

returned to Allipore, the St John's Wood of Calcutta, where, in a pretty house, well planted out by trees, he spent his hours in the society of such men as Drs Archer or Macrae, and other congenial companions who loved the same pursuits.

The Indian career of Mr Edmonstone was one of continuous and well-merited success. He belonged to the old school of Civil servants, who adopted for their own the country where their labours lay. As a boy he had gone to India in search of personal distinction; and having put his hand upon the plough, he never once looked back. He appeared indifferent to climate, and seldom visited the Hills; and having filled with honour high offices of difficulty and danger, he returned to England, after thirty years of exile, unbroken by the illness or the absence of a day, with fair prospect of much future usefulness in the Council of the Secretary of State; but in reality to receive the collar of the Bath, and within six months to sink into an obscure churchyard, apparently from want of an object for existence.

It is in such manner that Indian rulers of the second class pass away and are forgotten. A man who for years has governed thirty millions of his fellow-subjects—governed, not in the mild mode of Western civilisation, by delicate contrivances known as ministers more or less responsible, but by force of individuality and the strength of his own right arm,—this man quits the land of his adoption, and returns, worn out, to find his very name unknown in England. At first, perhaps, he lives in London, having business now and then to transact with the India Office; but gradually and by degrees even this resource is seen to fail him: he buys a little place in some southern county, to which he retires, with books for his companions; and the tolling of a village bell soon

makes known that one more weary public servant has found a home at last.

When Mr Edmonstone requested the permission to resign, it became imperative to look out for a successor. Lord Elgin was then traversing the North-West Provinces, seeing for himself how much had been done towards healing that distempered country, and how much still remained to do, in order that he might select the man best fitted for the task. Throughout that tour Lord Elgin saw enough to make him know that severity had stamped out the embers of revolt, that all classes longed for peace, and were willing to obey the laws if carried out with firmness; and that the man required was not one too ready with suspicion and harsh retributive measures, but of a calm, judicial, and administrative mind. Upon such occasions, when a viceroy has to name a new lieutenant-governor, he first passes in review the members of his Executive Council; and at the time we write of, Lord Elgin's Council was composed as follows: First in seniority came Sir Robert Napier; after him ranked Messrs Harington and Grey, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and Mr Henry Sumner Maine. Of these, Sir Robert Napier was a soldier; and whatever advantages might be derived from military domination in countries like the Punjab, the North-West Government eminently required the supervision of a civilian qualified to work out settlement details. Mr Maine and Sir Charles Trevelyan were legal and financial specialities practically ineligible for routine promotion, and thus Mr Harington and Mr Grey alone remained. The service of the former dated from 1827; the latter was some thirteen years his junior. Moreover, Mr Harington's career had principally been run in North-Western India, while Mr Grey had seldom stepped beyond the limits of Bengal, and was hence re-

garded by the unofficial eye as Mr Beadon's heir-apparent. Within the Council Chamber, therefore, the claims were not conflicting; but beyond its walls public favour had become enlisted in the cause of candidates possessed of local confidence. Foremost among these were Mr Muir, who was on the spot, with Messrs Yule and Wingfield, both known for able government of Oude. The choice fell on Mr Harington, but the offer was only made to him to be refused on public grounds; for, though possessed of every qualification, he modestly expressed a fear that his health was too shattered to permit him to cope with work of such proportions. A second choice was thus required, and the small field for selection now necessarily became somewhat enlarged. This time the choice fell on Mr Drummond, who, as financial secretary, had won the goodwill and appreciation of every member of the Government of India. Senior to Mr Muir, Mr Grey, and Mr Wingfield, his appointment passed unquestioned, except by certain newspapers, who, balked of the fulfilment each of its own pet prophecy, made for a time a common and a harmless cause against an accomplished fact received with general approbation.

As Mr Drummond had been named just upon the eve of the Indian financial year, when his controlling presence was most necessary at Calcutta, the North-West Government was conducted for a time by the Board of Revenue. But so soon as he had rendered to Sir Charles Trevelyan the full benefit of his rich experience, and a Budget had been presented, of which the sanguine expectations have not been yet fulfilled, he set out for Allahabad, and undertook the task committed to him. In this manner was it that, owing to the accident of Mr Harington's exceeding modesty, Mr Drummond found at last a fitting sphere of action. Continued residence in Calcutta

had impaired his health, but not his understanding ; and he knew that if good service were expected of him, he must be permitted to spend the hottest period of the year among his mountain stations, descending to the plains to work double time throughout the cooler months. This permission was sought in writing, and the reply it met with from Lord Elgin best shows the perfect confidence he placed in his lieutenant. "Upon the propriety of such proceeding you must judge yourself. You alone can speak from day to day of the requirements of your administration ; and, for my part, I possess the firm conviction that your decisions will ever be in harmony with what you deem conducive to the welfare of the interests at stake." Such was the tenor, if not the actual wording, of the letter that left Mr Drummond his own master ; and, shortly after its receipt, he removed to a cool and shady spot, deep buried in the hills of Nynee Tal, upon the borders of a lake of all-surpassing beauty.

Those are really the most enviable hours of Indian government, when, on a fine spring mountain morning, the mist clears off, and the dew is rapidly drunk up by a sun just warm enough to render fires indoors essential to the comfort of a breakfast-table. At nine the daily *dâk* arrives, with nothing of importance demanding immediate attention. Some two hours later, guns are slung across the shoulders, and throughout the day the baying of the dogs resounds from hill to hill, relieved at intervals by the echoes of an English rifle. But in those deep valleys the sun sets early, and darkness grows apace ; and our ruler, guided by the waning light, nears his temporary home, to find, perchance, upon arrival, a telegram, whose true importance time alone can test. Sufficient is, however, clear to show him that clouds have risen, gathered, and are now prepared to break upon some spot

within his jurisdiction, which that morning's post reported tranquil and content. But of the actual extent of the mischief vaguely hinted at in electrotpe, his personal examination can alone assure him ; and that night, instead of going to well-earned rest, he is seen slowly winding down some tortuous pass, leaving all that is fair and fresh behind him. As morning dawns, he exchanges with a native servant a dusty shooting-cap for a solar topee, and some hours later reaches the indifferent shelter of a postal bungalow, at which he halts awhile. There a mitigated form reaches him of the rumour of the day before ; but his duty lies in personal examination of at least the causes of excitement, and after two more days and nights of travelling, he reaches the centre of ill-will, simultaneously, it may be, with a wing of European troops, brought from Delhi by forced marches. The raising of the revenue is proved, upon inquiry, to be the origin of discontent, and some weeks are spent in adjusting disagreements. The back taxes are paid up, and the English soldiers retrace their dusty steps ; but the Hills see the lieutenant-governor no more that year. He proceeds to Allahabad, and deems it incumbent on him to report at length to the Government of India the origin and end of this fiscal failure. Next he relates how purely local it has been in all its bearings, winding up, perhaps, by a series of elaborate arguments, all bent to prove how utterly impossible it is that such temporary confusion should ever re-occur.

It has been said that English statesmen speak beyond their powers of reasoning, and that Anglo-Indians write above their natural ability ; and nothing is more true. What is known as "duftur" is the curse of India.* Each

* A native writer of great experience and sagacity has written about "reducing the business of writing," in the following words:—

councillor has many secretaries of some kind or other, and each of these has countless clerks. All draw pay, as a rule, in inverse proportion to the measure of their utility; and it is the lower members of this scale of official life who contribute to our Anglo-Indian and Mofussil * press those articles and letters from "special correspondents," whose depreciation of our aims and ends tends even more to degrade us in the native mind, than our arrogant affectation of superiority, and inborn contempt for all except ourselves.

The real men who bring our rule in India into disrepute are such as the late Mr John Lang, formerly proprietary editor of the 'Mofussilite,' a daily journal of the North-West Provinces, who, unhappily, was possessed of talents just sufficient to secure the widest circulation for the coarsest wit. The low-bred personalities to which Anglo-Indian newspapers descend, with too few exceptions, render them completely valueless for purposes of history; and the efforts of Sir Herbert Edwardes, and of other able writers, to raise their tone to something more approaching the level of European journalism, have not yet been sufficiently respected; for few know at home the difficulties these men have to fight against, in the thankless nature of their labours and the jealousies incurred.

In India the influence of one man, be it for good or evil, attains perhaps its widest sway. Of this a striking instance may be citedⁿ in the case of Mr Allen Hume,

"The commissioners, deputy-commissioners, and collectors, are chiefly for protecting the people. If these officers are engaged in writing proceedings, &c, they will not have time to know personally the state of the ryot (subject). Such officers, therefore, should have less business of writing proceedings, &c. By this means they will have time to speak with the ryots, and know their intentions and wishes."

