



money supplies for the payment of the Subsidiary Force. The bankers came and dwelt in the place called the Bágh, and the rupees current there were consequently called *bághchalnī*. After a while some of them got plundered, and in consequence the Bágh was enclosed by a high wall. He said too, that all the space now occupied by the extensive settlement of Chadarghát, was once covered with groves and gardens, and that its name, Bágháit, was still preserved.

He confirmed categorically all that I had heard about the merits of the Sálár Jang's administration, about the great internal improvement of the country and the preservation of order, and about the jealousy of the Nizám regarding the Minister's leaving the City. Nothing, he said, would persuade the Nizám that the Minister was not going to hatch mischief, if he went for a tour in the interior to look after the country !

In the evening I went over the lines of the Infantry Regiment at Baláram and examined them, and was satisfied with what I saw.

SUNDAY, *June 16th.*—

MONDAY, *June 17th.*—Early in the morning I had out the 5th Regiment of the Infantry of the Contingent for an inspection parade, and found that a large portion of the men were Hindústánís, and that the usual proportion, 10 per cent., of these were absent at their homes in Hindústán. The parade went off well, and after it I addressed a few words to the native officers. When this was over, the Súbadár-Major, with the permission of



the Officer Commanding, mentioned a few boons which he solicited for the men. These chiefly related to classes and pensions, the object being to ask for the same advantages as those enjoyed by the troops of the regular line. He also alluded to the rule excluding Bráhmans from enlistment, and seemed to think it hard that when a Bráhman native officer had served through the wars with distinction, his sons should not be eligible for enlistment. He was a Bráhman himself, and had a brother in the corps, who had sons growing up.

In the evening I went over the lines of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment of the Contingent, and found that the Risáldár-Major owned the horses of a whole troop, being the *silahdár* and the men his *bárgírs*.^{*} His was said to be the best troop in the Regiment. Another Risáldár on detachment at Lingsagúr, also similarly owned a number of horses. Besides these there were ten other native officers owning from twenty to forty horses. Major Nightingale told me that he thought the *silahdári* system was the best, as giving us a greater hold on the fidelity of the men, and that as long as the *silahdárs* kept right the *bárgírs* dare not go astray : saying that in 1857 near the Narbadá this very Risáldár-Major had to call up a number of disaffected men and keep them straight.

Complaints were made of the risk from fire to the houses of the men and the stables of their horses by reason of the thatched roofs. With such a mass of

^{*} *Silahdár* means strictly *armiger*, and is now a native gentleman who owns the horses of his troopers or *bárgírs*.



thatch there was danger no doubt, though water-tanks and fire-engines were kept constantly ready.

TUESDAY, *June 18th.*—Early in the morning I inspected the No. 4 Native Battery of the Contingent. Everything seemed in order, the firing and manœuvring being rapid and precise.

About noon I received a visit from the Súbadár of the Battery, who mentioned a few points much the same as those mentioned by the Súbadár-Major of the Infantry. He was himself a Muhammadan, but said the same thing as to the Bráhmans !

Captain Grey, the Commandant, gave a good character to the men, and said that they worked hard and were very willing and industrious.

After breakfast I had a note from the Minister saying that Jamsetjee had himself quietly given up the papers and professed submission, but that he still wished to discharge him and deport him out of the Hyderabad Dominions. He asked my opinion, and I expressed entire concurrence.

In the evening I inspected the lines of the 3rd Regiment Hyderabad Contingent.

WEDNESDAY, *June 19th.*—In the afternoon I went, accompanied by Major Price, the Chief Engineer, to see various improvements in detail at the new barracks for the 21st Fusiliers at Trimalgiri, which Colonel Robertson, the Commanding Officer, wished me to see.

I also saw a class practising gymnastics under the new rules.

THURSDAY, *June 20th.*—In the afternoon I reviewed



the 3rd Regiment of Hyderabad Cavalry. The men, horses, arms, and accoutrements looked exceedingly well, and the manœuvres and exercises were capitally executed. The review over, I called the native officers to the front, and made a short speech to them in Hindústání, briefly recounting the past services of the corps. The regiment had existed for fifty-one years, and during that period it had been engaged in thirty-four actions, of which twenty occurred before the Mutinies of 1857-8, and fourteen afterwards. Those before 1857 were for the most part local affairs, though even among them there were several places known to history such as Mahidpur in Málwá, Chándá on the Wardhá, Poona, and Karnúl. Those since 1857 were celebrated in the history of the great rebellion and were freshly remembered. They included Asírgarh, Mau (Mhow), Dhár, Ráwal, Madanpur, Mandesor in Málwá; Chandéri, Lahárá, Bétwá, Jhánsí, Kúnych, Kálpí in Bundélkhand, Gwálíor, Morár, 'Alípúr Jaurá; and lastly some places in the Deccan. After these events, hundreds of medals had been distributed among the men, no less than eighty Orders of Merit, and three Orders of British India. All the native officers then present were decorated men, and I congratulated them accordingly. I also reminded them of the benefit of the cavalry service, which always accepted the qualified sons of troopers, and thus made the employment almost hereditary, provided that a succession of fine young men presented themselves.

FRIDAY, *June 21st.*—The Bombay Government had



written to beg that the Nizám might be asked to dismantle the Fort at Raichúr, because the Railway Station was proposed to be put within musket shot of it! I replied I could not make such a request to the Nizám, which would be an infringement of His Highness's sovereign rights, and suggested that the site for the proposed Railway Station be fixed out of musket range!

I also took up the question as to whether the Contingent troops at Lingsagúr should be moved sixty miles eastward to Raichúr, so as to be on the line of Railway. I decided not to do so; firstly, because Lingsagúr Station dominated the Bidar country and Shúrápur, and secondly, because the move would involve great expense.

In the evening I dined with the officers of the Contingent at the Baláram Mess-house, when about seventy officers, hosts and guests, sat down to dinner. The Commanding Officer, Major Nightingale, told me that the speech I made to the native officers of the Cavalry, recounting their war services, had given them great satisfaction. Major Woodcock, commanding the 5th Regiment of Infantry of the Contingent, told me that a detailed inspection by the Resident "gave new life to the corps."

SATURDAY, June 22nd.—Early in the morning I went with Colonel Robertson, commanding the 21st Royal North British (now Royal Scots) Fusiliers, to see the kits of the men, which, as a rule had to be inspected every Saturday morning. The cleanliness and order which prevailed were remarkable, and also



the number of books which the men had about them. The little libraries and reading rooms attached to almost every company, besides the regimental reading room, indicated a more than average degree of intelligence among the men, of whom indeed fully nine-tenths were able to read and write.

After that I breakfasted with the officers at the Mess-house, the band playing the while.

Returning home I found a note from the Minister, saying that Jamsetjee refused the offer of pension, and requesting that he be desired to quit the Residency limits. I sent orders to the First Assistant accordingly.

SUNDAY, *June 23rd.*—In the afternoon Khandaswámi came to see me, and dilated on the extraordinary ignorance and isolation of the Mughal nobility and gentry of Hyderabad, who, he said, “lived in a dark place.”

MONDAY, *June 24th.*—In the afternoon I carefully examined the horses of the 3rd Cavalry of the Contingent, and was fairly satisfied with them on the whole,—especially with the newly-purchased remounts.

TUESDAY, *June 25th.*—I was chiefly occupied with business connected with the Hyderabad Contingent, especially the rate of pay and pension and the compensation claimable by the men for dearness of provisions.

I issued orders for the recall of the detachment of Native Infantry stationed at Wárangal in the eastern part of the Nizám's Dominions, as the Minister said that his Government had no objection.



WEDNESDAY, *June 26th.*—In the afternoon I went to see the large General Hospital at Secunderabad, and I was much struck with the unsuitableness of the building, in the erection of which so much money and labour had been expended. It made a worse hospital than many buildings of far inferior construction.

In the evening I dined at the Mess of the 21st Fusiliers. Several officers, returning from hunting parties, spoke of the improvement apparent in the condition of the interior of the country.

THURSDAY, *June 27th.*—In the forenoon I read up much of Col. Davidson's correspondence during the troubled period of 1857-S. I noted that the Arabs, though not overtly hostile, were of doubtful conduct, and would certainly have usurped the sovereignty of the Deccan if anything had happened to the British Power; and that when in 1858 Tántiá Tópí approached the northern border of the Deccan, the Muhammadan population, backed up, too, by the Arabs, were preparing to rebel in support of him.

FRIDAY, *June 28th.*—I proceeded with my reading up of the old records between 1839 and 1845.

SATURDAY, *June 29th.*—I went on reading the papers, and found that what I had previously considered the weak and vacillating orders of the Supreme Government in respect to the reforms urged by General Fraser, were caused by apprehensions entertained by it, which I believed were misplaced, and thought that more might have been done with the Nizám. Unless General Fraser had known himself to be strong enough to



carry out his measures, he would not have proposed them.

