elasticity in the air at once invigorating and delightful."*

Now it happened that the Hindoo Raja of this fruitful country, when bargaining for payment of his debts and some ready money, executed a testamentary instrument in favour of the Queen of England failing lineal descendants of his own; but the childless ruler, now verging on extreme old age, has since that time so far modified his views as to request the sanction of the paramount power to an adoptive heir. The much-vexed question of adoption thus threatened to extinguish the budding prosperity of Mysore; but, considering the extent to which European capital is invested there, and the daily increasing national value of the resources of the country, the Government of India, both in England and in India, steadily and very properly refused to release the Raja from his plighted word; and there is now no reasonable doubt, that whenever His Highness shall shake off this mortal coil, his territories will tranquilly become incorporated with our own.†

* "As the peninsula of Hindostan narrows to a point, with a long seaboard, it can easily be controlled by a strong European force, with a proportion of native auxiliaries, in the central position of Bangalore. The south of India ought to be to us what Bengal has hitherto been—a secure stronghold and an overflowing treasury; and it would have this additional advantage, that a European population is rapidly growing up on the table-lands and mountain-slopes in the interior."

The above are the words, not of Lord Dalhousie or one of his disciples, but of a man of peace, the native's friend, Sir Charles Trevelyan, to whom, when Governor of Madras, the administration of Mysore was likewise intrusted.

† In the House of Commons, on Friday the 22d of February 1867, Sir Henry Rawlinson elicited from the Secretary of State for India a statement on the Mysore succession, of which the following is a summary:—

Lord Cranborne dealt with the subject in its legal and political bearings. He explained that "all the rights of the Raja are contained in the partition treaty made between the Indian Government and the Nizam in 1799, and do not go beyond the enjoyment of sovereignty for

The third great tract of Hindostan of which the government is administered by a mixed commission, is styled the Central Provinces, and comprises Nagpore proper with Jubbulpore and Saugor. It contains an area of seventy-six thousand square miles, or nearly twenty thousand more than England and Wales together. Yet of this great plateau lying between the Nerbudda and Godavery, and bounded to the north and south by Bundelcund and the Nizam's dominions, popular history hitherto has told us little. In 1853 the childless Raja of Nagpore died, and the calm historian, on perusal of the following extracts from an official report on the character of that ruler and the atmosphere of his court, would hardly censure Lord Dalhousie for disallowing an adoption of questionable legality, that could only have tended to prolong a most pernicious state of things. Mr Mansell writes:—

"A distaste for business and low habits seem the distinguishing features of the Raja's temperament. Any strict attention to affairs of state paid by him has been enforced by the remonstrance of the Resident; while his

life. Hence the rights of the Raja of Mysore are determined with his life, and had he had a lineal son, that son would have had no right to the succession The adopted son can, of course, have no right where the lineal son had none, and, with the death of the Raja, the territory over which he is nominally sovereign, but which is really administered by British officers, reverts to the British Government." "But," he added, "the Government does not intend to avail itself of these rights unless compelled to do so. When the Raja dies, Mysore will not be annexed. It will be administered as now; and when the adopted heir arrives at an age when some judgment can be formed as to his character, the Indian Government of that day will determine how much, if any, of the sovereignty of Mysore shall be handed over to him."

This honourable and simple statement of the actual position of Mysore was received by the House of Commons with marked satisfaction; and it will be for the Government of India of some future day to decide, how far paramount reasons of policy entail upon the Crown the necessity to renounce the heritable succession to a province, so prosperous under its rule, and of such strategic and sanitary value to its troops.

natural inclination has again led him, when unchecked, to absorb himself in the society of low followers, in the sports of wrestling, kite-flying, and cards, in singing and dancing, and in the intercourse of his dancing-girls. A saying of his to an officer, who about a year ago was appointed to the office of Durbar Vakeel on the removal of the old incumbent, will not incorrectly illustrate his character. The audience of investiture was over, and the new Vakeel was then dismissed with these words: 'Now, go away and study the provisions of the treaty, so as to see that they are enforced, to protect me in the enjoyment of those pleasures of dancing and singing that I have loved from my boyhood.'

