruled by a Governor appointed by the Queen, upon the advice and responsibility of the Secretary of State charged with the Colonial Department, and corresponds with India on equal terms on matters of a mutual interest. Often it has been suggested that Ceylon physically belongs to continental India, and forms as much an integral part of the Presidency of Madras as the isle of Anglesey does of Wales. Indeed more so, the latter being now at length connected only by a triumph of engineering skill, the former by a succession of broken rocks or islands worn away through long ages by the break of the monsoon, known to geography as Adam's Bridge, and uniting the island to the main shore with the exception of a pass one hundred and fifty yards in width, dignified on charts by the appellation Paumben Channel, where at low tide, thanks to an expenditure of fifty thousand pounds, we have now succeeded in obtaining a depth of water of about thirteen feet. Other breaks and irregularities exist, it is true, in Adam's Bridge, but over many of them a boy could leap with ease ; and geology has surmised that the interruptions in this natural causeway were originally the result of some slight terrestrial convulsion early in the fifteenth century.

The fact of the island of Ceylon being constituted independent of the Government of India, was no doubt mainly owing to the circumstances connected with its

acquisition. The Portuguese established themselves there early in the sixteenth century, and were succeeded in the seventeenth by the Dutch, from whom the island was wrested by the British in the course of the wars resulting from the great French Revolution. Yet the conquered portions were confined to fortified points along the coast, and the King of Candy until quite recently ruled in the mountains of Murlia. In former times Ceylon was mainly prized as a convenient point to touch for wood, water, and provisions; it boasted more than one good harbour, and was inhabited by a peace-seeking people who knew few wants. Its interests were Imperial, being bound up with those, not only of East India, but of China and the whole extensive Australasian group; and it was argued, that if made subordinate to the Governor-General, these interests might be farmed for local ends which might not so well reconcile with general requirement. Lord Wellesley early saw the shortsightedness of such a view, and used his influence, though in vain, to counteract the claims to this pet island which the Colonial Office was advancing on the strength of its colonial antecedents. But at that period our Indian possessions had by no means formed themselves into the ring-fenced estate they now resemble. The process of consolidation had not indeed commenced, and conquest was still the order of the day. The Cingalese themselves, no doubt, have benefited by the course pursued. They have³ escaped all share in the vicissitudes of war, pestilence, and famine which waged beyond that narrow belt of sea. Neither have they been compelled to con-

tribute towards the maintenance of Indian finance a quota corresponding to their wealth. As an independent colony their taxation has been light and easy to be borne; and though the progress they have made in arts and agriculture has been small compared with that of Madras or British Burma, it has proved sufficient to satisfy the humble cravings of an unambitious race. A market for their pearls is all that they require, that a family may buy some five-and-twenty cocoas, and build beneath their shade a rude abode composed of sticks and matting—the trees themselves supplying all their wants; one tree, perchance, is hollowed out to form a rough canoe, by aid of which still more pearls and fish may be obtained; and with such treasures, and an iron pot or two, they contentedly eke out the burthen of their existence. Still Ceylon is not without drawbacks, mainly incidental to its independence. It has a civil service of its own, an ecclesiastical establishment both overgrown and overfed, and a mint, accompanied by all the ramifications of a fiscal system on a scale commensurate with the necessities of Imperial shipping interests, but far exceeding those of the inhabitants themselves. One argument used in former days against the incorporation of Ceylon with British India was, that such a step would immediately be followed by granting to Trincomalee the patronage bestowed on Point de Galle: the latter undoubtedly the worst haven into which the shipping of the East habitually puts, and only maintained as lying handy at the extreme south of the island, so as to save each China and Australian ship some half day's coal; the