SUNDAY, *June 30th.*—I observed to Col. Briggs that from the old records I believed that Lord Ellenborough attributed the neglect by the late Nizám of General Fraser's injunctions about the banker Fúdar Má', to the low ebb to which British authority had then sunk by reason of the Afghán disasters. Col. Briggs thought that the Nizám was not thereby disposed to resist the Resident, but that his conduct must have been governed by local considerations.

In the evening I received a report of the sudden death of Dr. Pemberton, the Residency Surgeon.

MONDAY, *July 1st.*—In the morning I rode from Baláram to the Residency at Chadarghát, to see how Dr. Pemberton came by his sudden death, and found that he had taken poison in a fit of mental and nervous depression. I heard that he had rendered himself much liked and respected by the Nizám's subjects in and about Hyderabad; and that in this respect he was one of the best among the many good medical officers who had filled the post of Residency Surgeon.

In the afternoon we buried him in the Cemetery close to the Residency gardens. The General Commanding the Subsidiary Force and many military officers from Secunderabad and Baláram were present. A firing party was furnished from the 108th Regiment, and the band played "the Dead March." Many natives of respectability attended, and among them some of the native gentry. Some natives also of the



poorer classes were seen crying at the grave. After the funeral I returned to Baláram.

TUESDAY, *July 2nd.*—Brigadier-General (Sir J. T.) Grant, Commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, came out to stay with me for a few days at Baláram. He pointed out to me the strategic defects of the new cantonment of Trimalgiri: the position, though good from a sanitary point of view, was commanded by the Chótá Múl Alí, or Imám Zámin Hill, and by other little hills. The plain too, was dotted over with granite boulders, just the things for Arabs or Rohélas, or other enemies, to hide behind. He would have placed the European force on the beautiful plateau close to the Baláram racecourse.

WEDNESDAY, *July 3rd.*—I heard from the Minister that Jamsetjee had departed in peace, and after tendering the fullest apology for his insolent and ungrateful conduct, had begged to be allowed the pension, Rs. 700 a month, which he had at first refused. He was ordered to reside outside the Nizám's Dominions.

I wrote to the Minister about getting the Nizám's great diamond out of pawn, by clearing off some old scores with the native bankers. I also wrote to him about deporting at once the Arab Sálíh *bin 'Akra*bí, a dangerous character.

THURSDAY, *July 4th.*—I continued reading Col. Davidson's correspondence during the outbreak of the troubles of 1857. It seemed lucky that the Nizám Afzalu'ddaula had just at that very time been recognised by the British Government on his accession, and



felt a tie of gratitude to us, which helped to keep him straight. The Sálár Jang was staunch, and hence had great difficulty in getting information, as the evil disposed would not trust him ! The number of armed Muhammadan fanatics likely at that time to rise, estimated by Col. Davidson at 100,000, seemed very great.

FRIDAY, *July 5th.*—I read a volume of letters addressed to the Government of India by Sir H. Russell when Resident, and saw that Chandú Lál, despite his subsequent bad conduct, must originally have had merit, and that he rendered great service in organizing the Nizám's contingent aid during the Pindárí War. No doubt he had a hard part to play then, and he did it well : still it is quite evident that Russell was towards the end much deceived by Chandú Lál, who persuaded the Resident that he was introducing measures of improvement, while really he was doing nothing, except play corruptly into the hands of Messrs. Palmer and Co.

I was struck by Russell's severe denunciation of the Nizám Sikandar Jáh, and of the great Ministers, the 'Arastú Jáh, and the Mír 'Alam. If he had been equally alive to the faults of Chandú Lál, it would have been better.

Russell's despatches are able and statesmanlike, and he seemed aware of the danger to our power from Muhammadan fanaticism, declaring that at the time when on the one hand there was trouble with the Peshwá at Poona, and on the other hand trouble with Apá Sáhib at Nágpur, the Nizám and his people were



in their hearts against us. One of his expressions is striking:—he wrote, “The Peshwá has just died in convulsions, the Nizám is dying comatose,” alluding, of course, to political death.

SATURDAY, *July 6th*.—I had an interview with Mr. Keay,* the manager of the branch of the Bombay Bank at Hyderabad. He seemed to have very extensive transactions with the *sáhuikárs*, or native bankers, and appeared to lament that the Mughal nobles would not deposit their hoards of money in *his* bank, observing that, as they got no interest, they were really living on capital. However true this may be in theory, I fear the Mughals would not trust the bank! He told me of absurd rumours being current in the City, to the effect that the Nizám refused to see his Minister and sent messages insisting on the abolition of the Courts of Justice!

I saw one of the Nizám's officials of the old Sadásheepet District. He said that the management had not been good, but was now improving, and that a money assessment for three years certain had just been made with each ryot.

In the evening I met Dr. Balfour, Inspector-General of Hospitals, who told me that he first saw the Deccan in 1839–40, when he went to join the Afghán War. At that time he thought the interior of the country was wretched, and considered that the improvement in agriculture within the previous few years had been immense.

* The Mr. Seymour Keay of subsequent notoriety.



SUNDAY, *July 7th.*—

MONDAY, *July 8th.*—I read up General Fraser's letters as Resident addressed to the Government of India, and was confirmed in my impression that the evils of that time were owing chiefly to obstinacy of the Nizám Násiru'ddaula, who persisted in trying to govern without the slightest notion of how to do it. Some of Fraser's invectives against the misconduct of the Nizám and his Government are almost Demosthenic in their force and vigour. The Nizám would have given in to General Fraser's remonstrances if the Government of India had backed up the Resident. But there was hesitation on the part of Lords Ellenborough and Hardinge: partly because they did not believe the British Government to be locally strong enough to enforce obedience, an idea fully refuted by General Fraser.

TUESDAY, *July 9th.*—I finished the perusal of Gen. Fraser's correspondence, and I found that the confidence which the General at first reposed in the character and ability of the Suráju'l-Mulk, the Minister, was first weakened and then shaken altogether. It seems that the Suráju'l-Mulk spoke fair enough, but either would not, or could not, act.

When Gen. Fraser retired from the service he seemed to be so disgusted with the conduct which the Nizám had pursued for years, that on going away he did not "apply for an interview with the Nizám":—in other words, he would not even wish him good-bye!

WEDNESDAY, *July 10th.*—I was chiefly occupied with Berar affairs.



During the day I had some correspondence with the Minister about the decision of cases connected with the people belonging to the Railway Department. I found that the Railway passed through the Págh jurisdiction of the Shamsu'l-Umará, and intimated that we must insist on the Shamsu'l-Umará appointing proper native officials on the spot in the same way as was done in the districts directly under the Minister.

THURSDAY, *July 11th.*—In the morning I rode over to Kíshara, a large village twelve miles from Baláram to the east, a stage on the road towards Wárangal, and returned home by ten o'clock. The road from Baláram is pretty, winding underneath granite ridges.

The village is situate near the foot of a great globular mass of granite, about 200 feet high. The rock is ascended by a flight of steps cut in the stone, and there are some old temples at the top, and a spring of water with beautiful water-lilies. The view is extensive. One can see to the well known conical hill of Bhawánígír to the east, and can also with a glass make out each one of the barracks on the Trimalgiri ridge, and each one of the public buildings at Baláram. The Múl Alí Hills, both the lesser and the greater are, of course, visible from this point.

FRIDAY, *July 12th.*—I went to look at the sacred buildings at 'Alíwál close to Baláram, and found the priests' houses there much dilapidated. I saw, too, some aged Rájput guards on the gateway, who said that they were originally placed there by the Minister



Chandú Lál, but were now kept up by Rájá Nárindar, the Péschkár, or Deputy Minister.

I had an interview with the *vakíl* of the Shamsu'l-Umará in order to urge the appointment of proper persons on the spot within his great *jágír* to decide disputes connected with the Railway works.

SATURDAY, *July 13th.*—In the morning I went over the barracks of the 108th Regiment, it being the day for the regimental inspection of kits.

After that I went over the Orphanage at Secunderabad for Eurasian boys and girls, and then visited the Anglo-Vernacular School for the native youth of Secunderabad itself. I found some ninety boys present. The upper classes read and wrote well, and passed an excellent examination in the Geography of India. The institution was under the patronage of, and was mainly supported by, the Nizám's Government, and was further looked after by two Madrásí *mudaliyars* of Secunderabad, named Sómasundram and Rámanújam. After the examination I reminded the elder boys of their obligations to the Nizám's Government.

SUNDAY, *July 14th.*—Early in the morning I attended service in the Church built many years ago by Paranjudi, an enterprising Madrásí gentleman of Secunderabad. The service, attended entirely by native Christians and their children, was read in the Tamil language, exactly according to the English *Rubric*, and the singing of the *Psalms* was really very fair. The architecture of the building, especially the interior, was in a very respectable style.