"The addiction to the low pleasures of the harem was always a marked characteristic of the Raja, and has become more baneful since the habit of drinking has so grown upon him. His time is now absorbed in the paltry conversation and the mean pursuits of the concubines, and he now with reluctance leaves the inner apartments.

"When thus the Raja has been divesting himself of much of the best part of his character, he has been acquiring habits of avarice that have led him into a systematic indifference to the claims of the administration of justice, and to the selection of merit in making official appointments. Of late years all the anxiety of the Raja and of his favourite ministers has been to feed the privy purse by an annual income of two or more lacs of rupees, from nuzzurs,* fines, bribes, confiscation of property of deceased estates, the composition of public defaulters, or the sale of their effects, and suchlike sources. The Raja has thus been led on by his avarice to discard all feeling, and to throw himself into the hands of the most un-

* Presents.

principled of his servants, who plundered the country, and put justice up to sale for profits, but a slender part of which reached the Raja. He has done many cruel acts, and even carried war into the country of his feudal dependants, on the misrepresentation of those parties, gilded by the offer of a nuzzur.

"All this has aggravated the low tone of mind originally belonging to the Raja. He acts and thinks like a village chandler. Profits and pickings are to be made anyhow. The choicest amusement of the Raja is an auction sale, when some unfortunate widow is ruled not to be entitled to her husband's estate, or when some public defaulter is found to have made away with revenue collections, just equal to the sum he paid five or six years before for his situation of revenue collector to the Raja."

Permission to adopt having therefore been withheld by Lord Dalhousie, the broad lands of Nagpore "lapsed" as had done Jhansi and Satara, and became incorporated with our Eastern empire, a liberal provision being at the same time made for the adoptive mother of the Raja, and the other female members of the Bhonsla family.

Though rich in minerals, and possessing all requirements for Oriental husbandry, the inland position of Nagpore, inaccessible by water, long told against a rapid increase of population, and it needed both the zeal of one whose spurs were yet to win, and the accidental impulse which the sudden cotton famine gave to Indian agricultural pursuits, to open up that country to imported skill and labour. In the appointment of Mr Richard Temple the first condition was fulfilled, by the selection of the man in India perhaps best fitted to cope successfully with natural obstacles and native apathy. Almost ere the ink of his commission had grown dry and black, a

powerful resemblance of the third Napoleon might have been seen, engineering rail and cotton roads through forests then unnamed. Like the great Lord Peterborough in more respects than one, Mr Temple ever far outstripped the locomotive powers of his subordinates; and when his secretaries suspected, and indeed half hoped, that the fair society of Kamptee still held their slave a more than willing captive, the Commissioner was often heard of as emerging from some far-distant swamp, with maps and long reports all ready for the press, full of suggestions that should pave the way to contract drainage, irrigation, and an early crop of some Sea-Island staple.

The above is a faithful, though a very hurried and imperfect, sketch of Mr Richard Temple's work as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces;—which must not be confused by those unacquainted with the subject with so-called Central India, a country lying to the north-westward of Nagpore, ruled by native princes who enjoy a greater or a lesser share of independence and protection, and at whose courts the Government of India maintains accredited agents. The Central Provinces, being still in their political and commercial infancy, belong to the family of non-regulation states, for each of which certain laws are at present framed as suited to their individual condition. Some time hence, and probably ere long, they will have become so far assimilated to the rest of British India by the great levelling powers of steam and electricity, as to wear away the many existing constitutional irregularities, which, though they place life and property virtually at the control of the governing class, and are liable to much abuse, are practically productive of great benefit, by cutting short the hydra-headed life of Eastern litigation.

A recent writer has informed us that "there is a malady common to savages in certain parts of the world termed 'earth-hunger.' It provokes an incessant craving for clay, a species of food that fails to satisfy the appetite, and impairs the powers of digestion." The East India Company suffered from this dire disorder for upwards of a century; and since it has been deemed that the excesses recorded in this chapter were those which ultimately proved fatal to its life, it is to be sincerely prayed for that the Crown, wiser than its predecessor, may, in the words of the writer above quoted, "now cease to make nobles landless," and to increase the sum of Asiatic misery.