former styled by Nelson "the finest harbour in the world"—a reputation endorsed in the following words by one of the ablest navigators of our day :—"Almost entirely landlocked, the water is so deep that it is practicable to step from the shore on board the largest vessels moored alongside. During the north-east monsoon, when all ships on the Coromandel coast and in the Bengal Bay are compelled to put to sea, Trincomalee is their main place of refuge. The town," it is added, "well fortified by the Portuguese, may be considered as the military capital of Ceylon." Galle, on the other hand, is assailable both by land and sea, and annually submits to the appreciation of mankind a list of accidents and loss of life so long that nothing but the influence of Peninsular and Oriental Company directors and of the agents for Australian mails, combined with the ignorance of the general public and of the holders of East India stock,—nothing less than such a powerful combination of ignorance and wealth could have preserved, beyond the middle of the nineteenth century, Galle harbour from its inevitable doom of utter and complete abandonment, and kept closed to trade for upwards of a hundred years "the finest haven in the world."

It so happens that public opinion in England concerning India is mostly formed by men whose paths have lain in Bombay or Bengal; for not only numerically speaking do they form a stronger phalanx than those who toil within the precincts of Madras, but the commercial and military ascendancy of the two northern Presidencies has tended to absorb the interest expressed

in England in what relates to British India. Of these two Presidencies the servants of Bengal alone set eyes upon Ceylon, where they spend in transit some few hours, just sufficient to enable the more energetic to visit the so-called Cinnamon Gardens, and Wockwallee, in the immediate vicinity of Galle, being thus alone enabled to form an opinion worthy of the name, as based on personal observation. This opinion is palmed off upon their brethren of Bombay, by whom it is adopted, partly from deference to the superior wisdom of Bengal, partly from the fear of being bracketed perhaps with the benighted denizens of Fort St George, and most of all, no doubt, from the innate love, common to peoples as to individuals, of dissenting from the preconceived opinions of their nearest neighbour, when circumstances enable them to do so without incurring responsibility. To men thus fresh from Calcutta or from Europe, Ceylon's palm-clad coast affords a marked contrast to the Hoogly's muddy shores or Aden's scorching cinders, and they endorse in daily conversation the belief existent, that the island of Ceylon is distinct from continental India in language, manners, and religion; whilst the Anglican of Madras, who occupies, both from his minority and the accident of geographical position, the place of smallest interest and influence at home,—he alone can trace a similarity between the Cingalese and the southern races who occupy the lands beyond the Cauvery, from Tanjore to Cochin.

The fact is, Hindostan must be regarded as a continent, of which Ceylon forms but one component part.

The mountain races to the north are rude-spoken and rough-mannered ; as you travel south, they soften at once in character, language, and appearance. They are less martial, less fanatical, and more effeminate. The patois of the Hills gives place to the full-mouthed Punjabee languages, which are superseded in their turn by the more cultivated Mahratta and Hindee ; and finally all give way to the softer sounds of Canarese and Tamil. These dialects again, as the coast is gradually approached, merge, through stages not always very clearly traceable, into Cingalese, which, when spoken in its purity, is peculiar to the island whence it takes its name, but when written and termed Pali is in general use in Burmese literature, and has much analogy with Malay and Siamese. Further, we are told that throughout Ceylon and Travancore, "gatherers of fruit," "drawers of toddy," or fermented sap from the palm, and low-caste fishermen called "Moognas," form a large proportion of the population ; and again we have on high authority "that the Malabars of Ceylon and the Cingalese of Malabar are so closely allied in manners and religion, and both resemble in such degree their congeners of Southern India, as to form one people, evidently descended from the posterity of Hashem, who was expelled by Mahomet from Arabia ; and though Candy, from its isolated and inaccessible position at the summit of the Kadaganava Pass, still remains a stronghold of the Buddhist faith, yet little physiological importance should be attributed to a circumstance so local in its operation and accidental in its origin"—owing, as the priests themselves allow, to a very flying

visit once paid that mountain by the divine Buddha, who condescended, we are told, to purchase the eternal sanctity of so beautiful an island, hitherto inhabited by demons, at the costly price of a holy tooth.