MONDAY, July 15th.—I rode, accompanied by Major Woodcock, to Dundigal, a large village, ten miles from Baláram, and a *jágír* of the Sálár Jang, who sent some tents and servants to receive us. This *jágír* was originally obtained by the Minister's grandfather, the Muníru'l-Mulk, about the beginning of this century. I noted some extensive repairs and improvements in masonry work being made to the dam and sluices of the largest of the two tanks in the village.

We were pitched in an enormous mango grove extending over several square miles; the trees however were somewhat scraggy and stumpy. The grove is said to be at least as old as the Kutabsháhi Dynasty of Golkonda, under whom about forty small mosques were built in the village. On the other side of the tank there was a small, but very fine, grove of banyan and tamarind trees. The place must once have been much larger than it was then, but it was still a finely cultivated estate with beautiful soil.

I saw the *déshmukh* of the village, who was also the *patél*. I also saw the *déshmukh* of Sídhípet, a large village some miles off.

We were attended by the *ta'lukdár doyam*, or second assistant *ta'lukdár*, of the Médak District, of which the headquarters were at Singarédpét. He said that the civil staff of the district, which had a revenue of eleven *lákhs* of rupees, was a *ta'lukdár* or magistrate and collector, a *ta'lukdár doyam* and a *ta'lukdár soyam* (third *ta'lukdár*)—which last officer was in charge of the treasury—and four *tahsildárs*; the district being divided



into *tahsils*, or subdivisions, much as in British Territory. The *talukdár* received Rs. 800 a month, the assistant *talukdárs* Rs. 400, and the *tahsildars* much the same pay as in British Territory. He added that there would have soon to be a fifth, or temporary, *tahsíl* to comprise the Bánswára *ta'luka*, lately resumed from one of the Arab Jama'dárs, and brought under the direct administration of the Minister; which item of news was very satisfactory. This second *talukdár* was a Maráthá Bráhmaṇ, who had formerly been employed in the Assigned Districts as a *tahsildár*, and on the whole, so far as I could make out, there seemed to have been a fair amount of organization carried out in this district.

The people showed me some of the cloth manufactures of Sídhípet.

TUESDAY, *July 16th*.—The real burst of the monsoon commenced. It had rained all the previous night and it rained nearly all day. In the evening the sky wore every appearance of masses of vapour and moisture.

I went from Baláram into the Residency at Chadarghát in the evening.

WEDNESDAY, *July 17th*.—In the forenoon I went with the Minister to present certificates to five young men, who had passed at the recent examination at the Nizám's Medical School at Chadarghát. There was a delay in the Minister's coming, because he had not received the Nizám's permission in time;—however, the permission came at last, and the Minister arrived.

Arriving at the School, I presented the diplomas to



the young men, and afterwards I addressed them and the other students in Hindústání, reminding them of the debt of gratitude they owed to the Nizám's Government for having thus had them educated, and to the several Residency Surgeons for having taken so much pains with them. After that several men who had passed at former examinations, and some of whom were in capital practice, were presented to us, as were also the principal native gentlemen at Chadarghát.

The Minister then lunched with me, and after lunch we had a conversation on public affairs. I asked him why there had been a delay in getting the Nizám's permission for him to come with me. He said the fact was that several messages on other subjects had been passing between himself and his master on the two preceding days, and he had not liked in consequence to prefer any request to His Highness, consequently he had not asked leave till that very morning, hence the slight delay. The messages in question first related to three dreams which His Highness had had:—two relating vaguely to his relations with the British and one to the Vikáru'l-Umará, brother to the Amír Kabír. In one of these messages was conveyed to the Minister the following remark: "You obey the orders of your master, and never you mind whether the kingdom goes well or goes badly:" (*ri'úsat sadháre yá bigáre*). To this the Minister, after the usual Hindústání professions of obedience, replied: "If anything is to be done to the injury of the kingdom, I hope I may not be made the instrument." On receiving this message in reply



His Highness waxed wroth, and said it was just like the Minister's pride and obstinacy, &c., &c. Whereon a conciliatory reply was sent and the matter dropped. The Minister did not seem alarmed, but said it was only that the Nizám thought it just as well to trouble his Minister a little (*satáná*) now and then, to keep him in order.

He added that recently the Nizám had done two things which tended to good. He had turned out the intriguing Madrásí *fakír*, already mentioned, and had declared that Jamsetjee was a *shaitán* (devil), who richly deserved the expulsion he had got. The Minister repeated that the Nizám was not so troublesome as some of his predecessors had been, and mentioned another good point, that he did not cherish anger long, though the suspiciousness of his nature was ineradicable.

He also said that in a few days he was to have the Bi'smi'llah* ceremony performed for his daughter; that he hoped the Nizám would be present; that His Highness had been present on two such occasions in his family previously; and that he was going to solicit this favour of him now.

I asked him if it were true that the Nizám had ever sent any message about dismissing the judges of the Civil Court, and he said that there was no foundation for such a report.

* The ceremony of teaching a child to repeat the sentence, 'Bi'smi'llah'rrahmání'rrahím, In the name of God the merciful and compassionate,' is performed when it is four years, four months and four days old, with much pomp.



I asked him if he had seen a pamphlet about the claims of the Nizám; he said that he had not, adding that he would not let his people have anything to do with such publications, as papers praising up the Nizám did more harm than good, and only made His Highness's Government look ridiculous.

I asked him if he had taken any steps to have a committee to fix the remaining debts of the Nizám's Government, so as to get the Nizám's great diamond out of pawn; and he said that he was taking steps for this purpose.

He spoke further about insisting on the Shámsu'l-Umará establishing proper jurisdictions in the Págh Jágírs, and acknowledged the advantage of recognising the full authority of the great Págh *jágírdárs* within their *jágírs*, as that would keep them aloof from, and prevent their sympathising with, the petty *jágírdárs*, whose scattered jurisdictions it was desired to consolidate under one uniform police system.

He then asked me my opinion on two points of improved organization. Firstly: would it be well to reduce the number of members of the Hyderabad Board (Majlis) from five to two, and to divide the fourteen *zila's* of the Deccan into three circles, placing one of the three discharged members of the Board over each of the three groups, in much the same position as Commissioners in the British Provinces? Secondly: would it be well to separate police supervision from the Board, confining that body to revenue matters, and, instead of the plan then existing, to have a well-selected



Head of the Police Department at Hyderabad? I said that, at first sight, I thought that both these plans would be good, but that I would think it over further and let him know the next day.

I then urged him to try and make a tour and judge of the interior of the country for himself; but he replied that the Nizám would never willingly consent to his leaving Hyderabad; that His Highness' prejudice in this respect was inflexible, and that this was one of the conditions imposed on him when the recent rupture was patched up—to the effect that he should not leave Hyderabad.

He then alluded to the bother there would be in getting the Nizám to agree to give up certain small villages that fell within the limits of the Trimalgiri Cantonment; but he admitted that this was inevitable.

I admitted the many difficulties that loomed before him, but I advised him to keep up his courage and learn that difficulties were only made to be encountered. He said that if only his master would give him even the least support, he could manage everything, but that there was the rub!

THURSDAY, *July 18th.*—I wrote to the Minister to say that on consideration I thought both of his administrative projects just mentioned would be very good, and offered a few brief remarks as to details.

I wrote to Sir G. Yule at Simla, to ask what he thought of the idea of my asking the Nizám to let the Minister go on circuit in the interior of the country, and I put the pros and cons of this.



FRIDAY, *July 19th.*—The Shamsu'l-Umará's *vakíl* came to speak to me about the civil arrangements of the Págh Jágírs, and I found that the Amír Kabír had appointed proper officials on the spot to look after this territory to some extent only. I urged the *vakíl* to beg his master to remedy the deficiencies, and wrote to the Minister to say I had done so.

SATURDAY, *July 20th.*—I saw Khandaswámi, one of the Minister's servants, who told me that his master had received rather a gracious message from the Nizám about the Bi'smi'llah ceremony. The Nizám did not exactly promise to come, but said he would let him know in due time, and Khandaswámi remarked that the moral effect of the Nizám's coming would be good, and would shut the mouths of people who spoke against the Minister.

I saw 'Azim 'Alí, the agent of the Mutahavvar Jang, the Jágírdár of Murádpur, who spoke of his master's *jágír* as being separate from the Díwání; meaning, I suppose, that the jurisdiction, police and civil, pertained to the *jágírdár* and not to the Díwání, or general administration of the country.

SUNDAY, *July 21st.*—Colonel Mainwaring, Quarter-Master-General of the Subsidiary Force, stayed with me, and showed me on the map how from the remarkable eastern bend of the river Manjhérá, about thirty miles north-west of Baláram, at a point near Lingampali, a canal might be conducted to water Baláram, Trimalgiri and Secunderabad.