CHAPTER VII.

THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

THE broad halo of romance and genius which surrounds the Political Department, both from the nature of the service in itself and from the class of men selected to perform it, tends to make one pause in undertaking to convey some faint image of the life its servants lead. One fears lest, in the attempt to draw a fitting picture of a truly favoured class, one should yet fall infinitely short of the conception, raised in readers' minds by the glowing sketches of "Our Indian Heroes," and other writings from the same authoritative pen, whose truth and power have wellnigh passed beyond the range of criticism. Yet the dreams that eager students harbour in their inmost soul, of prompt distinction, and personal influence brought to bear on vacillating native courts, pleasant though they be to dwell on, must not be allowed to dim the light of actual fact.

Familiarity with names like Elphinstone and Metcalfe has led men to suppose, not only that they could reap an equally rich harvest of honours and rewards, but that such fruits still hang upon the tree of Oriental life. But to very few is given the great gift of shaping the destiny of nations; and in exact proportion as the rugged races of the East become displaced and circumscribed by the advancing nations of the West, until all mystery

belonging to them is at length dispelled, must dwindle and eventually expire the opportunities that subordinates formerly enjoyed, of carving out a policy of their own, and engrafting it upon the State they served. Thus the Indian Political Department, or at least the brightest and most generally accepted interpretation of that term, has wellnigh become a matter of past history. The deeds of Eldred Pottinger, who, fired by political fanaticism, held the wild Heratees beneath the spell of his intrepid leadership, and Central India as it was when Sir John Malcolm wrote its history for our learning, are things belonging to a period of which but little trace remains. Yet the political officer of to-day still finds upon arrival at his post work of great variety, with scope perhaps for more than even former usefulness; and it shall be our present task to trace these labours, as they extend the line of British influence in one unbroken chain from Cabul to Calcutta.

Within the broad expanse of Hindostan two centres of our diplomatic intercourse with native states have become established, at Indore and at Mount Aboo. These we would liken unto two great planets, each describing an extended orbit round an Eastern solar system of its own, and each having in its train certain satellites dependent on its course. The first duty of the more southern of these bodies is to wait upon the courts of Holkar and of Scindia, who, from his lofty walls of Gwalior, looks down with pride, not unmingled with contempt, upon the weaker chiefs of Central India, though he and they alike owe one and all a common political descent to plunder and the sword. The second of these planets revolves around the Rajpootana States, vast tracts of territory with uncertain boundaries that afford a constant source of bloodshed and dispute.

These two high offices are filled by so-called Agents to the Governor-General, accredited respectively to the Courts of Central India and of Rajpootana. The former group includes, besides the already-mentioned Maharajas of Gwalior and Indore, the Sekunder Begum of Bhopal, the Nawab of Jowra, the less important Rajas of Dewas and Dhar, together with a host of tributary chiefs and chieftains, whose extent of independence is generally best measured by the value and geographical position of their lands. Bound by treaties, many of the articles of which have now become inapplicable, the remainder being modified perhaps by subsequent agreement, the relations of the Government of India with these states are maintained either upon an affected footing of equality and confidence, or else on one of open mutual distrust only tempered by expediency, according to the measure of personal influence of the agent, or the necessities of the times.

Since Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley won the battles of Delhi and Assaye, the Mahratta power as an independent aggressive agency has been virtually destroyed, its martial ascendancy being crippled by very careful stipulations as to numbers and the non-employment of adventurous Europeans in a military capacity; yet in the van of native self-defence against annexation or an anti-caste crusade, the lance of Scindia remains still sharp enough to pierce in many places the somewhat disjointed armour of our Indian possessions.