* Up-country.

the magistrate of Etawah, who, by force of will and mild obstinacy of purpose, has become remarkable for meeting natives with measures of resistance all their own. A place more desert-looking, and hopeless for the growth of any European seed, than the stony field in which Mr Allen Hume has toiled at schools and Christianity, and all that elevates the human heart, could hardly be selected; and the following description, taken from the soundest Anglo-Indian book of reference, may serve to illustrate the truth of the assertion: "In no part of India do hot winds blow with greater fury; they commence in March, and rage throughout the whole of April and of May. The wind usually rises about eight A.M., and subsides at sunset; though it sometimes blows at night as well. Every article of furniture is burning to the touch; the hardest wood, if not well covered with damp blankets, will split with a report like that of a pistol; and linen taken from a press is as if just removed from the kitchen-fire. But terrible as are the days, the nights are infinitely worse,—each apartment becomes heated to excess, and can only be compared to an oven. The hot winds are succeeded by the monsoon, or periodical rains, the transition being marked by a furious tornado. At mid-day, darkness, as of night, sets in, caused by the dense clouds of dust; and so loud is the roar of the storm, that incessant peals of thunder are heard only at rare intervals, whilst the flashes of forked lightning seldom pierce the gloom. At last the rain descends in torrents, floods the country, and refreshes, for a while, the animal and vegetable world." Yet this one pale Englishman, of slender frame and ascetic habit, has developed upon that fiery soil a caste of natives unsurpassed in firm allegiance and educational distinction.

Now, this tract of country, stretching down from Delhi

to Cawnpore, is known as The Doab, and lies between the sacred banks of the Jumna and the Ganges. Here was literally the neck of Indian mutiny which English fugitives had to traverse in the spring of 1857, in order to escape the awful fate reserved for those unable, by reason of their health or other circumstance, to fly from that accursed plain in time. But monuments enough still greet the eye at almost every turn, of what befell both those who fled and those who stayed behind; and, quitting the remembrance of the days when the land above described was clothed in rapine and revenge, we shall introduce our readers to a pretty little fort, whose strategic value has of late years happily not been tried. Around it winds a road, which later makes its way between well-thatched farm-like buildings planted here and there on little rising-grounds, with pleasant streams of cool clear water flowing at their feet, through grassy meadows backed with tamarind and the cactus tree. Such is the approach to a North-West oasis of celebrity for health and beauty. It lies below the outer ranges which form the Dehra Doon, and is well watered both by nature and by art. Saharanpoor affords resources of an uncommon order for the happy few who bask in its delights. The gentler members of that small community may roam for miles through shady gardens, maintained by Government at great expense as nurseries for Himalayan plants, and as embracing the most favourable conditions for purposes of acclimatisation. The men may shoot and hunt a more extensive field of game than in almost any part of India, and the special duty which attaches to their well-favoured and well-paid office consists in looking after the birth, parentage, and education of thousands of young colts of mostly Arab blood. In other words, Saharanpoor, like Harpur and

Buxar, is a stud dépôt, where corn and all required is grown upon the spot; and the work intrusted to the happy superintendents of that justly popular department really more resembles the employment of wealthy country gentlemen, who can afford to stay at home and nurse their own estates, than that of any class of public servants with which we are acquainted.

Five pleasant marches through a lovely country, much intersected by the drainage of the Himalayas, divide Saharanpoor from the ardent furnaces of the Roorkee workshops. These lie upon the straight, well-cultivated banks of the Ganges Canal, whose commencement, for purposes of irrigation, is here marked by two colossal lions, pointing the moral of the jealous watch maintained by the British Government over the waves of liquid treasure, which science has known how to pour upon a land by nature thirsty, but by art become one of the most fertile tracts of India.

Above Roorkee this artificial tide extends some twenty miles towards Hurdwar, where it taps the mighty Ganges just as it breaks cover from the Sawalik ranges of the Himalayas; and during that short span of twenty miles the eye is caught by three successive works of engineering skill, each of which in Europe would justly be regarded with the admiration due to mastery of mankind over matter. The ride from Roorkee to Hurdwar, rightly called the Ganges' Gate, taken on a bright spring morning, can never be forgotten. Turning your back upon those lions, your horses' heads would point to neighbouring hills, and distant mountains capped with snow. The road lies along the bank of the canal, which ends in several locks and dams abutting on the shallow rapids of the Ganges, here a full mile broad, filling a wide chasm or rather narrow valley borne between two wood-clad

mountains. Where the highroad ends a narrow stony street begins, leading to the holy Ghât, or stairs of Vishnu, where two million pilgrims on an average bathe each year, and then return, comforted at heart, to homes unnumbered and unknown.

And now that we have traced the North-West Provinces from Benares to Hurdwar, and witnessed beneath one administration the most opposite effects, we shall direct our steps towards the former confines of our rule; and taking Muttra as our starting-point—that city where sainted monkeys* govern most despotically—and rising with the Jumna towards its source, we reach the rocky range on which lies Delhi. The city of to-day, built by Shah Jehan, is actually subject to the North-West Government; but in character and associations it leans so strongly towards the Punjab, to which geographically it belongs, that we prefer postponing to some account of that administration a mention more detailed. So far back as 1829, Colonel Tod concluded an elaborate treatise on the Pandua dynasty, which ruled there from 1120 B.C. to 610 B.C., and counted, during that period, thirty-one generations of direct descent, by the following state-

* In honour of the monkey-god Huniman, monkeys have been from time immemorial protected and fed in Muttra; and they have in consequence so multiplied, as to infest the city in swarms that, even to devout Hindoos, render life a burden hardly to be borne. The roofs are covered with the most hideous and ill-conditioned-looking apes, who pelt the passers-by in the streets below with tiles, or bricks, or whatever comes nearest to their hands. If an open lattice is incautiously left unguarded for ten minutes, the monkeys enter the apartment, and commence a systematic pillage of all removable articles, which are hoarded on the roof-tops for future use as missiles or provisions. It may easily be imagined that difficulty is experienced by commanding officers in impressing wild Highlanders and other troops who may happen to be quartered at Muttra with a due appreciation of the sanctity of these brutes; and also that the presence of numbers of fierce Brahminee bulls at large in the town without owners, does not conduce to the security or comfort of Muttra as a residence.

ment, since endorsed by actual fact : “ Great Britain has become heir to the monuments of Indraprestha, raised by the descendants of Boodha and Ella ; to the iron pillar of Pandus, whose pedestal is fixed in hell—and in which some forms of Mahomedan belief are content to recognise the axis of the universe—to the columns reared to Victory, inscribed with characters yet unread ; to the massive ruins of its ancient continuous cities, encompassing a space still larger than the largest city in the world, whose mouldering domes and sites of fortresses, the very names of which are lost, present a noble field for speculation on the ephemeral nature of power and glory.” With titles to our veneration such as these, Delhi surely forms a subject that should not be lightly touched upon towards the end of a somewhat hurried reference ; and we close the page before us with the expression of an earnest hope that, as years wear on, and England’s Eastern Empire fulfils the expectations of the present generation, both courtly Agra and the imperial city of the Padshahs may again resume a precedence that the history of Asia still jealously reserves for them.

CHAPTER V.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB SUBORDINATE TO
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

THE Foreign Department of the Government of India is the mouthpiece of those decisions of the Crown, by which so many Eastern kingdoms, principalities, and powers have ceased to throb with independent life, and taken rank among the visions of the past. Hence the high importance which in native minds instinctively attaches to aught that serves to indicate the nature of the thoughts that cloud the brows of Foreign Secretaries. In quiet times, when the Government of India is reposing normally upon the putrid shores of the Hoogly river, a Foreign Secretary's sense of personal importance is reduced to something like a minimum; but should any stirring question arise to unsettle native thought in Oude or Rajpootana, or the succession be disputed to some estates in Central India with which a title and a taste of power still lurks, on such occasions the antechambers of the Foreign Office are thronged with subtle natives seeking access to the presence, and bold aspirants with heavy purses girt around their loins, whose golden burden is still brought half in hope, though half perhaps in fear of failure, or still more in fear of the perils attendant on success: for those men of wild appearance, though born

ment, since endorsed by actual fact : “ Great Britain has become heir to the monuments of Indraprestha, raised by the descendants of Boodha and Ella ; to the iron pillar of Pandus, whose pedestal is fixed in hell—and in which some forms of Mahomedan belief are content to recognise the axis of the universe—to the columns reared to Victory, inscribed with characters yet unread ; to the massive ruins of its ancient continuous cities, encompassing a space still larger than the largest city in the world, whose mouldering domes and sites of fortresses, the very names of which are lost, present a noble field for speculation on the ephemeral nature of power and glory.” With titles to our veneration such as these, Delhi surely forms a subject that should not be lightly touched upon towards the end of a somewhat hurried reference ; and we close the page before us with the expression of an earnest hope that, as years wear on, and England’s Eastern Empire fulfils the expectations of the present generation, both courtly Agra and the imperial city of the Padshahs may again resume a precedence that the history of Asia still jealously reserves for them.