MONDAY, *July 22nd.*—I took a small party of ladies

and gentlemen to visit the rock of Múl Alí, a sacred Muhammadan shrine about three miles from Baláram. At the shrine itself was an Arab guard, belonging to the force of Jama'dár Abdu'llah *bin* Shams, in the immediate service of the Nizám. The men seemed shy at first and surprised to see me, but they really were civil enough, and their *cháus*, or subordinate native officer, was a good-looking man. Some of them were real Arabs, and some were country-born; some had been a long time in the Deccan, and others had only been there a year or two. This would seem to show that, after all, Arabs were still from time to time imported into India for the Nizám's service.

I then saw the tomb and surrounding garden of Chandájí, who appears to have been a celebrated dancing girl at the Hyderabad Court, and to have died in the reign of the Nizám Sikandar Jáh, leaving vast wealth. This all escheated to the Nizám, who, however, refused to be the residuary legatee of a courtesan, and the avaricious old Minister Chandú Lál took it for the secret service department of his government. The woman Chandá, they said, was very handsome—moon-faced—and styled Mahálákhá; was educated, and used to dance, not only before the Nizám, but before the Peshwá at Poona, and also the Bhonslá Rájá at Nágpur, receiving always immense presents. They added, that there had been a difficulty in preventing the Nizám from placing her in his harem with some sort of marriage ceremony; that she was treated with high consideration, outriders accompanying her when she went out, and



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fore what was the use of talking about satisfactory arrangements? Nothing of the kind was possible in these times. The Sálár Jang admitted all this, merely adding that he was most fully aware that the Nizám's Government could not do without the Contingent. This he said emphatically. He remarked, however, that before the last treaty the expenditure on it by the British Government had been on an extravagant scale. He then asked me to return the draft, marking the passages which I would recommend to be omitted. This I said I would do.

After dinner the conversation turned on various subjects. The Minister spoke of the anxiety felt on account of the monsoon rains hanging off so much; adding that to the north and west the accounts were good, but not so to the east and south.

He said he hoped that the Nizám would come to the Bî'smi'llah ceremony, but that there had been a message to inquire whether he had told the Resident that the Nizám would attend?

I asked him why the Nizám delayed to give an answer about the Vikáru'l-Umará? He said that probably His Highness rather liked that the Vikáru'l-Umará should remain in seclusion, for thereby he was kept altogether apart from the Minister, and that the Nizám was constantly afraid lest the Minister should combine with the Shámsu'l-Umará party! I pointed out the absurdity of the idea, which the Minister admitted, saying that it was just like the suspiciousness of the Nizám and the absurdity of the Hyderabad people.



On some further conversation occurring, the Minister told me that the Nizám and the Court wished to keep the Resident as unacquainted as possible with the Muhammadan nobility of the country. I again pointed out the absurdity of the notion, but I rather feared that the Minister seemed to think that it was reasonable!

He said lastly, that he had begun to work the committee for the settlement of the debts of the Nizam's Government.

It was near midnight when I left the Minister's house to return home.

SATURDAY, *July 27th.*—I received a visit from Aghá Muhammad Shústrí, the President of the Majlis, who informed me that they had proved some forty cases of bribery against the Názim Jang, the *ex-ta'lukdár* of Wárangal; but that it was believed that the Nizám would try to save the man from being punished. I told him to do his duty, on the assumption that the Nizám would do his also when the time came.

I had a letter from the Minister to say that he had commenced a system of Forest Conservancy.

I sent back the draft reply to the Secretary of State* to the Minister with amendments.

SUNDAY, *July 28th.*—In the afternoon I had a visit from the Mukaddam Jang, son of the Saifu'ddaula, *alias* 'Abdullah *bin* 'Alí, the great Arab Jama'dár. The father was very old, half blind, and seldom able to go out, but was still very influential. The son, whose Arab name was Muhsin *bin* 'Abdullah, was a pure Arab, so he

* See above on the preceding page.



said :—at least his mother, as well as his father, were from Arabia. I avoided politics and chiefly talked to him on matters of no consequence. He was not a bad looking man, of youngish middle-age. On taking leave he professed the willingness and obedience of his father, himself, and his party to the Nizám's Government.

MONDAY, *July 29th.*—Early in the morning I sent the Second Assistant to explain verbally to the Minister that I still hoped that the Nizám's Government would give me every fair opportunity of becoming acquainted with Muhammadan nobility and gentry of the country. The Minister promised that this should be done. I was by no means sure, however, that it would, for this was the one, and so far the only, point on which I was dissatisfied with the Sálár Jang. It is a piece of traditionarily bad policy to keep the Resident secluded and in the dark as regards the real character, individually and collectively, of the upper classes. I feared that the Sálár Jang either gave in to the prejudice, or else concurred in it.

Later in the day I got a note from the Minister to say that, on consideration, he thought he would not send any reply at all to the Government of India, and would cancel the draft altogether.

TUESDAY, *July 30th.*—I spent the day at Sarvanagar, a place belonging to the Minister about four miles from the Residency, where I was attended by Khandaswámi, a *mansabdár*, and one of his principal servants, as above mentioned. This place, not far from the hill on which



stood Raymond's tomb,* had long been a favourite resort of the successive Ministers of the Nizám, and former Nizáms had also stayed there for a few days, a palace of theirs being still kept up.

In the afternoon I went out to Sáhíbnagar, a place some four miles further on, where was a summer-house of the Minister. Also a deserted indigo factory, a concern got up some years previously by the Ogilvy family in the service of the Minister. The speculation failed because the indigo plant, though not bad, was not found to grow well enough to make the thing pay. I also looked at some ruined buildings apparently never finished, which I was told were commenced by the Kutabsháhí dynasty, who abandoned the place and moved to Golkonda, since so well known. Khandaswámi said that Golkonda was occupied by Hindús before it was taken up by the Muhammadans.

· WEDNESDAY, *July 31st.*—For some days past there had been anxiety at Hyderabad about the monsoon rains, which had been scanty all through July, and which culminated on this day, as there was to be a new moon; the natives seeming very hopeful that the moon would bring rain. Towards that evening, sure enough, rain clouds did gather up!

An officer of ability and experience told me, as the result of his experience, that he was convinced that the object of the Minister in getting up the Reformed Troops was to substitute them for the Contingent; that

* This is much venerated by the people of Hyderabad, who pronounce the name of Monsieur Raymond as Mussú Rám.



this ultimate object would be veiled at present, and that the card would only be played as proper occasion might offer.

THURSDAY, *August 1st.*—On waking I found it raining pretty hard, but the clouds cleared off towards noon; a little rain, however, falling towards evening.

In the afternoon I had an interview with Faiz Muhammad, one of the Shamsu'l-Umará's *ta'lukdárs*, who lived at Hyderabad, delegating the management of his districts to subordinates. He gave me a list of these subordinates, and I remarked that both their powers and their salaries seemed small. I wrote to the Minister an account of this interview.

FRIDAY, *August 2nd.*—The Shamsu'l-Umará's *vakil* came to see me to-day, and I again impressed on him the necessity of having proper arrangements made for the management of the districts in the interior. He said that his master was attending to this, and had obtained a copy of the rules in force in the districts immediately under the Minister. I asked him if his master would attend the Bi'smi'llah ceremony at the Minister's on or about the 20th August, and he said that all the Shamsu'l-Umará family would attend, if the Nizám went, but not otherwise.

In the afternoon I received a visit from the Bah-rámu'ddaula, a near relation of the Minister and already mentioned, who proved to be a polished man of long experience in the Deccan, recollecting the Residency since the time of Sydenham. He was reputed to be a man of open and amiable disposition, and of some his-



torical lore respecting the history of the Deccan. I did not ask him much about politics in this our first interview, but probably he did not trouble himself much about such affairs. He said that he enjoyed his *jágír* in comfort under the shadow of the Nizám's Government, which was protected by the British.

SATURDAY, *August 3rd.*—The rains came down well in the night, and the Músá near Hyderabad was in flood.

In the afternoon I had an interview with Maulaví Jamálu'ddín, the Chief Judge of the Díwání (Civil) Court of Hyderabad. He was a Madrásí Muhammadan once employed as a law officer in the Salem District, and he ought, therefore, to have been a competent man. He said that the work was hard and the number of cases decided by his Court very great, and that for execution of decrees against influential persons, it had to rely on the Minister's executive authority. Nevertheless, I gathered from him that decrees were sooner or later executed, and that even the Arab chiefs were not able to offer any open resistance to the Courts, though they might interpose delays passively. He said that the principal want was something of procedure and rules for proceedings. I asked why this was not done, as the Minister was known to be favourable; and he said that the only cause could be fear of exciting the displeasure of the Nizám, who disliked everything of the kind.