The story of the gradual rise from vassalage to independence is one of little variation among most Eastern people. Some paternal ancestor, more or less remote, has waged successful war against his primitive allegiance, and crowned, perchance, a life of rapine by plundering the capital of some wealthy neighbour. This history

repeats itself in the early annals of almost every reigning house in India; and that the Gwalior State is no marked exception to the general rule, the following quotation from a most reliable historian may be accepted as sufficient proof: "Madhajee Scindia took full advantage of the dissensions that occurred at Poona after the death of Balajee, to usurp as far as he could the rights and lands of the head of the empire north of the Nerbudda. The detail of the progress of this system of spoliation of both friend and foe is not necessary. Suffice it to say, this able chief was the principal opposer of the English in the war they carried on in favour of Ragobah. He was the nominal slave, but the rigid master, of the unfortunate Shah Alum, Emperor of Delhi; the pretended friend, but the designing rival, of the house of Holkar; the professed inferior in all matters of form, but the real superior and oppressor, of the Rajpoot princes of Central India; and the proclaimed soldier, but the actual plunderer, of the family of the Peishwa."

With these and similar historical antecedents, in which the doctrine of indiscriminate spoliation has been too well sustained, it should not be a matter for surprise when native states adopt a code of international morality differing essentially from what European custom has prescribed; and many argue that it is the bounden duty of the paramount power to impose at least the check of good example on such predatory neighbours, rather than to perpetrate an imperfect imitation of their policy. It may be, indeed, that in the performance of this task British rule in India has achieved its destiny, by preserving from the spoiler's hands the milder races of the coasts, who are far more wedded to the paths of peace than to perpetual war.

For many centuries the hill-fort that now lends a title

to the Maharaja Scindia formed the curb-stone of Mahratta strength. It repulsed in 1023 the celebrated Mahmoud of Ghuznee, who, in Oriental phraseology, "finding capture hopeless, took rich presents and turned his horse's head towards the west." Between that date and 1779, when it was first garrisoned by Rao Scindia, it changed masters some ten times or more, falling in succession through treachery or stratagem into Mahomedan and Hindoo hands. These pages of its history are nowhere traceable with greater accuracy than upon its natural sandstone walls, which have retained with marked fidelity the heavy tramp of time. There the historian may read the record of the wars of Tamerlane, and the geologist and antiquary may feast their eyes on basaltic columns of wondrous beauty, and colossal figures sculptured in a bold relief upon precipitous cliffs, the whole surmounted by a rampart inaccessible, save by a flight of steps hewn from the solid rock, of such a size that elephants may ascend and enter through the gate called after them, of which the approach is guarded by towers and traverse guns. Above this rises high the citadel in heavy masses of quaint architecture, crowned by kiosks and domes of parti-coloured porcelain tiles, that are rendered doubly brilliant by an Eastern sun.

Below this rock, and extending for some miles, is Scindia's standing camp, where the present Maharaja spends a large proportion of his royal time in military pomp, often taking part himself in tournaments and feats of arms. The Mahratta dress affords a marked contrast, and compares most favourably, with that worn by other Indian races. Tight-fitting in all its parts, and nowhere superfluous in length or breadth, the limbs being tightly laced with thongs, it displays to best advantage the square build of Central-India men, and is equally

adapted to the tedious march or to court displays of unmatched horsemanship.

Mooktarool Moolk Umdatul Umra Alijah Maharaja Dheeraj Tyajee Rao Scindia, Sreenath Bahadoor Munsoor Zuman, Gwalior's actual sovereign, may be accepted as a type of the true Mahratta, and the following picture of his Highness applies to many thousands of his martial followers:—Slightly exceeding European middle-height, and fleshy enough to cause anxiety to himself, but not to his medical advisers, his square head is set upon a shapely neck resembling in solidity some Grecian column destined to support a mighty weight; his chest is adequately broad and deep, and somewhat overlapped by muscular advancing shoulders; his hands and feet are rather larger than the more effeminate extremities of the races of Bengal: while his features, originally small, have, thanks to betel-nut, long lost all delicacy of expression. The head, set upward, appears embarrassed by a downward cast of countenance, while the eyes, uncertain in their glance, are generally unable to regard with fixity the same object. When approached by foreigners of high rank, Scindia's haughty mien, perhaps, inspires a feeling of superiority both to himself and his attendants; yet, if contrasted with the more courteous bearing of some Eastern princes of equal rank and influence, it might be unfavourably read, had we not some sterling proofs of loyal disposition to set against the prejudice of personal comparison.