CHAPTER V.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB SUBORDINATE TO
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

THE Foreign Department of the Government of India is the mouthpiece of those decisions of the Crown, by which so many Eastern kingdoms, principalities, and powers have ceased to throb with independent life, and taken rank among the visions of the past. Hence the high importance which in native minds instinctively attaches to aught that serves to indicate the nature of the thoughts that cloud the brows of Foreign Secretaries. In quiet times, when the Government of India is reposing normally upon the putrid shores of the Hoogly river, a Foreign Secretary's sense of personal importance is reduced to something like a minimum; but should any stirring question arise to unsettle native thought in Oude or Rajpootana, or the succession be disputed to some estates in Central India with which a title and a taste of power still lurks, on such occasions the antechambers of the Foreign Office are thronged with subtle natives seeking access to the presence, and bold aspirants with heavy purses girt around their loins, whose golden burden is still brought half in hope, though half perhaps in fear of failure, or still more in fear of the perils attendant on success: for those men of wild appearance, though born

perhaps beyond our furthest frontier of Peshawur, know full well what deserts are dealt out to corruption by the British Government. Still the force of habits rife among themselves, enhanced by such education as they have enjoyed, and to which they owe a scanty knowledge of our early Anglo-Indian crimes : these have taught them to consider that, though gold may be refused, and though no fitting opportunity of offering it may occur, yet that to come empty-handed would render them a laughing-stock among their fellows, and might appear to signify indifference to success, or even want of due respect towards their rulers.

The coins they bring are indeed of no small use to them even in display. The lower class of native door-keepers are open to such convincing proofs of wealth, if not respectability, and make cringing way to let their bearers pass upstairs : eventually they gain, after hours of parley and delay, the threshold of the first room occupied by Englishmen ;^a but beyond that few penetrate without good cause, for the presence of the Secretary himself is closely guarded by ambitious younger men, able to dispose of current cases with a perfect knowledge of the views of their superior.

A glance around the lofty spacious rooms where these picked men of action sit, will serve to illustrate the extent of country they administer. On all sides hang maps entitled Oude, Mysore, Punjab, and Rajpootana ; while around lie fireproof safes, bearing letters whence the intelligent may gather that the contents relate to Nagpore administration, or to that network of foreign policy, in whose complicated meshes the abilities even of statesmen like Lord Ellenborough and Lord Dalhousie at last became so hopelessly entangled as to leave but one possible escape—in war.

One of these maps has evidently been recently referred

to, and still extends its length and breadth to view. It represents a tract of country whose right hand rests upon Thibet, while with its left it holds in check the hordes that would fain emerge in dark columns of destruction from the passes of Cabul, and descend like locusts on the harvest-bearing plains of Hindostan. This land is divided into nearly equal parts by six noble rivers, five of which have long since become historical, and lent to it a name now known as an emblem of well-directed energy and vigorous administration.

The history of the Punjab for the last thirty years has been so pregnant with results, as to render some short account requisite for the due appreciation of the conditions under which we first assumed its governance. The people, though brave, and turbulent among themselves, are quite content to be ruled by an iron hand, provided always the administration be powerful enough to inspire respect among neighbours even more turbulent and warlike than themselves. The population, which exceeds ten millions, consists of Jâts, Goojurs, Rajpoots, and Patans, of whom the second category alone are devoted to agricultural pursuits, the remaining three being wedded to the sword. Of Mussulmans recent computation has numbered seven millions, and these lie thickest as the Indus is approached. Towards the east Hindoos preponderate, but even there Mahomedans abound. Punjabees are finer-limbed and more stalwart in appearance than their brethren of Southern India. The men hold themselves erect, and have a martial bearing and bright eye unknown among Bengalees; while the women of Loodhiana and Umritsur, some of them fair as Europeans, are a type of rounded Eastern beauty. These are Hindostanees properly so called, and proud they are of the distinctive features of their race.

Such a country, so inhabited, surely was a worthy object of ambition for a man who seemed to have adopted as a rule of guidance the elementary doctrine of the fifteenth century, "that the heathen nations of the world were lawful spoil and prey, and that the right of native Indians was subordinate to that of the first Christian conqueror, whose paramount claim excluded that of every other civilised nation, and gradually extinguished that of the natives." Yet the Punjab's fall from independence was not purely the fruit of Lord Dalhousie's vast ambition, but the necessary consequence of dissensions of the Sikhs among themselves.

In 1838 the Maharaja Runjeet Singh entered into a tripartite treaty of alliance with the British and the Ameer Shah Shooja. The "Lion of the Punjab" died in the following year, and in 1840 his succeeding son and grandson both met with deaths of violence. A bloody competition followed between the widow of the son and Shere Singh, a brother upon whom was cast the stigma of an illegitimate birth. The latter gained the object of contention; but upon his assassination in 1843, a widespread anarchy prevailed, which, after desolating years, terminated in joint invasion, by all the hostile factions, of the Company's dominions. Two wars ensued, each of one year's duration, and in both victory was given to us; but in 1848 it had become apparent to the meanest comprehension that the only real guarantee for future peace lay in military occupation. It was, however, not less in the nature of things than the interest of humanity that this military occupation should become exchanged for annexation; and on the 29th of March 1849 annexation was solemnly proclaimed at Lahore, in the presence of assembled chiefs collected to receive the yoke of foreign subjugation. The yoke, however, has

lain lightly on that land. Dhuleep Singh, the hereditary Maharaja, received an English education that fitted him to take his place as an Eastern prince of great accomplishments upon the steps of Queen Victoria's throne; and, liberally provided for by the bounty of the Company, he has led a happier, and probably a longer, life than he could have aspired to as ruler of a nation where assassination had become wellnigh the price of primogeniture.

Of the men selected by Lord Dalhousie to govern his greatest acquisition we shall later speak in more detail. The first form of government was a mixed military and civil board, presided over by Sir Henry Lawrence and his brother John; and in three short years the success that characterised its labours had been such as to call forth from the East India Company's Directors the following well-merited acknowledgment:—"In the short period which has elapsed since the Punjab became a part of the British dominions, results have been attained such as could scarcely have been hoped for as the reward of many years of well-directed exertion. The formidable army which it had required so many battles to subdue has been quietly disbanded, and the turbulent soldiery have settled to industrious pursuits. Peace and security reign throughout the country; justice has been made accessible, without costly formalities, to the whole population; industry and commerce have been set free; and a great mass of oppressive taxation has been removed. Results like these reflect the highest honour on Indian administration. It is a source of just pride to us that our services, civil and military, should have afforded men capable, in so short a time, of carrying into full effect such a series of enlightened and beneficent measures. The executive functionaries in the subordi-

nate ranks have proved themselves worthy of the honourable career which lies before them; and the members of the Board of Administration, Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr John Lawrence, Mr Mansell, and Mr Montgomery, have entitled themselves to be placed in the very foremost rank of Indian administrators."

The history of the brothers Lawrence has long passed in the form of household words into English homes; and though the casual world is still in ignorance of many circumstances attending their divergence of opinion in the execution of their work, and of the reasons that forced Lord Dalhousie to change the character of Punjab administration by creating a Lieutenant-Government, conferred upon Sir John, and sending Sir Henry into prouder exile at Mount-Aboo, yet we prefer leaving to a special pen the explanation of such measures;* and turning to Montgomery, later called Sir Robert, we have before us the outline of a man whose deeds are not yet written.

Sir Robert Montgomery was appointed by Lord Canning, in a minute read by a privileged few, in which the claims of this administrator were summed up in a manner worthy of the author and his object. He assumed his office in 1859, having, as has been seen, previously enjoyed the fullest opportunities of acquaintance with his subjects. He ruled the Punjab until the other day, and has left among its martial races a name not soon to be forgotten. Still, notwithstanding his unquestioned ability and good nature, he was not a general favourite. His detractors have accused him of endeav-

* It is generally understood that Sir Herbert Edwardes has undertaken, as a labour of love, the task of arranging for the public eye such portions of the papers of the brothers Lawrence as may with advantage and propriety be given to the world—a task for which he is of all men best qualified.

ouring to introduce in India the system of bestowing patronage brought at home to such perfection ; and it is a fact that Anarkullee, the civil station of Lahore, has of late years become best known to the initiated by the familiar name of "Cozengunge." It is, however, far too easy to find fault ; and the narrow limit of these pages may better be employed in chronicling results than in barren criticism. The administration of Sir Robert was marked by measures of improvement, steady and progressive. Finance, specially detailed to the supervision of Mr Donald Friell M'Leod, remained in a manner subject to the general control of the Lieutenant-Governor, and has amply proved the justice of the sanguine statements advanced during the early years succeeding Punjab annexation. Education has become not only an essential qualification for those in search of place, but, more perhaps than anywhere in India, the distinctive mark of gentle blood. Some few years ago, Punjab chiefs made wellnigh boast of ignorance, pointing proudly, from the height of their descent, to native pundits and well-paid librarians, as those intrusted with the keeping of their rusty minds. But now all this has changed, and the better classes rival one another in munificent donations to scholastic institutions of all kinds. Neither have the material interests of the native population been neglected in this whirl of intellectual advancement. The progress of canal and road construction, introduced by Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir John, has not suffered interruption even of a day, and the several Doabs formed by the mighty rivers which collect the drainage of the Himalayas have steadily increased in the measure of their crops.