SUNDAY, *August 4th.*—A despatch came in from a Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery, asking my leave to



prosecute a suit in the Hyderabad Courts, as assignee under the will of one of the deceased widows of the late Wanpartí Rájá. From the papers it was apparent that this Rání had some disputes with the other Ránís : that in order to carry her point she had been opening communications with various European gentlemen,—some in the service of the British Government, others in the service of the Nizám—and that this was the old story of attempts being made to enlist “European influence,” as the phrase goes at Hyderabad. I determined that next day I would inform the Brigadier-General at Secunderabad of the applicant’s conduct, that meanwhile I would warn him instantly to cease from interfering, and that I would tell the Minister also. I understood on inquiry that the Minister had very properly resisted this attempted interference, and that he had warned the European officers in his service accordingly. However, I felt that I should be better able to judge of the Artillery Lieutenant’s blameworthiness when I received a reply from the General.

I received a despatch from the Government of India saying that on the whole, the exclusion of the Vikáru’l-Umará from the Residency and from being received by the Resident had better be maintained. I informed the Minister thereon that I did not wish him to move any further in the matter. I also rather inferred from the Nizám never having given the Minister any specific answer, that, contrary to expectation, His Highness did not now any longer wish this nobleman to be received.



MONDAY, *August 5th*.—Early in the morning, I paid the Amír Kabír a visit at his country gardens at the Jahán Namá, where I was received by the Amír Kabír himself and his nephew the Bashíru'ddaula.

The Amír Kabír looked much as usual—gentlemanly, cool-headed, sagacious, fairly disposed, and weak physically. The Bashíru'ddaula was in good spirits, two sons having been recently born to him, and was particularly polite and attentive. I did not talk to them much about politics, merely pressing upon them the necessity of appointing good men to exercise authority in the Págh districts, and observing that I did not want them to introduce English regulations in particular, but merely those sound and practical principles of Government which are common to all civilized nations. The Amír Kabír said that he quite acknowledged these principles, and that his Mughal nation professed them too, though of late years they had been neglected. Still he would try to revive them! All this is, of course, only the way of promising, with scant performance, which these people have.

Among the Amír Kabír's servants present was Muhammad Shukúr, one of the best known characters in Hyderabad, and supposed to be a great drawback on the otherwise good management of the Amír Kabír, a great enemy of the Sálár Jang, and an inveterate fomenter of intrigue. The man, though all smiles before me, looked the character given him.

On passing and repassing through the City I was struck with the muddy, squalid character of the



streets; qualities to be seen just then in full development, as there had been heavy rain on the previous night. I should add that the view from the top of the Jahán Namá terrace over the City and environs of Hyderabad looked lovely in the morning.

In the afternoon I went, accompanied by Khandaswámi, who acted among other things as a sort of public-works manager to the Minister, to see the channel which leads past Golkonda to the Hussain Ságar Lake. I was glad to see the canal filled to the brim with water fresh from the rains in the hills and flowing towards the lake.

TUESDAY, *August 6th*.—In the morning the Bahrám-u'ddaula came by appointment to see the Residency house and grounds.

I heard from the Minister to the effect that he would attend to my directions *in re* the Vikáru'l-Umará.

That day Khandaswámi came to see me, and I asked him, as an observer of events and much in the confidence of the Minister, what he thought of the Vikáru'l-Umará's conduct during the late disturbance between the Nizám and the Minister. He said that the Vikáru'l-Umará was at the bottom of it—not exactly desiring himself to be Minister, but intending this office for his son, Khurshéd Jáh, and that this was put a stop to by his elder brother, the Amír Kabír.

WEDNESDAY, *August 7th*.—I received a reply from the Minister, saying that the Nizám objected to sending the Mutahavvar Jang to see me, whom I had asked to see again, as I had happened to know something of him,



in former days. But, because he happened to be one of the servants of the Nizám, being employed in the Sarf-i-Khás Districts, His Highness would not let him come, feeling jealous! This was a strong instance of the strange jealousy in the Nizám's disposition. I determined, however, to see if I could manage to overcome the objection, which was really unreasonable.

THURSDAY, *August 8th.*—I heard a rumour of some slight gambling going on in the Baláram Mess, and set an inquiry on foot, quietly, with a view to stopping this at once, if it really existed.

About this time I heard an amusing story about the Bukhári *maulaví*.^{*} Calling on the First Assistant, Col. Stubbs, he said he was sick of judicial work at Hyderabad, and that he wished he could get back to Afghánistán and be employed as a spy, or anything in the secret line (*poshída*). This is just the Afghán character!

FRIDAY, *August 9th.*—During the whole week I had been much occupied with the preparation of the *Annual Administration Report* for the Hyderabad Assigned Districts (Berar). Also in preparing an elaborate reply to some questions put by the Viceroy in reference to the relative popularity of British and Native Rule, in reference to a speech in Parliament.

SATURDAY, *August 10th.*—I had a visit from Ahmad 'Alí, the Chief Judge of the Appeal Court at Hyderabad, whom the Minister believed to be hostile to his government, and to be otherwise of an indifferent character.

^{*} See journal of the 22nd April.



He was a man of apparently open and pleasing manners, and was a native of Súrat, but had lived all his life at Hyderabad and had entirely risen in the Judicial Department under the Minister, till at length he had got to the top of it. He seemed, before me, to be friendly to the Minister and even grateful; but such seeming cannot, of course, be relied on. He said that the Courts were fast improving; that the Nizám did not thwart them, but supported them (rather a strange statement that!);—that the only person who gave them real trouble was the Vikáru'l-Umará and his people; and that the Arabs gave them a little trouble, but not much.

I also received a visit from a pensioned Native Officer of the Hyderabad Contingent, who said that it was generally believed that there were great delays and arrears in the Courts of the City; that in one Court,—the Lesser Díwání Court—there were said to be eight thousand cases pending!! I thought, however, that there must be some mistake about that.*

SUNDAY, *August 11th.*—I received a letter from Sir G. Yule saying he quite agreed with me that the Nizám's consent ought, if possible, to be obtained to the Minister's making a tour into the interior, that he would ask the Governor-General to support me in the matter, and that he would write further.

MONDAY, *August 12th.*—I heard that there had been some play at Baláram for stakes rather more than the

* The real figures were, however, subsequently found to be 6,938!!

officers could afford, and told the Officer Commanding the Station, demi-officially, that he would be held responsible for preventing anything of the kind recurring.

Reports having been received of certain men of the 3rd Regiment Infantry, Hyderabad Contingent, at Ilichpur, having been committed for trial for having been concerned in a robbery, I wrote to the Brigadier-General Commanding the Force to know whether something ought not to be done to the native officers of the Regiment, who seemed as a body to have been very remiss.

TUESDAY, *August 13th.*—The Minister attended a musical performance at the Residency by the Secunderabad Amateur Choral Society, and was, I have no doubt, much pleased with the music! I had not time to talk with him on political matters.

WEDNESDAY, *August 14th.*—I was much occupied this day in preparing the *Berar Administration Report*.

I received a visit from Haidar Bég, the police officer, who said that his jurisdiction had now been finally fixed satisfactorily; that although there were many small *jágírs* within his limits, his jurisdiction in them, especially in large cases was never disputed; and that his work went on uninterruptedly.

THURSDAY, *August 15th.*—I was much occupied this day in preparing my reply to the questions put by the Viceroy about the estimation in which British rule is held by the Natives.

I went over the Chadarghát *bázár* all round the Residency, planning various municipal improvements,



and ordering various reductions in the police establishments.

FRIDAY, *August 16th.*—The Minister came to see me by appointment, as I wanted to consult him as to the reply I should give to some general questions put by the Governor-General regarding the estimation in which British Rule was held by the natives. I particularly explained to him the points wherein I believed that the natives were apt to complain of British Rule, and he concurred in all these; and assured me that he had often heard these very points complained of. He also suggested a few others, which I embodied in my report, citing his authority.

I asked him about the Vikáru'l-Umará, and he said that he thought he was still intriguing.

I again asked him whether Khandaswámi was right in supposing the Vikaru'l-Umará to be at the bottom of the late troubles; and he said that the real origin was the Nizám's dissatisfaction at the Minister being made a K.C.S.I., and at the Extradition Treaty being proposed. He denied that the Nizám was inclined to shelter the Názim Jang, the corrupt *ta'lukdár*, from justice; but he said that the Nizám himself was the real cause of the tacit and indirect opposition met with by the Courts of Justice.

SATURDAY, *August 17th.*—I had a visit from the Amír Kabír's *vakíl* Fakhru'ddín, and I complained to him of the delays in notifying the arrangements made for the civil administration in the districts of the Págáh jurisdiction near the line of Railway.



During the day I finished my reply to the questions put by the Governor-General.