In many respects his neighbour of Indore, the Maharaja Holkar, much resembles Scindia. An uncompromising pride prompts in each an assumption of ascendancy, which, not recognised beyond the limits of his lands, precludes their meeting at the same Durbar. Both, as Knights of the Star of India, acknowledge "Heaven's

light their guide," * and both are proud of the distinction, of which each would certainly be prouder still had that honour been conferred upon himself alone, and not upon his rival. Of late years, however, these two chiefs have been kept on terms, though distant, yet of useful courtesy, by the tact of Major Meade, the Agent to the Governor-General, in whose presence every native learnt not only to defer to others but to respect himself, the first step needful as a prelude to reform in Eastern courts and camps. Great names have held the office Major Meade has clothed with such success, and among them Sir Robert Hamilton stands out prominently as a picture of the old political of received repute; yet the lustre of the name of Major Meade will not, we think, be dulled in the minds of Central-India men, by comparison with the fame of his official predecessors.

In order to maintain any efficient political supervision over so vast and complicated a tract of country as Central India, it was not only necessary to appoint one principal officer of marked ability responsible for the conduct of affairs, but to maintain subordinate agencies in each separate state. Reasons geographical and strategical rather than diplomatic prompted the selection of Indore as the headquarters of this system; and younger men, chosen from all branches of our Anglo-Indian services, were appointed to the courts of Scindia, Bhopal, Dhar, &c., and to foster the more general and not unfrequently conflicting interests engendered by our rule in Bundelcund and Malwa. Many of these latter had assistants under them, who, in their turn, looked for high preferment; and thus was formed a school similar to that existing in the Rajpootana states, where we educate a class of men well called Politicals, who, in self-reliant

* The motto of the order.

energy and executive success, can boldly challenge any service in the world.

Yet the remote influence of Calcutta and Bombay, even backed by memories of more than one campaign in which the native host had been discomfited, was little likely to convince a cluster of proud chiefs, whose title-deeds were mostly acts of cession extracted from a vanquished foe, of the justice or necessity of certain measures having reference to the interests of trade and agriculture, that the Government of India deems from time to time of general expediency. To meet this difficulty, and to place within the reach of Agents to the Governor-General and their immediate subordinates the means of checking native conduct, certain names have risen into prominence, borne on the wings of time's requirements. These have been intrusted with the levying of troops among the wildest clans of that wild country, who, some beneath the standard of religion required for the military service of their native states, and some from love of "Company's salt," have lent their swords to the delights of following leaders who, from their love of danger and of jungle life, appeared in every way best fitted to command such rough-and-ready men. Such was the origin of those irregular corps, whose military existence, commencing with some handfuls of ill-drilled horse, by degrees acquired consistency, until they finally became recognised as taking rank among our trustiest defenders. The Bheel Corps of Malwa and Meywar, the Bhopal Levy, and the Central India Horse, are worthy representatives of this class of troops; and Lieutenant-Colonel Daly, with Major William Gordon Cumming, have afforded fit examples of the class of men required for such irregular command. As political assistants to the Agent-Governor-General for Central

India, both these officers combined high civil with military rank; and the latter's name especially will long remain associated with the material improvement of the once turbulent Bheels, who under his agency have become consolidated as a well-affected race.

Bhopal next demands attention. As Agent to the Begum's Court, the Government of India not long since appointed Major Willoughby Osborne, an officer whose gallantry and services had shone conspicuous throughout the earlier and more trying stages of the Sepoy Mutiny, and won the admiration of Lord Canning, who on more than one occasion sent a tried and trusty surgeon many hundred miles to dress his painful wounds. Emerging by a miracle from the Rewah country, in which he, the only Englishman, sick and sorely wounded, had yet retained sufficient energy to summon the refractory Raja to what all supposed to be a deathbed scene, and then and there dictate to the hesitating chief a line of policy from which, to his honour, he never later swerved, Major Osborne had survived to reap much honour and reward. He belonged to the younger and more ardent breed of military politicals, and might, perhaps, be deemed by some more fitted to confront a desperate situation and to grasp some bold resolve, than to play a second part in the administration of a well-regulated state, which, ruled by a woman of undoubted genius and enlightened mind, affords but little scope for his exceeding zeal.