Under Providence all this has been effected by a pleasant-looking man of middle height, whose benign

appearance militates against the known severity of his decisions. In him, regular attendance at divine service, audible repetition of the responses, and large participation in all missionary works, did not prove incompatible with, displace, or even mitigate, the readiness with which he had resort to capital punishment, or applauded a liberal use of rope by the junior members of his administration. This peculiar feature in a man so gifted as Sir Robert Montgomery has not escaped the keen observation of some previous writers; and Mr Martin quotes, in his *'Progress and Present State of British India,'* a letter dated "Lahore, Sunday, 9 A.M.," wherein the Lieutenant-Governor congratulates Mr Frederick Cooper, one of his so-called hanging commissioners, in the warmest terms, on the manner in which the 20th Regiment of Native Infantry had been by him blotted out of the book of life for some imagined signs of disaffection, adding, "Three other regiments here were very shaky yesterday, but I hardly think they will go now. I wish they would, as they are a nuisance, and not a man would escape if they do." Mr Martin holds that this rejoicing over the extermination of a thousand men, and eagerness to find a pretext for the destruction of three thousand more, reads strangely from the pen of one of the most prominent advocates for the propagation of Christianity in India; but it explains in his eyes why "our success as subjugators has been attended by failure as evangelists." The fact is, that Sir Robert ruled in virtue of power received from others, ever stretched by him to its utmost limits, not by the suffrage of mankind at large; and could at any moment the third Napoleon's invention of the plebiscite have been introduced throughout the land of the five rivers, at that moment Sir Robert would have ceased to reign. He governed rather

by reason of the machinery at his command, than by his personal ascendancy; and it may be questioned whether attributes like his would have shone with equal lustre in the piping times of peace, as in the years of mutiny and reconquest, that little short of his prosperity could have adorned.

The Punjab is the country which has derived perhaps the largest, and certainly the most rapid, advantages from British rule, and it has become the custom to consider these results as simple consequences of the special vigour of its administration. But we prefer to trace them rather to the difference between its people and those of other parts of India; and without wishing to detract from the meed of praise so well bestowed on Mr Richard Temple, and on others of the Punjab school, we may be allowed to question both the justice and the wisdom of building up so high a reputational edifice in favour of one class of public servants, solely on the basis of the presumed inferiority of others. Those who rule the Punjab have great advantages in climate over their colleagues in more southern provinces; for while, in Bengal, Darjeeling is almost the solitary hill-station tolerably accessible and worthy of the name, and the North-West Provinces are not much better off, the sanatoria of the Punjab are numerous, and lie unrivalled in their beauty, thickly scattered on its north and eastern frontiers. The principle of giving most to him that hath already, has been clearly followed in the circumstances attending Punjab life; and Nature has been as prodigal in clothing her Himalayan slopes with rhododendron and the ilex, as the Administration has been active in turning these advantages to account.

Everything thus tends to render labour in the Punjab far preferable to Bengal and North-Western service.

Moreover, the former is practically enhanced by all the benefits military prestige can bestow, when compared with a purely civil and commercial past; and hence it was a heavy blow to ambitious souls like Mr Frederick Cooper when Delhi passed into North-West hands. Many of these men had become conspicuous in the conduct of the non-regulation system, and had thereby rather incurred the jealousy than the admiration of the milder and perhaps more strictly constitutional government of Agra. The motives for the transfer must not be sought in a desire for symmetry, such as draws France towards the Rhine in search of a natural barrier, but rather may be in the wish to mark the high estate from which a capital may fall by becoming a focus of revolt. Thus, for her sins, Delhi was bound hand and foot, and made over to the tender care of a once subordinate administration, thereby disconnecting the Sikh people from all supposed participation in disloyalty. Such are the only explanations of this measure; and had its details been carried out with more regard for the personal interests and position of the officials left dependent on a government not over-well disposed towards them, it might have passed uncriticised, as an act of policy well conceived to flatter native vanity on both the Jumna's banks.

But this was not the case. It was indeed far otherwise; and those who have known the Delhi of more recent years have also known how Mr Frederick Cooper as Deputy-Commissioner, aided by his military colleague, Lord Mark Kerr, has worked to clear away the visible remains of mutiny; and how, by carefully remodelling what remained of native society, he has forced his former Punjab masters into a recognition, tardy and compelled, of services, which, to the last, the North-West Govern-

ment seemed systematically to ignore. Of the old city, with its gates opening on the roads to Agra and Cashmere, which Lieutenants Home and Salkeld immortalised in death, it is not our intention now to speak ; but rather of those practical municipal reforms which have converted a den of thieves into a pattern of propriety. Before and after daylight, two figures might be seen, tracing with their hands the lines that boulevards, streets, and drains should follow, so as to combine strategic purposes with beauty. For years this work went on, unheeded from without, except when now and then discouraged by financial pressure, until, to each inhabitant of that crowded city, the eager faces of those men became familiar. On foot and unattended they dived down cut-throat alleys, whose vicious depths no European save drunken troops in search of plunder had previously penetrated. From these abodes of pestilential crime they might, as the sun set with Eastern splendour behind the sea of tombs and desolation surrounding Delhi, be often seen emerging, and, recognised from afar, be followed home by ragged crowds of hungry bearers of petitions. In the examination of these papers and in dispensing justice Mr Cooper's noontide hours were spent, Lord Mark Kerr being occupied the while with garrison affairs. To these two men nothing appeared trivial that concerned the welfare of that city ; and while no civic work to benefit the natives seemed too great for them to undertake, they devoted equal thought and care to the construction and endowment of tennis-courts and circulating libraries, and all that tended to increase the welfare of the white inhabitants.

When claims are so nearly balanced as between these two reformers, comparison becomes even more than usually odious. Mr Cooper was a civilian of the Punjab school,

whose former life had been devoted to what may be termed the pleasures of his office. To him health and other stern realities of life were ever subordinate to the ambition of bringing credit on the administration in which he took a prominent share. Lord Mark Kerr was a keen Scotch soldier, who had passed some years on Lord Elgin's staff in Canada, and whose spurs, well earned in the Crimean War, had been worn worthily throughout the Indian Mutiny. Of his cool daring on occasions calculated to try even courage of no common cast, many anecdotes are still told by his comrades of those days, when he and they received together their baptism of fire. His was a nature that in private life made every child his friend, and in his public character no man could be his enemy. Foremost among the most prominent of bold horsemen, his spare form was always to be seen in search of danger and distinction; but, the battle won, and the sword of victory sheathed, Lord Mark Kerr became essentially a man of peace, devoted to the practical improvement of his conquests. Thus Mr Cooper and Lord Mark Kerr were men of a rare mould, such as India requires. In time of war the former could display a heroism and martial ardour, only to be rivalled by the ease with which the latter, at a moment's notice, could lay aside his armour and embrace the arts of peace.

Leaving Delhi, and turning our attention beyond the massive fort of Selimghur and the marble screens of the Dewani-Khas, we find two monuments, at some miles' distance, emblematic of the civilisation of the East and West. The first stands conspicuous among the ruins whence it towers its fluted height, and, dipping, though but slightly, towards the sun, like Pisa's leaning tower, is known throughout the world as the Column of the Kutub.

The second is the remnant of a shady residence by the water-side, in whose halls Canova's models and the works of Sir William Jones once dwelt in harmony ; but when the tide of mutiny swept across the land, all that owned a European origin was laid low ; and Metcalfe's house, plate, pictures, and priceless manuscript collections, were plundered and destroyed by uncultivated rebels, to whom their value was unknown. All that now remains to the representative of perhaps the greatest of our Anglo-Indian families—the only family we know of that loved its adopted country well enough to settle in it, blindly trusting for protection to native gratitude—is an insufficient sum of money, with difficulty obtained from Government as compensation at a time of need, and the satisfaction of knowing, that a broken limb of an historic statue is shown to every traveller who visits Delhi, as wellnigh all now left of Metcalfe's property.