SUNDAY, *August 18th.*—The reply came in from the Artillery Lieutenant, who tried to justify his interference, and, in answer to my question as to whether he had been induced to this by any valuable consideration, he said he had not; but then he went on to say that the Rání had, unknown to him, bequeathed him a certain sum! I regarded this as a serious matter touching British honour, and considered what steps to take.

In the afternoon Ibráhím Jama'dár came to see me, and said that his case in the City was being decided satisfactorily, and that it was before the Kází and not before the Courts! It was not clear to me why a civil suit was taken away from the regular Courts and made over to the Kází.

MONDAY, *August 19th.*—I finished off the last parts of the *Berar Administration Report*.

Padamsí Nainsí, the native banker, came to see me, and said that he had heard that the Minister was bringing up the accounts of the old debt of the Nizám's Government, and that the amount would be a crore (*karór*) of rupees! This must have been an intentional exaggeration. Alluding to Chandú Lál, this man said that that Minister had "plundered the people, and then spent the proceeds in almsgiving!" A tolerably sarcastic remark!

I ordered a letter to be addressed to the Minister, asking his views about the Artillery Lieutenant's



case, and let him see from the tone of my remarks that I was prepared to support his Government against illicit influence.

I also heard from the Brigadier-General Commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, that he would remind all the Officers of the Force of the standing orders against their entering into any unauthorized communications with the Nizám's Minister or Officers.

TUESDAY, *August 20th.*—I received a letter from the Minister to say that the Nizám agreed as a special case and as a favour (!) to let the Mutahavvar Jang come to see me, though His Highness objected as a general rule to let such persons see the Resident. I doubted whether this was right on His Highness's part, but as I had told the Minister distinctly that I dissented from this idea, I did nothing more just then.

I wrote to the Minister, giving him a sketch of the *Administration Report of the Deccan*, which I proposed sending to the Government of India according to their request.

I also wrote to the Minister urging him to quietly commence improving the City of Hyderabad without offending Muhammadan prejudices, and warned him of the danger of epidemics arising from the filthy state of the City; especially if they should spread to the European troops.

WEDNESDAY, *August 21st.*—I received at last a visit from the Mutahavvar Jang. He was a stout, good looking man of the regular Mughal build, and said that



his father came from Shíráz to Hyderabad, and was then employed by the Nizám's Government as a *ta'lukdár* on a large scale; and that his own son was now employed as a *ta'lukdár* under the Minister. He himself had been sent to meet Mr. Bushby, the incoming Resident, in 1852, at Bezvárá on the Masulipatam Road, and Col. Davidson, when coming as Resident in 1856 at Sholapur. From what he said about his son chafing under the new rules and system, I saw just a trace of the regular Mughalái opposition to the Sálár Jang. He spoke of the small pay now allowed to a *ta'lukdár*, and of what seemed to him to be the fine percentages and perquisites allowed to *ta'lukdárs* in former days. He seemed to quite enjoy the idea of the wealth and power which those men once possessed, without thinking of the abuses to which the system must give rise. He seemed quite to see the absurdity of the Nizám's jealousy about his visiting me.

THURSDAY, *August 22nd*.—I received a letter from the Minister saying that he would gladly furnish all the information required for my *Report on the Deccan*. I had rather feared from his last conversation that he would hesitate to do this, for dread of his master the Nizám.

FRIDAY, *August 23rd*.—I received a letter giving me a very unsatisfactory account of the arrangements made by the Shamsu'l-Umará for the civil jurisdiction in the Págáh Districts, seeming to show a desire on his part for evasion and delay. I wrote to the Minister re-



monstrating about this, and distinctly repeating my request for specific information.

SATURDAY, *August 24th*.—I wrote to remonstrate with the Minister about the Arab Sálíh *bin* 'Akrabí not having left the City as ordered, as I learnt that he was still there.*

I also sent an Assistant to breakfast with the Minister and ask him with some particularity as to how far the present Nizám did, or did not, take any part in public affairs, in order that I might answer a query put to me thereon demi-officially by the Governor-General.

SUNDAY, *August 25th*.—I heard from Khandaswámi that there was now good hope that the Nizám would attend the Bi'smi'llah ceremony at the Minister's, and that it was arranged that the latter should attend His Highness the following morning to convey the formal invitation. This seemed satisfactory.

MONDAY, *August 26th*.—I heard in the morning that after all the Minister had not gone to see the Nizám, and thence perceived some hitch must have arisen. And then I heard from Lieut. Tweedie that it was known that the Nizám had at the eleventh hour decided not to attend the Bi'smi'llah.

An Assistant also brought me the Minister's reply to the queries as to how far the Nizám himself discharged any public functions. The substance was, that the Nizám himself did no work or business in any shape whatever, though he was always enquiring quietly about the Minister's conduct of the administration, and by

* See journal for 3rd July ; p. 155 above.



verbal conversations exercising considerable influence and prestige. I wrote to the Governor-General to this effect.

TUESDAY, *August 27th.*—I got a note from the Minister to say that the Nizám had finally decided not to attend the Bi'smi'llah ceremonies on the ground of ill-health. The Minister added that His Highness was so unwell that his mother had been sent for to nurse him!

I also had a visit from Khandaswámi, who said that the Nizám, though ill, was not so ill as to be unable to attend, and that His Highness had been going about during that very day among the extensive precincts of his palace. He said that what had really occurred was in this wise. Early on Monday morning the Nizám sent a message to the Minister through the *vakíl* in the regular way, to the effect that he had dreamt that the Minister had come with all the troops to surround the palace, and had wanted to take him into custody for being an alchemist (*kímiagar*), and that there was a European in the crowd, on an elephant, whose face was not distinguishable. The Minister sent a soothing reply, but after that the Nizám again sent a message to say that he would not come to the Bi'smi'llah, assigning no reason, except indisposition. Considering the confidential position which Khandaswámi held about the Minister, I had to assume this report to be authentic. It was doubtless one of those signs whereby the Nizám indicated dissatisfaction politically.



WEDNESDAY, *August 28th.*—This was the day of the Bi'smi'llah ceremony, and I sent the Minister a gigantic bouquet of flowers from the Residency gardens, together with a Persian letter couched in the usual florid terms of Oriental congratulation. The previous practice had been, I understood, to send flowers to the Minister in masses, from the Residency Gardens, without any particular arrangement of colours. This time, however, I had the flowers arranged so as to set off their colours, and had them surrounded with every kind of variegated leafage both from shrubs and creepers. This bouquet was sent in a painted tub, the sides of which were, however, concealed by the hanging leaves. It was very large, and it measured 7 ft. 3 in. in circumference at the base, and 4 ft. 9 in. in height! I sent the Mír Munshí with it in charge to present it to the Minister.

THURSDAY, *August 29th.*—In the morning I received a flowery Persian letter from the Minister, returning thanks for the bouquet. Khandaswámi also came to say that all the adherents of the Minister were much gratified, because it showed that the Resident held the Minister in distinguished regard.

In the afternoon the Shamsu'l-Umará, accompanied by his nephew the Bashíru'ddaula, came in state to see the Residency Gardens. I received them there and showed them over the grounds. The uncle showed much interest in the plants, and walked about much,—insisting on doing so, to a greater extent than he is generally thought capable of. The nephew also seemed intelli-



gent and anxious to show what he was made of. I took him to see the Residency Cemetery and shewed him the tombstones of distinguished persons: *i.e.*, persons of note in Hyderabad politics, such as Mr. Sydenham, Sir Wm. Rumbold, Mr. Bushby, Eric Sutherland, Hastings Palmer, and others. I found that he knew enough English to be able to decipher the inscriptions on the tombstones.

FRIDAY, *August 30th.*—Early in the morning I sent Lieutenant Tweedie to accompany General Grant, Commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, on a visit to the Amír Kabír's gardens at the Jahán Namá Palace. On that occasion the Amír Kabír quietly expressed to Lieut. Tweedie some apprehension about the Nizám's health. His Highness, he said, was suffering from hydrocele, and would take no advice, and that he had urged His Highness to employ one of the Muhammadan physicians from the Medical School, who would soon cure this complaint.

SATURDAY, *August 31st.*—I mentioned to Khanda-swámi what I had heard of His Highness's illness, and told him to do all he could with the Minister to get the Nizám to accept competent medical advice; but that such suggestion must be cautiously tendered, on account of the suspicious disposition of the Nizám.

I had a visit from Govind Ráo, a confidential servant of the Minister, and I asked him why the Nizám had not come to the Bi'smi'llah, and he said that the illness was only an excuse; that His Highness was not too ill to come; that if His Highness had been well, he



would still have given some excuse; and that the real reason was political dissatisfaction at the reforms introduced by the Minister. He said that this was the belief of the Minister's friends and adherents.