In all questions of the day her Highness of Bhopal has evinced a shrewdness little short of second-sight in seizing on the course which ultimately should most conduce to the advantage of her state, not less than to her personal independence; and with such success has she listened to the promptings of an unerring judgment,

that, loving power most dearly, she wields to-day, under cover of an admirable code of laws and liberties, many culled from European sources, more arbitrary sway than any other chief in India. The part she played in 1857 has earned for her a place in history not easily effaced. She early learnt our strength, and, reckoning on it, made what to native Central India seemed at the time a desperate choice. The result has fully proved the wisdom of her policy. Since then, in education, cotton roads, and the abolition of transit duties, she has set examples to her neighbours; and while adhering strictly to the many arduous observances entailed upon her by her boundless faith in her religion, she has displayed a toleration for the creeds of others, that many European powers might copy with advantage to the world at large.

Thus, through fair and foul repute, the Begum of Bhopal has adhered to our alliance. Her energy of character has stood proof against advancing years, and defied the trammels which the East imposes on her sex and her religion. Not long ago, her country being blest with peace, and there appearing little scope and no necessity for her activity at home, she planned a tour that all must heartily regret was never brought to a successful issue. A long-cherished wish to visit England, and to worship at the holy shrines of the Beitullah or sacred Meccan mosque, had only grown with time, and the desire to lay before the Queen the expression of her true loyalty and gratitude for dignities conferred. The execution of this wish, more than once postponed, was planned for 1863; but though the pilgrimage so far as Mecca was happily accomplished, trifling questions as to rank and privilege, raised by Anglo-Indian heralds, were permitted to stand in the light of her approach to English royalty.

Thus are lost the opportunities, few and far between, of making England and India really known to one another. Most London seasons boast of certain Eastern visitors, the large majority of whom represent either dynasties deposed or renegades from their ancestral faith —princes and their followers who, having little left in India save the bounty of a far too generous Crown, impose their once historic names upon an ignorant and a lion-hunting public; while families still powerful, and possessing weight among the millions that surround them, are left, like the flower, to blush unseen within the limits of their mountain homes beyond the Indus. A striking picture might be drawn by one acquainted with the theme, and gifted with the power of pouring light and shade upon an artificial landscape, of two heroic women, one born to wield the sword, and one to wear the Star of India. The first was a Hindoo Ranee whose name lies wellnigh uppermost among the annals of the Indian rebellion as that of Jhansi's haughty ruler; the second a Mahomedan who, by force of her example, contributed as much to the success of our Central India columns of 1857 as did the gallantry of Sir Hugh Rose and his subordinates. But enough—the one has passed away with the scenes which she so darkly illustrated; the other happily remains, to guide the judgment of her neighbours, and to reap the harvest she has so surely sown.

The above must close our present notice of Bhopal. With the exception of Scindia and Holkar, Dhar perhaps ranks next in weight among the chiefs of Central India. The importance of his state has been no doubt enhanced, by the fact that the government has been of latter years conducted by a regency under the immediate supervision of the Agent-Governor-General in the person of Lieu-

tenant Ward, an officer of promise belonging to the Bengal Staff Corps. Under his auspices, schools, both English and vernacular, have met with much encouragement, while the general condition of the inhabitants has materally improved. Yet notwithstanding these advantages, Dhar, possessing neither natural features nor marked boundaries to protect it from the encroachments of powerful and often greedy neighbours, can hardly look to any brilliant future. As a weak state of the second rank, it sees in the enjoyment of British protection its surest rock of safety and independence; and its contribution of a sum approaching to £1000 per annum towards the maintenance of the Malwa Bheel Corps, may be considered perhaps not too high a price to pay for the continuance of such security. Passing now northward from the Mahratta country, across an imaginary and very doubtful frontier into Rajpootana, we enter on a land deserving of much careful observation.