Thus race, language, manners, and religion seem to culminate in the most southern portion of the peninsula of Hindostan. There, within the space of two square degrees, are found living side by side, in friendly intercourse and commercial prosperity, representatives of every creed from Ghuznee to Juggernaut; and England, far from seeking to sink the nationality of Ceylon, and class her by the side of secondary insular possessions, ought on the contrary to cast her weight into the scales of British India, with whose destinies she must ever be inseparably associated. Their products are the same; and unfortunately there is but little difference in their climate. The same Eastern sun shines on both, and, recent experience has taught, with almost equal detriment to European life. The last two rulers of Ceylon have been brought to early graves by reason of the noxious influences there imbibed. Sir Henry Ward, it is true, succumbed to cholera a few days after his arrival in Madras. And that Presidency unjustly has his blood upon her hands; for no less surely did his labours at Colombo predispose him to the grasp of the disease than was the case with his successor, Sir Charles Macarthy, who after lingering long, apparently unwilling to leave his work ere its completion, was finally compelled to ship himself for England, which he never lived to reach.

But interest in Ceylon has made us stray from the

path prescribed, and Aden, with Perim, have claims on our attention that brook no further of delay. The acquisition of the former dates from 1849, when Captain Haines was authorised by the Government of India to demand redress for some indignities suffered by Mahomedans, under the protection of Bombay, bound upon a pilgrimage to Mecca. The local Sultan was accordingly addressed, and his reply was of so insolent a nature as to provoke hostilities, which terminated in our acquisition of a town and seaport of Arabia Felix in the province of Yemen. "The geological formation of Aden is of pure igneous origin, the whole peninsula being little more than a huge mass of volcanic rock. Aden has been styled the eye of Yemen; it is certainly the key to the Red Sea from the south, its harbour being the finest in Arabia." Since the possession by Great Britain of this exhausted crater, vast sums have been lavished in the erection of fortifications, which render it no doubt impregnable, if not to any attack that might be made from the sea or the mainland, at least to any force the Arabs could collect. Indeed it has been said by competent authorities, that what Aden has most to fear in the event of war, is that its lofty walls might be brought down by the concussion caused by the discharge of its own artillery. Such as it is, however, Aden is governed by a military Resident appointed from Bombay. The wonders of the tanks, by means of which the rain that falls once in three years or so is carefully preserved for the use of the inhabitants, are too well known to need description here. They have been supposed to be of Roman origin, and their excava-

tion is mainly due to the energy displayed by Captain Playfair, now Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, who, being left long in charge, spared nothing, and money least of all, in the successful execution of this work.

The island of Perim is dependent upon the peninsula of Aden, being situated in the centre of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. It is small, flat, arid, and worthless; and the meagre company, detached from the garrison of Aden for its defence, would be of less value to serve the guns commanding the narrow entrance to the Red Sea, than they actually are as a security for the burning of the light watched for with anxiety by every pilot as he nears that channel. The blustering menace expressed by France at the date of our attachment of ~~the~~ island of Perim was so much capital expended on an unremunerative object. It has since become palpable to all that for offensive purposes Perim is powerless; while its defence could not be maintained in so isolated a position without a force vastly superior to its strategic value. Perim is not a fortress, but a light-station; and the eloquence of France and the threats of her colonels have failed to construe the encouragement of commerce into an act of political aggression.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT

IN previous chapters some space has necessarily been devoted to military deeds and men, but without encroaching on the place reserved for notice of the profession whose history they adorn; for in the East a soldier's duties cannot be kept within the limits of camp life, and the force of his example extends far beyond the small circumference whence his watch-fires may be seen. Half a century ago the duties of an Indian soldier to the English Crown embraced even wider fields of action than is the case to-day. Less liable to barren criticism, a broader scope was left for the unembarrassed exercise of character and genius; and while it was impossible for a commander to shield himself from the responsibility attaching to his office by endless reference to headquarters, no general could be blind to the fact that the prestige of the blood shed by Clive and Warren Hastings might easily be sacrificed in one campaign. Thus place and power then really went together, and each conveyed some sense of its responsibility to him who held it, by force of actual fact, and not by reason of the fear of having tardy

tactics watched with ill-disguised impatience, and military distances measured upon the Horse Guards' maps by the light of letters from a correspondent of the 'Times.'