SUNDAY, *September 1st.*—A native officer formerly in the Hyderabad Contingent, but then in the service of the Minister, to whom he was related, came to see me. He was a travelled man and had been to Baghdád and parts of Arabia. I asked him what cause was assigned in the City for the non-attendance of the Nizám at the Bi'smi'llah; and he said that popular opinion pointed to the Nizám's dissatisfaction at the Courts of Justice being organised in the manner they were, at so many foreigners being employed, at the Muhammadan nobility being made to obey the law, and at grain not having been made cheap: also that the people supposed that the rupture of last spring had been healed up only on the Minister having made specific promises to attend to these things, which promises had not been fulfilled. He added that the City people said that the Amír Kabír's visit to the gardens on Thursday had been a pretext only; and that he had really come to the Residency on a political mission from the Nizám!

There was a heavy fall of rain during the day:—quite the best and most propitious we had had all the season.

MONDAY, *September 2nd.*—I wrote to the Governor-General, asking him whether or not I should ask the Nizám to relax the existing restriction on the Minister's going out on tours into the interior of the country. I ex-

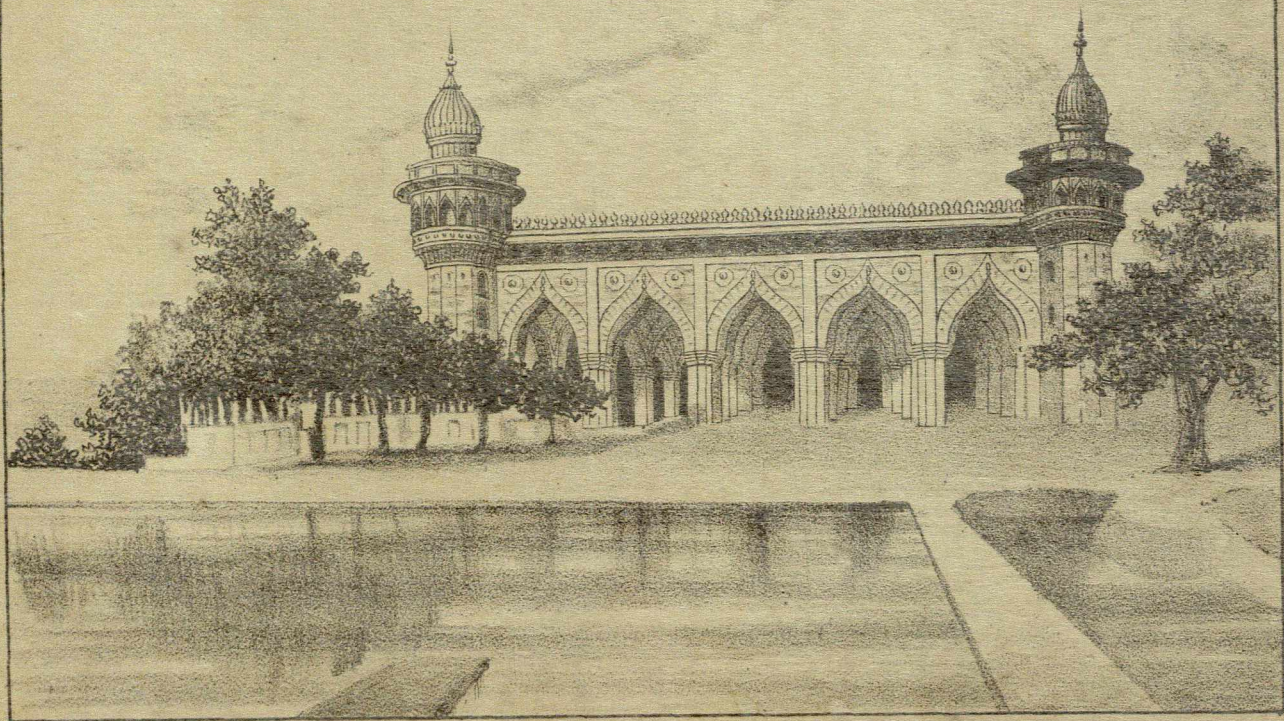
Hyderabad.

plained the pros and cons :—the pros being the great advantage these form to the administration and to the country : the cons being the difficulty of inducing the Nizám to agree.

I heard from the Minister to say that he had succeeded in releasing the Nizám's great diamond and other jewels from pawn with the native bankers, and had sent them to the Nizám, who had expressed himself pleased. I wrote to the Minister congratulating him on this financial result.

TUESDAY, *September 3rd.*—In the afternoon I went accompanied by Khandaswámi to see the feeder canal enter the Hussain Ságar Lake. The water was rushing in merrily, and the lake had risen three feet within the three previous days.

Coming home we passed a grove and garden, regarding which Khandaswámi told me the following story. It belonged to Bálmukand, well known in Hyderabad as one of the most influential and unprincipled of the officials of the evil times, and when he died his son inherited his property. The Nizám's advisers told His Highness that the father must have made an immense fortune during his long tenure of office ; and that the son ought now, on succeeding, to pay up a large sum to him. The man was accordingly called on to pay, but he either would not, or could not, do so. Thereon Arabs were sent to sit upon him and worry him. He fell into despair and killed himself and his son. Thus he died childless, and this grove and garden lapsed to the Nizám to whom it then belonged ; but Khandaswámi said



The Malika Mosque & Tombs of the Nizams at Hyderabad.



that the Nizám was sometimes troubled with the recollection of the affair, and that Bálmukand's son was supposed to have been turned into a wizard, or devil, who would come some day to carry His Highness away!

WEDNESDAY, *September 4th*.—I went early in the morning to see the feeder-canal of the Hussain Ságar Lake, as it passed near Golkonda, and found it full and flowing. After that I went, accompanied by Khandaswámi, to see an old tank, called the Drúg Taláo, and an aqueduct which used in old times to supply water to the citadel of Golkonda, and stayed the day at the well-known tombs of the kings, which I had not seen since 1861.

I met a relation of the Minister, an agreeable conversable man, who was staying there for a change of air. He said that the Nizám's servants were neglecting the gardens and grounds round the tombs, which seemed but too true, and I asked Khandaswámi to speak to the Minister on the subject. The matter was a difficult one, however, as the place was looked after, not by the Governor, *i.e.*, the Minister, but by the Nizám's establishment personally.

In conversation Khandaswámi told me that the Minister had hesitated for some time about sending back the jewels to the Nizám, for fear of their being given away to some unworthy person; but that lately His Highness had become more careful, and that my note had roused the Minister's attention to the subject. Khandaswámi added, that when the Nizám received the jewels he expressed no satisfaction at his Minister's

good conduct. The Minister, on hearing this, merely said that he had done his duty, and that he could only hope that His Highness was satisfied.

THURSDAY, *September 5th.*—I heard from the Minister about the Págh jurisdiction. He sent a list of the *ta'lukdárs* and deputy *ta'lukdárs* appointed by the Shamsu'l-Umará and the Vikáru'l-Umará, saying that if I approved of it demi-officially, he would send it up officially. I wrote back to say that the list would do all right, and begged that, with certain amendments, it might be submitted officially. I thought in my own mind, that if I could only get this done it would be a great point gained, as being a lever whereby I could apply moral force for the good management of the Págh districts.

FRIDAY, *September 6th.*—I heard from the Minister that the Arab Sálíh *bin 'Akrabí*, above mentioned, had departed from Hyderabad as ordered.

I heard from him further about the exploration of the Upper Godávarí within the Nizám's Dominions. He seemed afraid of a measure committing his Government to the undertaking of important irrigation works, but seemed willing enough to do anything, so long as it was in a small way.

SATURDAY, *September 7th.*—In the afternoon Bhagwán Dás, a very clever and intelligent Native Banker, came to see me, and I asked why it was that the Nizám had not attended the Bi'smi'llah. He gave exactly the same account as those which I have already recorded—namely, the popular belief that the Nizám was dis-



pleased with the Minister for establishing Courts of Justice, for employing foreigners, for refusing to interfere in the price of grain, and the like. He was himself convinced that the Nizám was not ill-disposed, but was only misled by the interested representations of those about him—for instance, those who hated the Courts of Justice, not from any abstract regard for justice and injustice, but from a fear of the restraint which such institutions would impose on their own proceedings, would whisper in the Nizám's ear that the Courts failed in rendering justice and often actively caused injustice. He added that the non-attendance of His Highness at the Bi'smi'llah thoroughly confirmed the popular belief that the Nizám in his heart disliked the Minister.

SUNDAY, *September 8th.*—Khandaswámi came to see me in the morning, and said that the Minister believed that the Nizám was now determined to adopt the treatment of the Muhammadans, who had been educated in the Medical School. In reference to my previous remark to him,* about the suspiciousness of the Nizám, he said the Minister had remarked that this suspiciousness only extended to political matters, but did not so much affect their private relations, and that he could offer to the Nizám advice upon private matters of this kind without reserve. He also said that the Hussain Ságar Lake had risen five feet within the previous week.