Leaving Delhi to the south, and travelling by the Grand Trunk Road through Kurnal, Umballa, Loodhiana, and Jullundhur, one enters the country of the Kuppeorthulla Raja, a chief whose outward signs of loyalty far exceed the studied demonstrations of his fellows. No path to English favour does he indeed appear to have left untrodden. The Christianity taught him by the proselytising members of Punjab administration he embraced with fervour ; and, having made himself master of the English language, he put a finishing-stroke to the adoption of our customs by taking to himself an English wife. This distinctive conduct has marked him out to history as an early pattern of a class probably destined to become a real source of union between the Sikh races and ourselves, and for the present has secured to him the lion's share of honours and rewards, to which neither his rank nor power alone could have entitled him.

Proceeding further still, the same road strikes the Beas river, ascending which, and leaving severally to the right and left the Mundi and the Chumba Raja's territories, the traveller, turning shortly to the north, enters on a highland glen of grand peculiar beauty. Yet a little, and the river, here become a mountain torrent, fed by the melting snows that form a fitting frame for the granite peaks of Spiti and Lahoul, surges past the ancient walls of Sultanpore. Across that background winds amid rare loveliness the Rotung Pass of 13,000 feet, from whence can be descried the Chandra river and the mountains of Cashmere. A distant glimpse of those rugged Pinjal ranges, by which a jealous nature has hedged in the vale enclosing Sirinagur, "the City of the Sun," is sufficient to convince the most casual observer of the rich fertility of Runbeer Singh's dominions. But a closer and more careful examination cannot fail to raise within the breasts of Englishmen a deep and unavailing grief that this paradise on earth, where Bernier has placed the site of our first parents' happiness, should after conquest have been permitted to pass into foreign hands, by the treaty of *Umritsur** in 1846, in consideration of the payment of

* By this treaty the Maharaja of Cashmere acquired the right of levying transit duties on all commerce. Now, as the territory sold by us includes the mountain passes over the Karakorum, *vid* Turkestan, into Central Asia, and as his Highness Runbeer Singh steadily declines to reduce his almost prohibitive tariff, cloth and cotton fabrics—shirtings, in fact—reach these vast and fertile steppes in exchange for wool, borax, antimony, gold, copper, and other valuable raw products, by Russian routes, to the great advantage of Muscovite manufacturing industry, and to the complete exclusion of the wool of our own domestic looms.

A remedy for this practical evil is, however, asserted to have been found in the recent discovery, by Mr Johnson, an officer of the Great Indian Trigonometrical Survey, of a new route, called the *Polu Road*, "practicable for wheeled carriages throughout the year, and passing from *Ilehi*" (or *Khotan*) "into India by *Rudok* to the east of the Maharaja's dominions;" a route which, though circuitous, offers to commerce the following irresistible attractions: "that wood, grass, and

three-quarters of a million sterling. In those days, however, India seemed a boundless field for gain, and the circumstances of the hour were farmed with little thought for future generations of administrators, who, succeeding one another with a rapidity unknown in Europe, have landed us to-day upon the brink of bankruptcy.

After three years' government of the Punjab by the board appointed by Lord Dalhousie, Sir Henry Lawrence estimated that, deducting ample funds for works of general improvement, a surplus revenue would remain of half a million sterling. This flourishing condition continued to improve throughout the years that followed; and amid the ruins of Lord Dalhousie's Indian policy, the fabric built up by Punjab annexation has raised its monumental head, in proof of at least the part fulfilment of that statesman's prophecies. The sweeping centralisation of finance introduced by Mr Wilson, has done, however, much to cast the bright outline of success surrounding Northern Hindostan into the shade of more general failure; and thus, amidst the common want of money, the services of special men who for years represented the credit columns of our Indian accounts, have

water are procurable at every halting-place; that the road passes over no rugged and high snowy ranges, like the Sarsil and Karakorum passes" (in Cashmere), "that it is safe from robbers, and leads, not only to Ilchi and Yarkand, but also, *via* Lob, to Karakashar and numerous other places of note on the highroad from Kashgar and Ili to Peking." At the present time, Mr Johnson further tells us, "there is an excellent opening for exports from India, because all trade between China and the Mahomedan states of Central Asia is at a complete standstill," owing (according to the high authority of Lord Strangford) "to the complete break-up of the Chinese Empire as regards its external dominions."

Mr Johnson's discoveries were discussed, as in the highest degree interesting and important, by the Royal Geographical Society at their meeting on 12th November 1866; and Mr Johnson's paper, with his map, will be published *in extenso* in the Journal of that learned Society, vol. xxxvii.

almost passed unnoticed by the outer world. Two of these long conducted in the Punjab the Departments of Justice and Finance. Of Mr Macleod, the Finance Commissioner, a laborious lover of hard work, it might be thought perhaps by some that he was little more than an accountant ought to be. But those who judged him thus best proved their ignorance; for those who knew him better have expressed a blind belief in the wisdom of his scrupulous decisions; and since the claims of military candidates like Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Robert Napier, Colonel Lake, or Colonel H. M. Durand, to govern the Punjab, were not destined to receive a favourable consideration from Sir John Lawrence, a civilian Viceroy, no choice perhaps could have been made of a successor to Sir Robert Montgomery combining equal qualifications and requirements. The picture of his colleague, the officiating Punjab Minister of Justice, deserves more studied painting; for without sufficient care in treatment, it might appear that the character of Mr Robert Nedham Cust lacked courage. His talents were of the very highest order, and his eloquence on paper was only to be equalled by the soundness of his law. Yet, in spite of these attainments, he counted among his co-administrators many who sought to dull his fame by anecdotes in which the hero played a part remarkable for the absence of heroic qualities. Great men must take, however, the pains as well as the pleasures of high place, and may well rest contented when the balance left upon the public mind is even slightly in their favour. In this respect the man we speak of has shone conspicuous for good sense; for, leaving his repute to be judged of by professional success, he has consistently avoided seeking honours in the path of needless danger.

Among these zealous Punjab servants the name of Sir Herbert Edwardes stands out prominently as an illustration of a class happily now numerous, whose origin is traceable to the liberal introduction by Lord Dalhousie of the military element into civil administration. The advantage of this system has been so fully proved by time, that it has become almost unnecessary to repeat the arguments brought forward in support of its efficiency and economy. In time of peace a large reserve of officers is kept employed in civil work, whose local experience thus gained cannot but conduce in time of war to the more successful conduct of campaigns, and the State, when subject to the enhanced burdens inseparable from a condition of hostility, is relieved at least from the necessity of maintaining supernumerary civilians. To impartial observers of to-day, the only question is the true proportion the elements in question should bear to one another in different parts of India. To the consideration of this point Lord Dalhousie brought his rich experience, and he has left behind him records of his views, whence it may be fairly gathered that the covenanted India Civil Service, recruited as it now is from home in its legal and financial branches by men of riper years, is still capable of safe reduction. We must not, however, permit the general question to take the place here found for a brief allusion to Sir Herbert Edwardes, whose bright career, commencing with the capture of Mooltan in January 1849, has run a course consistent with the character of a Christian, soldier and civilian.

The proselytising spirit that has become one of the marked characteristics of Punjab administration, has been traced by some to the practical application of the fact that imitation is the most sincere of flattery; and this has often of late years been cast in the teeth of those

who followed in the footsteps of Sir Henry Lawrence.* It is not, therefore, singular that the bold position occupied by Sir Herbert Edwardes, whose purse and pen have ever been devoted to the cause of Christianity, should have become a target for the arrows of the covenanted Civil Service. The duties with which we now desire, however, to associate his name are other than those that he imposed upon himself, and though perhaps less brilliant than the exploits partially recorded in 'A Year on the Punjab Frontier,' are not without their interest, as typical of Anglo-Indian non-regulation government.