A combination of the difficulties of both these positions may be said, however, to have been embraced in Lord Clyde's Indian career. He, perhaps more than any of his predecessors, might feel that one day's insuccess, or even doubtful gain, would more than neutralise the prolonged victory of a century; and he moreover entered on his duties at a moment when national anxiety for India in England had reached its highest pitch, and when each British tax-payer considered that his status as a free-born Briton, not less than parental fondness for a younger son who had perchance embraced an Eastern life, entitled him to know the programme of reconquest. Sense of responsibility is of two kinds—legitimate, for the ultimate result of the interests at stake; and illegitimate, for fear of the discredit entailed by failure. Both of these Lord Clyde might well experience. He had been essentially the soldier of good fortune, who, raised to high command by past successes dearly won at the hands of worthy enemies, might not unnaturally be supposed to shrink from the possibility of dulling in some Indian fight the lustre of a long life's achievements. Besides, though suffering less than many from a morbid consciousness of the magnitude of the game he played, he yet possessed a full and healthy knowledge of the heavy liability incurred by one who led the vengeful hosts which England had sent out to buy back with still more blood a land

already reddened by the sword. To this just appreciation of his own position, Lord Clyde's good fortune further added the not inconsiderable advantage of having to narrate his doings in the East the pen of Dr Russell, who, from long familiarity with both the pains and pleasures of campaigning, knew how to keep the British public satisfied with accurate details, without assuming, as he might, the easier part of censor and reformer. Finally, the condition of events was such as to leave Lord Clyde more untrammelled than any General in the field since the era of the first Napoleon. The Indian telegraph by sea was not then laid, while that by land was everywhere destroyed or in the enemy's hands; he had at his beck and call men devoted to himself by past association, and in Sir William Mansfield he, first alone, but later joined by all the military world, recognised the ablest soldier of our time.

But it is not our intention to emulate the zeal of octogenarian heroes, who never tire of fighting well-fought battles yet once more. Too many books have helped to cast an insufficient light upon the acts in which their authors played at best a poor third part; and we must rest content with the attempt to trace some faint outline of the relative positions occupied by soldier and civilian—showing how each now wears the other's mask, how the civilian of an earlier day, having the command of soldiery, was martial to excess, while now, that the rupees he monthly earns are owing to success in arms alone, but little love is lost between the services.

This mutual jealousy has constantly afforded cause

for scandal, and not unfrequently produced results most baneful to the public interests. Formerly, in times of great excitement, or when some long-pending measure required immediate carrying-out, the difficulty was often met by joining in one man's hands the reins of military and civil rule. The biography of Lord Cornwallis affords more than one example of such a combination, necessary at the time, but invariably dissolved when the necessity had passed away. But when two men of equal ambition and genius for usurping every field of action meet on the theatre of Indian life, difficulty invariably ensues. The last instance of such difficulty, growing from a mere personal feeling of dislike, or what Sir Cresswell Cresswell might have termed "incompatibility of temper," into a public animosity, such as to make it impossible for civil and military authorities to work in double harness, occurred in Lord Dalhousie's time, when Sir Charles Napier, rendered the weaker vessel by the glowing administrative successes of the Governor-General, was shattered in the contest and recalled.