Boasting an area of 115,000 square miles in round numbers, the vast tracts of Rajpootana present, to the uninitiated, little cohesion or identity; yet the distinctive qualities and prejudices of the inhabitants are in marked contrast with those of the Mahrattas or Punjabees to their north and south, and as great a difference exists between these races as between the denizens of Russia and those of Italy or England. Concerning the Rajpoot people, who constitute the prevailing element of the population, very variable and indeed opposite opinions have been expressed by high reliable authorities. One thing is certain—namely, that they have known, through long ages, how to hold themselves aloof, and form a society of their own, extending about four hundred miles in each direction; that this country is bounded by the Punjab, the North-West, Central India, and Scinde;

and that it contains dynasties as old, and pedigrees as long, as any other portion of the world we are acquainted with. The compiler of a book, which stands alone as 'The Sanskrit Dictionary,' teaches, that "the peculiar character of the Rajpoots arises from their situation as a military class of the original Hindoo system;" thus combining military instincts with the fanaticism of religion. Again, he says, "The Rajpoots were born soldiers; each division had its hereditary leader, like clans in other countries; the rules of caste still subsisted, and tended to render more powerful the connection just described; and as the chiefs of those clans stood in the same relation to the Raja as their own relations did to them, the king, nobility, and soldiery all made one body, united by the strongest feelings of kindred and military devotion;" and, in conclusion, it is stated that "they treated women with respect unusual in the East, and were guided even towards their enemies by rules of honour which it was disgraceful to violate." Yet a less pleasing picture might be drawn of the darker side of the Rajpoot character; for it was in Rajpootana that the crimes of female *infanticide and suttee attained to their most hideous* proportions; and some insight into the manners of these people may be gathered from Macmurdo's writings of 1818, where it is mentioned that, among the offspring of eight thousand married Rajpoots, probably not more than thirty females were alive. "To such an extent was this cruelty to daughters carried, that they were sometimes destroyed after attaining adolescence. In 1810 the Rajas of Joudpore and Jeypore became rival suitors for a princess of Oodeypore, and supported their pretensions by waging war against each other. The family of the unhappy girl at length terminated the contest by putting her to death." The above are fair specimens, taken at

random, from the contrary records of this people, weighed and sifted in the balance of the well-poised mind of Colonel Tod, whose 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'-han' constitute the most reliable and exhaustive authority on a subject of romantic interest, containing much that the most sceptical must admit invites the fascinating analogy which Colonel Tod delights to draw, between the martial followers of Odin and the not less warlike "children of the sun."

The royal family of Oodeypore, the most ancient, if not actually the most powerful, house of Rajpootana, traces its descent through the Solar dynasty back to the mythological and romantic Rama, who ruled some seven centuries before the birth of Christ; and although a broad margin must of necessity be left in accepting Rajpoot legend, yet but little doubt remained upon the minds of Mill and Rennell, that the reigning dynasty of Oodeypore counts upwards of two thousand years. The geographical position of Meywar, not less than its great wealth and political repute, exposed it, however, to constant inroad from without. Lying near the centre of a triangle, whose three points may be represented by the cities of Ghuznee, Delhi, and Baroda, its military strength was successively exhausted by the incursions of Sultan Mahmoud, the Mahrattas, and the Emperor Ackbar, under whom, in 1568, Chittore, the ancient capital, was given to the flames, the Rana seeking refuge in the Aravulli mountains, among the fastnesses of which he subsequently founded the city of Oodeypore, thenceforth the capital of Meywar. At a distance of some fifty miles, situated upon an isolated spur of this irregular range, and within the Sirohee Raja's territory, stands now the summer residence of the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajpootana, who, from the summit of Mount

Aboo, enforces the observance of our numerous treaties, sunnuds, and engagements with the once martial races inhabiting the plains below.