The river Sutlej separates two families of native rulers of the second class, whose broad lands and almost sovereign rights have mostly been conferred upon them by the Government of India in reward for signal service at a time of need. They are termed the Cis and Trans Sutlej States, and are ruled by officers styled Commissioners of the Jullundur and Umballa divisions, who,

* Zealous as Sir Henry Lawrence was as a missionary, he knew full well the shortsighted policy of forced conversions; and a practical acquaintance with the history of the past enabled him to address the Oude soldiery shortly before the outbreak of the mutiny, in words that point a moral widely differing from that to be deduced from the imprudent acts of many of his Punjab imitators —

"Those among you," he said, "who have perused the records of the past, who have searched the annals of your country, and those who are familiar with the traditionary lore which has been carefully transmitted from generation to generation, must well know that Alimgur in former times, and Hyder Ali in later days, forcibly converted thousands and thousands of Hindoos, desecrated their fanes, demolished their temples, and carried ruthless devastation amongst their household gods. Come to our times. Many here present well know that Runjeet Singh never permitted his Mahomedan subjects to call the pious to prayer—never allowed the Muezzin to sound from the lofty minarets which adorn Lahore, and remain to this day a monument of their magnificent founders." And he then proceeds to dwell with eloquence upon the religious toleration now enjoyed throughout the length and breadth of Hindostan, as perhaps the brightest feature of our Indian rule.

appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, are further clothed with certain political or diplomatic powers by the Government Supreme, as accredited agents to the native courts within their jurisdiction. At the time we speak of these envied posts were occupied by Sir Herbert Edwardes and Colonel Edward Lake, to whom custom, and the nature of their duties, including as they did the supervision of many mountain Rajas, had awarded two residences apiece, whereat to pass in turn the cold and summer solstice. Thus with the approach of April, there known for scorching winds and the necessity for tatties, in place of the fragrant and refreshing showers with which that month is most associated in English minds, Sir Herbert Edwardes was wont to break up from his winter residence at Umballa, and retire to an elevation of some 7000 feet on the Simla road, known as the Kussowlie Heights, and there, more free from interruption, he could devote at least some portion of his time and thoughts to those literary tasks that he delighted in, and that in early days first brought him into notice as the author of a series of most able letters from "A Brahminee Bull to his Cousin John in England." In such pursuits he spent the little leisure falling to the lot of an overworked administrator; and thence at times he raised his weary eyes from the crabbed characters of Persian manuscripts, to gaze upon the burnt-up plains below him, stretching from the furthest Himalayan spur far beyond Umballa into dusty space, seamed only by the winding Sutlej as it bursts from its mountain home and takes its rapid course towards the west. Still this hilly solitude and the benefit of cool breezes once a-year were not enough to reinvigorate a constitution sapped by ceaseless work beneath a broiling sun; and at length Sir Herbert found himself reluctantly compelled to follow

the advice of his physician, and abandon a field of action wherein lay deep imbedded the serious interests of his life.

But our readers must now turn their backs upon the Punjab and its rulers. Other opportunities will present themselves for studying the characters of men like Mr Richard Temple and Mr Lewin Bowring, both of whom acquired the art of government in the Punjab school, and now reign over extensive provinces of South and Central Hindostan. A comparison between these two last is alike tempting to the writer and the artist; but as the picture may be introduced hereafter with greater historical precision, we shall return at once to the busy Foreign Office at Calcutta, and, rolling up the Punjab map, direct our observation first to the non-regulation provinces of Oude, Mysore, Nagpore, and, secondly, to the political department of the Government of India, through which relations are maintained with semi-sovereign and protected states, and our other Eastern neighbours.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NON-REGULATION PROVINCES OF OUDE, MYSORE, NAGPORE,
SUBORDINATE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN THE FOREIGN
DEPARTMENT.

SOME writers have attempted, in a passing pleasant manner, to convey to those who stay at home some faint idea of Anglo-Indian service, and the attempt has failed, for none who have not known how the official zealot turns under India's scorching sun in despair and almost self-defence to every occupation tending to create new and local interests, can understand the frame of mind in which a civil servant day by day fastens his attention on dull conflicts of Mahomedan and Hindoo law, until to him the only life worth living, seems one depending as for food on reams of foolscap paper, and crowds of copying clerks.

That, however, labour of a most practical character awaits all of every grade employed in Indian office life, will appear from a bare enumeration of the broad dependencies whose orders reach them through the correspondence of the Foreign Office. This Calcutta Foreign Office, though but one of the five * departments to which the executive Government of India is intrusted, dictates conditions of existence to the thirty-three million human beings who live and die beneath the so-called non-

* Home, Foreign, Financial, Military, and Public Works.

regulation system. Last of the states so ruled in date of acquisition, and least in area, stands Oude, a kingdom, up to 1856, of which Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Lawrence would fain have saved the independence, had not its inhabitants and court been sunk too deep in infamy to understand the virtue of their remedies. Second in size and prestige rank the Mysore Raja's territories, which, since the days of Sir Mark Cubbon, have steadily increased both in commercial and political importance. Next come the Central Provinces or Nagpore, vast and ill-defined, now for the first time ruled by a man capable of doing justice to their pent-up resources. Then there is the whole of British Burma, and the Strait Settlements of Penang and Singapore ; * and if to these we add the Punjab, and the entire political control of the Rajpootana States, and such Central India chiefs as Scindia and Holkar, it will be readily admitted that this small world contains few offices of responsibility and power equal to that of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India.

Oude, Mysore, Nagpore, are three great names in Indian history, each one of which, not very many years ago, represented to the eye of European imagination long lines of princes, deriving their titles and estates from the most remote of ages known to even Eastern garter kings-at-arms. To each of them mighty revenues, densely-peopled districts, and martial pride, seemed to promise a long and favoured national life. In past times they had made peace and war with one another, and, when united, had more than once successfully defied the Affghan and the Lion of Lahore. To-day these three sovereign states are blended harmoniously together beneath one giant administration, and minister to one another's commercial

* Now a separate colony.

and financial wants with all the touching tenderness of sisters long estranged. But though they seem to form one picture, wherein each rock and tree and blade of grass is quarried, felled, or mown to the mutual advantage of the soil and its proprietors, they are still divided into three by boundaries which Nature has prescribed, and which neither Company nor Crown has been able to obliterate. The reins of government centre in the hands of the Foreign Secretary, as the constitutional repository of the Viceroy's conscience, at least with reference to non-regulation provinces; and at the time we write of, circumstances had placed this trust within the keeping of Colonel Henry Marion Durand.

It is said that Lord Ellenborough selected young Durand, then a junior officer of engineers, to accompany him to India in the capacity of aide-de-camp; that the quick eye of that rash statesman speedily detected talents in his *protégé* of no common order; and that, on arrival in Calcutta, he appointed him his private secretary. The experience thus gained at an early age ripened later into precious fruit beneath the burning sun of Cabul and Indore. Throughout the Indian Mutiny Colonel Durand's position gave him opportunities of inspiring confidence both as a soldier and diplomatist; and shortly after its suppression he obtained a seat in Sir Charles Wood's Council, where his restless pen found ample occupation in recording his convictions on every Eastern question. Urged, however, by Lord Canning, he did not long enjoy the ease, combined with dignity, of the Council Board at home, but, returning to Calcutta, entered on the labours of the Foreign Office. The reasons that induced Lord Canning to desire to place a military man in charge of the political relations of the Government of India—an office hitherto conducted by civilians—must be sought

for partially, no doubt, in the very special fitness of Colonel Durand ; but perhaps not less in a desire to make one last protest against the system of exclusion so long practised by the Company in favour of their covenanted civil servants, and to open up to really public competition those imperial departments of the Government, whose daily labours embrace the interests of all classes of the many-coloured populations of our Indian Empire.

The law required, however, that the reasons for selecting one unfitted for the post by his profession should be reported for approval of the Government at home ; and Sir Charles Wood found himself compelled, either to disallow a principle to which he had practically given his consent, or else endorse Lord Canning's choice. In the consideration of this question it was but natural he should cast his eye across the broad horizon of India's political condition. Unexampled prosperity, the result of but a few years' unexampled peace, had bred a wide confidence in his decisions among the native population. Many causes had combined to render civil administration most popular at the hands of military men. To the martial spirit of the Punjab we had looked, and not in vain, for efficient aid throughout our recent troubles. To that country the name of Colonel Durand was not only familiar, but recalled the long-cherished memory of a great day, when the avenging tribes of Northern India espoused with warmth the cause of our murdered countrymen in Cabul ; when, led by English officers, they forced their way through passes hitherto regarded as the gates of death, and received, beneath the lofty walls of Ghuznee, a patent hostage of success in the recovery of the Gates of Somnauth. Those far-famed gates had, eight hundred years before, been carried off by Sultan Mahmoud from a singularly sacred Brahmin temple, dedicated to a god in

whose honour it was held that the sea daily rose and fell in tidal homage. Their costly weight of sandal-wood had been dragged by victorious cannon into long exile among wild infidels, the depth of whose religious and political fanaticism could but be measured by their blood-thirstiness and contempt for human life ; and these gates were now brought back in triumph, and restored, amid the acclamations of two hundred thousand warriors, to the bosom of a proud nation's faith. In Lord Ellenborough's own words, "The insult of eight hundred years had been avenged in 1842 ;" and to the Punjab mind a proud consciousness of great deeds done together was the first feeling that the name of Colonel Durand instinctively inspired. A second memory, with which he must ever be associated, belongs to the history of more recent times, when, in Central India, on the banks of the Nerbudda, he, from a knowledge of native character acquired among them, had leant with confidence upon those loyal Rajpoots, among whose traditions he felt himself so much at home ; for, in a word, it was Colonel Durand who, in 1857, stood to his ground, and stemmed the flood of mutiny from bursting into Hyderabad and pouring down the Deccan.