A much-abetting cause of these dissensions doubtless may be found in the constitution of what are termed the "Civil Regiments." These consist of corps enrolled rather for political reasons than as arms of Imperial warfare or defence, and as such they are subject to the sole control of the Governor-General, to the exclusion of the authority of the Commander-in-Chief. Queen's officers are appointed to them as vacancies occur; and these appointments being highly paid, and affording special opportunities for distinction, are much coveted,

and constitute a valuable branch of patronage. The "Punjab Irregular Force," raised in 1849, ranks first among these troops for efficiency and importance, being composed of horse and foot and guns; and since 1857 it has earned for itself an honourable place in the military history of India, beneath the iron hand and silken glove of Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain, an officer whose daring and ambition found an ample field in the belt of country known as the Derajat, that separates the river Indus from the frontiers of Cabul. Many other corps belong to the list of "Civil Regiments;" the duty of some of them lies in obedience to the commands of the Resident at Hyderabad, and some receive their orders through the Agents to the Governor-General at Indore or Mount Aboo. Some are still more local in their character, like the Mhairwarrah battalion; and the special service of others, like the Viceroy's body-guard, and that of the Resident at Nipal, consists in the performance of perpetual escort-duty. There is, however, no necessity to name or number these personal and local military bodies. They all differ in externals; some are clothed in scarlet and gold, with jack-boots and plumed head-gear; others wear the dust-coloured khakee uniform and turban peculiar to the native infantry, and prefer to remove their European ammunition-boots before proceeding on a march; yet, though distinct in outward show, they have the fact in common that all of them wear swords, which one and all know full well when and for whom to draw. Though the anomaly of this system is no doubt very great, it has hitherto been found practically

to work well, and has proved itself of almost priceless value in these days when so much of the real power of a Governor-General has been laid low—first by the creation of powerful subordinate administrations, and secondly by the system of increased subservience to home, even in matters of minute detail, such as the granting of a paltry annual pension;—thus rendering it doubly necessary that the office of Viceroy should be clothed with martial attributes, and all the outward pomp and circumstance of an Eastern Court.

With men of the stamp of the Governor-General who annexed the Punjab, and of the Commander-in-Chief who conquered Scinde, it was not unnatural that difficulty should have arisen; but Lord Canning at the outset of the Indian Mutiny had for Chief Commander a man of the heroic caste, who, had he lived, might by the force of his prompt action have crushed in its first infancy the wide-spreading conflagration. But the sudden illness of a few days closed the life of General Anson, and he died in Northern India on the very day our countrymen exchanged the line of their intrenchments at Cawnpore for the river-boats so treacherously provided for them by the Nana of infamous repute. Thus Lord Canning lost the services of one above jealousy like himself, and for a time was left alone to battle with events.

Then it was that Sir Colin Campbell, the first and last Lord Clyde, appeared upon the scene, bringing with him in his train a host of junior commanders whose personal confidence he had acquired in what Mr Kinglake calls *Crim Tartary*. Yet a little, and *Fort St*

George sent a representative in the person of Colonel Neill, while Sir James Outram, having put a hurried termination to the Persian war, hastened up from Bombay Presidency. Troops now poured in from every side, and every nerve was strung in expectation. The brigade of the "Shannon," and the other troops diverted from the second Chinese war, played their part right nobly in the struggle. Lord Clyde, however, from the first set his hard face rigidly against advance, reserving his whole forces for defensive operations, until the white troops at his command should number seventy thousand souls. Many have since questioned the wisdom and necessity of such a resolution, and, *ex-post-facto* arguments being of special case in application, it has not proved difficult to spread a crude belief that Lord Clyde might have done his work with less; and that even had he failed, though England might have lost some prestige in the East, she would at least have been relieved from the necessity of sending half her army to a distant sepulchre. Yet these criticisms are of little value, either for purposes of history or to enable one to form an approximate appreciation of Lord Clyde as a soldier. He came rapidly from England, and formed a just decision from the first. From this decision he never swerved by the width of a camel's hair. He was obstinate, he had his own way, fought his battles on spots selected by himself, and brought us through a doubtful crisis in our destiny without a moment's hesitation and with success impossible to controvert.