In the ages, however, that witnessed the historical transaction above related, weaker states might seek in vain protection from the oppression of the strong; and thus, for a time, unhappy Oodeypore bent her haughty neck beneath the Mogul yoke, until at length the attempt of Aurungzebe to impose a capitation-tax upon Hindoos once more fired the Meywar people, who, in the ensuing contest, overthrew the imperial hosts, and regained their cherished independence. From that time, Rajpoot history has chronicled a course of constant strife. The Mahratta states, in turn, have wasted their broad lands; and a happier condition of existence most clearly owes its origin to British agency and supervision, ever varying in efficiency, but most efficient when intrusted to the hands of one like the late Sir Henry Lawrence, who, from the depths of his knowledge and experience, was not ashamed to own, at the expiry of his first year of office, that, "as usual, he had had everything to learn. Heretofore he had had chiefly to do with one people, and that a new people; there he had twenty sovereign states, as old as the sun and moon, but with none of the freshness of either orb. His Sikh experience gave him little help, and his residence in Nipal scarcely any, in dealing with the petty intrigues of those effete Rajpoots." This was the humility required in one who entered on such varied, difficult work, and might have well been studied with advantage by more than one of his successors.

The Aravulli range, extending from the Goojeratti frontier of the Bombay Presidency to wellnigh the confines of the Punjab, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, bisects these "twenty sovereign states" into two great 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,

* Not only did the royal family of Oodeypore refuse to sully the purity of their Rajpoot blood by intermarriages with the Imperial house of Delhi, but they even ceased to ally themselves with such other Rajpoot princes as had given daughters in marriage to the Mogul Emperors.

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 Joudpore, Jessulmere, and Bikaneer, 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

* "Owing to the tyrannical rule of the native states, many Soukars or bankers, who live under the native governments of Rajpootana, keep their treasuries at Ajmere. This example shows clearly their confidence in the British Government, and their distrust of the governments of the

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 Eng-

native chiefs." The above are the words of a native writer, and a more striking tribute to our administration has not yet been paid.

land, and become the patrons of more noble undertakings than were embraced in the ambitions of their predecessors. Yet these Rajpoot states differ 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 had 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, still retains

sufficient power and independence 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, Mozuffer 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 ever 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 last 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 with-

* Sport.

† Landed tenure, landlord and tenant, labourers and their employers—all ever such fertile causes of litigation and dispute, especially in the East.

in 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 competence 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 Bahadoor, 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 Bahadoor'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 correctly stated by Mr Montgomery Martin to consist in the fact that his Ghoorkas, "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,

* Since the above was written, this doctrine has found an able advocate (in the 'Edinburgh Review' for January 1867) in a defence of Sir John Lawrence against the accusation that the present Governor-General of India has no foreign policy; and it is well proved therein that "non-intervention does not in this instance indicate unconcern."

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. For 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 here 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 by 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

* Now a separate colony.

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 suited 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 complications. 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 submis-

sion, 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 Burmese 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 ques-

* The style in which this state paper is written, affords a marked contrast to that used by the British Government to the ancestor of that King of Ava, whom Colonel Burney, the Resident at Ava, was directed to address as "The founder of the Great Golden City of Precious Stones, the Possessor of Mines of Gold, Silver, Rubies, Amber, and Noble Serpentine."

tion 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 Phayre'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 Phayre'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 Bur-

* A formal letter (in this instance, of credence).

mese 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

* Teak, principally used by shipwrights, is the great staple of our Burma trade. The average value of teak timber which annually descends the Salween, the main artery for this commerce, exceeds half a million sterling. This timber is mostly cut by native agency in the Shan states (nominally tributary to Siam, three hundred miles beyond our own frontiers). The trade is conducted by a system of money advances made to the various local chiefs; and the logs, when cut, are thrown into the Salween, and find their way, through the hostile Kareen country, borne by periodical floods, to the salving station of Kyodan, where they are brought up and reclaimed by their respective owners, under Government supervision. This trade has recently been well described in a paper by Lieutenant R. C. Beavan of the Bengal Survey Department. It opens up to the enterprising a boundless field for gain and speculation, into which both Burmese and Europeans enter with great avidity and disregard of human life.

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, at 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 amends 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 Rumbo 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 mangosteens, 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 cannot 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 Purdey. 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-meaning 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

* Dinner-parties.

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 followod that not long since, the tribute having fallen into many years' arrears, the Government of India absolved the reigning

Beebee 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