These are some of many thoughts that must have crowded on Sir Charles Wood's mind, when he turned a scrupulous attention to the claims advanced in favour of an engineer as Foreign Secretary ; and to them he doubtless added his own personal remembrance of many able minutes, the characteristic penmanship of which was singularly adapted to lend the charm of easy reading to close argument.

The Foreign Secretariat, however, may with some justice be regarded as the blue ribbon of Indian departmental life ; and it was not without much jealousy that

civilians of the Lushington and Prinsep school saw *its* mantle fall upon a military man. Sir Charles Wood's Council numbered many whose advice, if followed, would not have sanctioned this emancipation; but happily the ultimate decision rested in the hands of one well used to frame and follow opinions of his own, who, from the depths of his experience, and unbiassed by the prejudices of a professional education or career, could calmly weigh each argument in turn. Thus it was that, after some delay, the nomination of Colonel H. M. Durand was confirmed from home; and he entered on the full performance of his duties shortly after the arrival of Lord Elgin at Calcutta.

The nature of those duties has been sufficiently explained. They embrace within their limits the whole network of India's external policy, besides the direct administration of one-third the area of our Eastern Empire. The foreign department is indeed so large a Government machine that it has been found essential to divide it into many branches; thus it has separate establishments for its financial, military, and civil labours, each conducted by a staff of well-trained officials, specially acquainted with the technicalities of their respective subjects, and presided over by such men as Messrs Wheeler or Macleod, who, from personal experience, combined with natural executive ability, are alone competent to guide the wheels of these subordinate administrative contrivances.

In the discharge of his duties Colonel Durand had the rare good fortune to be associated with one, young in years, but gifted equally with power of application and the art of making others work under him. Mr C. U. Aitcheson was among the first of those who braved successfully the early rigours of the competition system.

Of stubborn Scotch origin, he had from boyhood set his mind upon the East, and with a strong will had steadily worked out his education in the teeth of many disadvantages; so that, when the doors of Haileybury were closed for ever against the sons and nephews of influential men, and other channels were opened for the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service, he was found prepared to struggle for a much-contested prize with candidates of every denomination. His early zeal had been but whetted by a short Punjab career; and when, to the surprise of all, and most of all himself, a Calcutta telegram reached the distant spot where he had won such speedy reputation, offering him the post of Foreign Under-Secretary to the Government of India, he, true to his antecedents, was found again prepared to do credit to the choice.

But to return to the three provinces to which this chapter has been dedicated, and primarily to Oude, that crowning stroke of Lord Dalhousie's annexations—an annexation that has been so warmly canvassed for so many years, and that, while called by some an "expedient escheat," and a "*Dacoitee in excelsis*," has, on the other hand, been defended as a righteous act by calm reflective men of office, of a widely different stamp from him by whom it was at last reluctantly proclaimed.

Lying on our line of northern march, Oude was inhabited by robber races, who long lived by robbing one another. The rich had fed upon the poor, until finally the latter ceased to till the fields, and adopted the example set them by their betters. So long as rapine was confined within the limits of the kingdom, the East India Company only raised its voice at intervals in the general interest of humanity; but when the range of anarchy gradually extended itself, and lastly knew no bounds at all, the oft-repeated words of warning were

once more spoken in the Alumbagh, and a term was fixed, at whose expiry the forbearance of the British Government should end. The events that shortly after followed are well known, and have only been too often twisted into would-be inevitable results of certain policies pursued—a method of proceeding calculated to provoke distrust in native minds; whereas, if people would cease to seek for causes and effects so far beneath the surface, more truthful narratives might sometimes see the light, at least where India is concerned.

Singularly rich in all the elements of agricultural prosperity, this country had merited a better fate than the one its vicious rulers had entailed upon it. Its early history had combined domestic happiness with success in foreign war; and among the more remote and darker pages of the past, traces are sometimes found in Oude of a civilisation then unknown in other parts of India. The reigns, however, of a long line of licentious rulers had at length so degraded the condition of the people, as to render some change essential to the continuance of their bare physical existence. Of these rulers a graphic picture has been drawn by Mr Kaye, in words so picturesque and forcible as to leave no room for further comment:—

“It would take long to trace the history of the progressive misrule of the Oude dominions under a succession of sovereigns all of the same class—passive permit-
ters of evil rather than active perpetrators of iniquity—careless of, but not rejoicing in, the sufferings of their people. The rulers of Oude, whether Wuzeers or Kings, had not the energy to be tyrants. They simply allowed things to take their course. Sunk in voluptuousness and pollution, often too horribly revolting to be described, they gave themselves up to the guidance of panders and parasites, and cared not so long as these wretched crea-

tures administered to their sensual appetites. Affairs of state were pushed aside as painful intrusions. Corruption stalked openly abroad, every one had his price; place, honour, justice—everything was to be bought; fiddlers, barbers, and mountebanks became great functionaries. There were high revels at the capital, whilst in the interior of the country every kind of enormity was being exercised to wring from the helpless people the money which supplied the indulgences of the court. Much of the land was farmed out to large contractors, who exacted every possible farthing from the cultivators, and were not seldom, upon complaint of extortion, made, unless inquiry were silenced by corruption, to disgorge into the royal treasury a portion of their gains. Murders of the most revolting type, gang robberies of the most outrageous character, were committed in open day. There were no courts of justice except at Lucknow, no police but at the capital and on the frontier. The British troops were continually called out to coerce refractory landowners, and to stimulate revenue collection at the point of the bayonet. The sovereign—Wuzcer or King—knew that they would do their duty,—knew that, under the obligations of the treaty, his authority would be supported; and so he lay secure in his zenana, and fiddled while his country was in flames.”

Under such conditions of misrule as are here portrayed, any change could hardly fail to prove of benefit to the bulk of the population. The misruling class of course was doomed to suffer; and when the change, so long in vain expected from within, came finally from without by annexation, mutiny, siege, relief, and consequent re-occupation by our armies rapidly succeeding one another, Lord Canning's proclamation placed the British Government in a new position as towards that country, and

enabled it to mete out life and death, rewards and confiscation, as the ends of justice and imperial interests demanded. Thus upon the ruins of a kingdom whose martial ardour had destroyed itself, by casting civil honours into disrepute, Lord Canning laid the foundations of a proud and peaceful province, creating from the social chaos caused by the bloodshed of Cawnpore and Lucknow, a landed aristocracy, whose Talookdaree* rights afford the surest guarantee for future loyalty.

Whether this great measure should take its place among the world's failures or successes, and justify the voice of general approval or the censure of Lord Ellenborough, depended chiefly on those who were selected to work out practically the details of a great theoretical conception. Mr Wingfield and Mr Yule were both well fitted to succeed in such a task. Both belonged to the old civilian school, who, untiring at the desk in their cutcherry,† yet dearly loved the chase, prided themselves on owning the best elephants, and thus became identified with the pleasures as well as the taxation of the races over which they ruled. These were the men that Lord Canning wisely chose to heal the open wounds of Oude.

These wounds were deep, and skill and time combined were needed for their cure; but when Lucknow is visited to-day by one familiar with the deeds of Major Aitken and the Baillie Guard, so great a change is noticeable, that he would find it hard to trace, among the walks and shrubberies of Wingfield Gardens, his recollections of the siege. The change extends, moreover, to every circumstance of life connected with that country. Its people

* "The Talookdar was little more than an hereditary revenue contractor. The Talookdaree right, or right of collection, was distinct from the zemindaree right, or proprietary right in the soil."—Kaye's 'Sepoy War.'

† Office.

are now gradually acquiring a long-forgotten industry and enterprise; while the abolition of a frontier, and enhanced security for human life and property, have paved the way for English capital and immigration. The natives have shown no want of energy in aiding us in the regeneration of their distracted and exhausted land, but, headed by Maun Singh, a leading Talookdar whose genius guided him successfully through the perilous path of mutiny, and ever earned him prominent place in the councils of the ascendant party, they have proved that Oude can still maintain her rank among the states of Hindostan, and that the mother of rebellion can become a loyal daughter of the Crown.

In bestowing praise on Messrs Yule and Wingfield, we must not forget to whom, second to Lord Canning, their choice was mainly due. The patronage enjoyed by Indian Viceroys is so extensive, and other claims on their attention are so numerous, that it has become the almost inevitable practice to intrust much patronage virtually to the hands of others. The Private Secretary is usually the medium through which this power is exercised, and in this office Lord Canning had through four long years the great advantage of being served by Mr Lewin Bowring, a civil servant of Bengal who had been early grafted on the tree of Punjab administration. Upon him it was that Lord Canning on departure bestowed the government of Mysore and Coorg; and though it might be questioned whether Mr Bowring's seniority and services alone entitled him to this preferment, his subsequent success affords the fittest justification for an appointment which many chose to read as rather savouring of nepotism.