The rebellion thus subdued, Lord Canning could

afford to cast an anxious eye around, and see how much was gone, and what remained of former institutions. The first grand conclusion at which he speedily arrived, and which when taught by him soon found a general acceptance, was, that India, though reconquered by the sword, should now be ruled alone by legislation. Yet many a brigadier who holds command at some up-country station still clings with moribund tenacity to the style quoted in 'Cawnpore,' by Mr George Trevelyan—a style remarkable for inhumanity, and boasting little force but that derived from bare alliteration: "Peafowl, partridges, and pandies, rose together—the latter," it is added, "affording the best sport." It is to be regretted that the class of thought to which such writing owes its origin still boasts of numerous advocates in our Anglo-Indian army; yet thrice happy is it that the practice of the human race divine to trim its sails by the prevailing breeze, whichever way it blows, is strong enough to modify the mischief; and hence, so long as wise discretion is displayed in the selection of officers for high command, for staff employ and civil situations, no general impression adverse to our interests can be produced upon the masses of Indian population by the unchristian language of the few.

When Lord Clyde left India, a short military reign devolved upon Sir Patrick Grant, the then senior General commanding; and he was soon succeeded by a name wellnigh synonymous with success. The career of Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Rose has been too lately laid before the public in a fascinating form by Major Mallison to call for any biographical detail. But

queries, perhaps, it may not be deemed presumptuous to put, in order that the picture of this great man may form a pleasing object for the eye to dwell on, as perfect both in light and shade. If we would, therefore, criticise Sir Hugh's career, we might be tempted to dwell less leniently upon the amiable defects in which his character abounds—defects glossed over even by a hypercritical Review as casting the tenor of his life within a mould better fitting the past century than the present day. Again, some say that personal friendship may be carried to excess ; and the enemies of Sir Hugh delight in pointing at many of his omissions and commissions as the results of causes certainly not professional. But these are personal questions, and of little import when compared with the administrative reforms which mark this period ; for it is denied by none that throughout four years of peace Sir Hugh devoted his considerable genius, and an activity that knows no bounds, mainly to improving the condition of our Indian army, by each and every device that could occur to an ever-thoughtful brain. Prominent among these ranks the grand experiment of regimental workshops, where the private soldier may spend profitably some hours each day, otherwise probably devoted to pernicious sleep, or to still more baneful idleness when awake, in the construction of small articles either for his personal use or for sale in the bazaars, thereby enhancing the modest revenue from which the better class contrives to set aside a fund against some rainy day.

The sanitary condition of British troops in India has,

however, received of late a liberal measure of attention from the English public. The statistics furnished by Mr Strachey and Sir Sydney Cotton, contrasted with reports supplied by various departmental heads, have now afforded upwards of one year's study to those who can devote some time and consideration to the task of criticising and comparing compound sums like these, containing elements that assume a widely different aspect, when seen from one or other point of view.

The fact is, white life in India has become so costly of importation and of maintenance, that the ablest minds have racked their ingenuity in endeavours to lay down conditions for its preservation at once humane and economical. Thus various dogmas have been promulgated, asserting that a length of service varying from five to ten years might be looked for from each white soldier transplanted to Calcutta at a cost of £90; and when Lord Clyde reached India the financial question had attained its zenith. A country then in debt, had to be recovered by expending money raised with difficulty at six per cent. Some there were who ventured to predict that, even if recovered, India would henceforth have lost its fascination as a mercantile investment; and Threadneedle Street eyed with doubt and hesitation the opening of loans, although secured by Government, for sums which far surpassed what they supposed the value of the stake. The funds were ultimately raised however, and fifty thousand men were sent to India in six months. Though India was thus saved to us, she had to bear the debt incurred; and little wonder if Lord Clyde's successor, as Sir Hugh