Thus Mr Bowring entered on his duties under circumstances that could but tend to pave the way to criticism.

Some there were of local reputation, who, deeming their own claims far superior to his, did not shrink from their assertion; and it was only by judicious action, and a complete reorganisation of the old Commission, that things smoothed down into the mutual confidence and goodwill so essential to the conduct of a native state, where corrupt ministers are quick to trace the signs of personal jealousy, and, by widening the breach between an officer and his subordinates, attain for themselves a practical ascendancy.

The early records of Mysore are even more obscure than average Oriental history, and no authentic chronicles have yet been discovered of an earlier date than the year 1300. But even then her reputed wealth and beauty had aroused the cupidity of the Court of Delhi, and the fourteenth century was spent in predatory invasions and eventual subjugation by the Great Mogul. From that time, until the star of Hyder Ali rose in 1749, Mysore could hardly boast of much political existence. Ruled at times by greedy Viceroys from afar, at times by local princes, whose reigns were only distinguished from each other by more or less oppression and resistance, the tide of ages swept swiftly by, leaving little else than bloodshed in its wake; and then, borne on the wings of time and improved communications, came other claimants from both land and sea: the French and English arrived in ships to wage a contest with the armies of the Peishwa and Nizam, and finally to fight among themselves for the disputed prize. Meanwhile from Delhi and Lucknow came emissaries with threats and bribes and promised aid, and in the midst of the confusion, Hyder Ali Khan, a Mussulman in the service of the Mysore Raja, steered a course conspicuous for its bold unscrupulous success.

Rising from the ranks to the command of his master's armies, Hyder Ali brought Mysore proper, Coorg, with the Carnatic and much within the Deccan, under subjugation. Abroad and at home he was feared with that fear most conducive to the stability of an Eastern rule. He was at the zenith of his conquests and dominion when the titular ruler of Mysore, Chumraj, died; and the events that followed cannot be better given than in the words of Colonel Wilkes:—"Hyder Ali had hitherto professed to hold Mysore in behalf of the Hindoo house, and amused his subjects, on every annual feast of the Dessara, by exhibiting the pageant seated on his ivory throne in the balcony of state, himself occupying the place of minister and commander-in-chief. This ceremonial in most countries would have excited feelings dangerous to the usurper; but the unhappy Hindoos saw their country everywhere sustaining the scourge of Mahomedan rule. The singular exception of the Mahratta State, a widespread example of a still more ruthless oppression, restrained their natural preference for rulers of their own persuasion, and they were soothed by the occasional condescension which treated them and their institutions with a semblance of respect. Hyder saw and indulged the working of these reflections, and determined to have another pageant. The lineal male succession was extinct, and he ordered all the children to be collected from the different branches of the house who, according to ancient precedent, were entitled to furnish a successor to the throne. The ceremonial observed on this occasion, however childish, was in perfect accordance with the feelings which he intended to delude, and sufficiently adapted to the superstition of the fatalist. The hall of audience was strewed with fruits, sweetmeats, and flowers, playthings of various descriptions, arms, books, male and

female ornaments, bags of money, and every varied object of puerile or manly pursuit. The children were introduced together, and were all invited to help themselves to whatever they liked best. The greater number were quickly engaged in a scramble for fruits, sweetmeats, and toys, but one child was attracted by a brilliant little dagger, which he took up in his right hand, and soon after a lime in his left. 'That is the Raja,' exclaimed Hyder. 'His first care is military protection—his second, to realise the produce of his dominions; bring him hither and let me embrace him.' The assembly was in a universal murmur of applause: the child was conducted to the Hindoo palace, and prepared for installation. His name was also Chumraj, and he was the father of the Raja who was placed by the English at the head of the Hindoo house of Mysore on the subversion of the Mahomedan dynasty in 1799."

The melodramatic incident above related satisfactorily performed, the restless Hyder Ali betook himself to further conquests, and, notwithstanding some reverses, repaired by treachery, from which as a last resource he never shrank, he pursued the path of victory, till death closed his unscrupulous career in camp near Arcot, on 7th December 1782. The fact of his death was carefully concealed until the arrival of his son and practical successor, Tippoo, who was absent at the time in Malabar. To him Hyder Ali, after his reign of thirty years, bequeathed an army of a hundred thousand well-trained men, equal to the defence of an equal number of square miles, besides accumulated treasure in gold and precious stones to the value of five millions sterling. We are told that Tippoo assumed the government with extraordinary affectation of humility and grief, yet some early easy conquests did not fail to produce their ordinary effect

upon a mind equally weak and malignant. His arrogance grew upon him rapidly: at length his insults to surrounding neighbours could be no longer brooked; and when he, in breach of certain treaty stipulations, invaded Travancore in 1791, a war broke out between himself upon the one side, and the East India Company, the Peishwa, and Nizam upon the other. The result of an attack from such a coalition could not remain a moment doubtful; and by the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792, Tippoo agreed to cede one-half Mysore to England, to pay a large indemnity, and to give up to Lord Cornwallis his two eldest sons as hostages for his future good behaviour. True to his hereditary policy of display, the handing over to a conqueror of two handsome youths before the eyes of a hundred thousand horse and foot, was an opportunity not neglected by the crafty Tippoo. An early day was fixed for the delivery of the princes into British hands. They were brought on richly-caparisoned elephants to the durbar-tent of Lord Cornwallis, and Tippoo's head vakeel addressed the Governor-General as follows:—"These children were this morning the sons of the Sultan—their situation is now changed, and they must henceforth look up to your lordship as their father." The Governor-General made an appropriate reply and promise of protection. This promise was religiously fulfilled, and "the transfer of the paternal character ceased to be an Oriental image if determined by the test of paternal attention." A strong interest in the captive youths was prevalent throughout the British army and the English people generally, and this laid no doubt the first foundation for their future bountiful provision. They were removed to Vellore, lodged in the fort, and allotted an abundant income. In 1806, in the vain hope of re-establishing their dynasty, they employed this income in

corrupting the native soldiery, who rose and massacred the European garrison, one company strong. On the failure of this attempt the princes were removed to Bengal, and their residence was fixed at Russapuglah, in the suburbs of Calcutta, where their descendants have so greatly multiplied as to render it desirable they should be encouraged to engage in useful pursuits, and blend with the general population; indeed, a proposal has been even made by the Council of Education to establish a boarding seminary for the junior members of the Mysore family. Prince Gholam Mohammed and Prince Ferooz Shah, two of the numerous offspring of Tippoo's hostage children, recently succeeded in enlisting in their cause some members of the Indian Council; and to their plausibility and pertinacity must be ascribed the passing of the measure known as the Mysore Grant, by which a vast inheritance has been awarded to the degenerate and already wealthy children of a bold usurper.

These costly hostages for good behaviour were handed over to Lord Cornwallis in 1792. In 1798 the restless blood of Tippoo burned to wipe out the stain of his defeat by the recovery of his lost provinces. In the execution of this design he was rash enough to seek the aid of Revolutionary France, and in token of alliance to adopt the prefix citizen. Hostilities were resumed, but Tippoo was soon again defeated, himself falling by the hand of a British grenadier. His earthly remains were deposited in the mausoleum of his fathers with all the pomp with which the East knows how to honour death; and "a storm," we are told, "not an unsuitable accompaniment to the closing scene in the life of such a man, raged with extraordinary violence on the evening of the ceremony." With him ended the short-lived, barbarous, and desolating Mahomedan dynasty founded by Hyder Ali Khan;

and Mysore with its dependencies was partitioned out between the Company, the Peishwa, and Nizam, a certain portion being formed into a state and conferred upon the titular Hindoo Raja so long held captive by the self-named Sultan Tippoo.

In 1832 the British Government again stepped in, to quell the civil strife engendered by the utter incapacity for ruling of which the Raja of its choice had afforded more than ample proof. Within a few years of his accession, this young prince had squandered upwards of two millions sterling of accumulations, while the revenue and public debt had both increased until all classes bordered on despair. The country then assumed by treaty, has since been held and governed for that country's good, the Raja being treated with great financial liberality, and the political consideration to which his rank entitled him. The executive, however, was taken from him, and intrusted to a mixed commission of soldiers and civilians; and the constant intrigues of more than twenty years to recover independence, have hitherto been met by us with silence or refusal. Under English sway that promised land of India has attained a measure of prosperity unrivalled in the East. Her woody slopes of many thousand feet in altitude and many thousand miles in area, now produce coffee and cinchona; and while the tiger and the leopard of the jungles are rapidly receding before the constantly-advancing strides of European planters, the lofty plateaux have become the sites of peaceful cities, of which the climate is described as follows:—"At Bangalore, about three thousand feet above the sea, the thermometer has been found not to rise above 82° in the shade, and the annual average at noon is 76°. The nights are never hot; and while the evenings and mornings are at all times cool, there is an