A native banker also called, who told me that the

* See journal for 31st August, above p. 190.

accounts of the harvest were good everywhere, and that even many of the tanks had filled.

MONDAY, *September 9th.*—A confidential servant of the Mutahavvar Jang came, who said that his master was particularly pleased with the interview he had had with me ; adding that he was well aware of the absurd difficulties raised by the Nizám in the matter.

TUESDAY, *September 10th.*—When out riding in the morning I saw some of the Cavalry and Infantry of the Minister's Household Troops, which were quite distinct from the Reformed Troops. They were under the command of the Ghálib Jang, the Arab Jama'dár.

In the morning Khandaswámi came to explain that the Minister hesitated to accept my invitation to Baláram. He would come with pleasure for one day, because he could do that without asking the Nizám's permission ; but if he had to do more than that, he would be away from home all night, and for that he would have to ask his master's permission, which he was unwilling to do, as during the recent rupture he had promised not to go out without His Highness's permission, which would, he feared, be granted with difficulty—so much so, indeed, that the very asking for it would put His Highness's back up ! All this, of course, disclosed an extraordinary jealousy on the part of the Nizám, showing that His Highness kept, or wished to keep, his Minister in this respect in a state of childish thralldom. I pointed out the unreasonableness of it to Khandaswámi, and particularly



referred to the old practice, whereby successive Ministers had been in the habit of visiting the Resident at Baláram.

In the afternoon a party of gentlemen, who were staying with me, went to see the Minister's stable and gardens. He received them himself, and honored them capitally; so they said.

WEDNESDAY, *September 11th.*—In the morning Rustamjí Vikájí, a *ta'lukdár*, came to see me, introduced by the Minister. He bore the character of being one of the best officials in the Nizám's service, and spoke in high terms of the Minister, and lamented the impossibility of reconciling the Nizám to him. He thought, however, that this ought to be possible. He went on to say that some of the people about the Minister rendered themselves unpopular with the Mughalái people, that is with the Muhammadan gentry. I asked which of them did so, and he said at last that Jamsetjee was one, and this no doubt was true, and that Mr. Charles, an Eurasian member of the Majlis, was another. He then went on to abuse somewhat the Majlis, the other *ta'lukdárs*, Govind Ráo of the Minister's household, and almost everybody, as if he wished one to suppose that he, the speaker, was the only man in Hyderabad fit for anything! He spoke English very well, having been married in England to an English lady. On her death he went to England again and married her elder sister. This last marriage took place in Switzerland, on account of the "deceased wife's sister" difficulty in England. He was a Pársí, but



his children were being brought up in England by their mothers' relations.

In the afternoon I went to see the School, or Madrassa, kept by the Nizám's Government in the City. It was really maintained, of course, by the influence of the Minister himself, and had its abode in a house immediately adjoining his. There were some 200 boys and young men in it, and various languages were taught—English, Persian, Arabic, Telugu, Maráthí. The masters were well selected; *e.g.*, the English Master, Mr. Shafter, was an Englishman, the Persian and Arabic Masters, were regular *maulavis* from Persia, and so on. The English instruction was certainly very good and so was the Persian. In fact, the reading and the style of some of the Persian students was much better than can be ordinarily met with. The Minister was present at the examination, and after it I stayed to dinner with him.

After dinner I had a long conversation with him on political matters generally. He said that the Nizám's dream on the morning of the Bi'smi'llah may have been a real dream, and that His Highness brooded over things, talking about them over night, and then naturally enough returning to them in his dreams. This might be true, but if meant as an explanation, it only made the case rather worse, and the dream even more significant!

He then went on to say that he had just received an odd message from the Nizám, to the effect that the Shamsu'l-Umará, the Amír Kabír, had been ap-



pointing "big-turbaned men" to important posts in the Pághá jurisdiction. The Amír Kabír and the Vikáru'l-Umará had sent to say that they had received from His Highness a similar message, and had replied that appointing big-turbaned men could only refer to Maráthí *pandits* (Bráhmans), who had no doubt been appointed to some places, but whose appointment was necessitated by the fact that they possessed the requisite qualifications. To this message, as usual, the Minister sent a soothing reply, and it appeared both to the Minister and to myself that it could only refer to the recent arrangements to appoint proper and qualified persons to the Pághá jurisdiction. The Minister feared that the Amír Kabír and the Vikáru'l-Umará must have themselves been stirring up His Highness *indirectly* on the subject. This was likely enough, inasmuch as, though these personages nominally made the arrangements, they themselves hated all change, and if they did not themselves make mischief, such men as Muhammad Shukúr and others about them would do so. So the Minister thought, and added, too, that men like Muhammad Shukúr would fear that, if a proper administration of justice were effected, the next thing attempted might be a supervision of fiscal matters, which would stop peculations and embezzlements by many people!

I asked the Minister if it would be of any use my warning the Amír Kabír of the evil reputé borne by Muhammad Shukúr, and he seemed to think it would.

Referring to the favourable impression made on me

by the Bashíru'ddaula, I asked the Minister what he thought about him, and he gave no particular answer.

He was evidently anxious about his master's disposition, and repeatedly asked me whether I could suggest any mode whereby he could please him and yet do his duty.

Recently one of the Minister's servants had been caught robbing, and had been made over to the Criminal Courts; but every one had laughed at the proceeding, saying that "as it was a clear case, why send the man to Court at all? why not iron him at once and cast him into prison?" The Minister mentioned this as an instance of the difficulty of making the Mughalái people understand the need of judicial action.

I asked him whether he thought there would be any difficulty in inflicting condign punishment on the great offender, the Názim Jang, and he seemed confident that the Nizám would make no difficulty.

He thought also that His Highness would give no trouble about the appointment of *sadr ta'lukdárs*, as this measure was connected with the partial break up of the City Board (Majlis), and as he disliked the Board quite unreasonably. I saw, however, that the Minister had been making unnecessary hesitation and delay in bringing out the important measures connected with the *sadr ta'lukdárs* and the head of the police. I knew that I should learn in time what the cause of this was, but at the moment I attributed it to dread of his master. Many days previously he had written as if he had



done these things; that is, he wrote that he had made such and such appointments, but that the men to be appointed had not yet been informed!

I asked him about Govind Ráo, and he said that he was a quiet inoffensive man.

THURSDAY, *September 12th.*—In the afternoon I sent a gigantic bouquet of roses with a flowery Persian letter to the Nizám. Its dimensions were similar to the one which I sent to the Minister on the occasion of the Bi'smi'llah.

I drafted a letter to the Governor-General of India, asking for an engineer to survey that portion of the Godávarí, which lay within the Nizám's Dominions, and sent the draft to the Minister, who expressed concurrence.

FRIDAY, *September 13th.*—In the morning a party of ladies and gentlemen went in my carriage to see the Minister's stables.

In the forenoon I visited the School for English and Eurasian boys at Chadarghát, and found it in a satisfactory condition.

During the night and in the forenoon there was a good deal of rain, and in the afternoon the river came down in flood—so much so that the Chadarghát cascade was almost obliterated. This was the heaviest flood so far seen during the season.

In the afternoon the Minister came by appointment to see the Residency Gardens, and as it was the regular night for throwing open the Gardens to the society of Chadarghát, the band of the Reformed Troops

played. I showed the Minister all the plants and shrubs, and he seemed much interested. The same could not be said of the Arab Jama'dárs who accompanied him. These were the son of 'Umar *bin* 'Aud or the Barak Jang, the son of 'Abdu'llah *bin* 'Alí or the Saifu'ddaula, the Ghálib Jang, and several of their near relations and others.

The Minister dined with me afterwards, but I had not much opportunity of talking to him about politics. He said, however, that since his reply to the message about the "big-turbaned men," the Nizám had been silent, and this he seemed to think satisfactory.

Most of the officers of the Reformed Troops were present in the gardens.

SATURDAY, *September 14th.*—I received a Persian letter from the Minister conveying the Nizám's acknowledgments of the big bouquet of roses. Khanda-swámi also came to say that His Highness had been much gratified, had sent for it into his seraglio, had shown it to the Begams, and had asked all manner of questions as to how it was put together.

SUNDAY, *September 15th.*—This being the day of *chihla* ceremonies, that is, those on the fortieth day after the birth of Bashíru'ddaula's two sons, in the family of the Amír Kabír, and a day of rejoicing for them, I sent an immense bouquet of flowers, of the same dimensions as those previously mentioned, together with a Persian letter.

In the afternoon Ibráhím Bég came to see me, and said that the common belief in the City was that the



heavy flood in the river of Friday had been caused by the bursting of the dam of some tank higher up the river.

MONDAY, *September 16th.*—Early in the morning I went, accompanied by Haidar Bég, the Minister's Police Officer, to see various municipal improvements, which had been made in the neighbourhood of the Residency *bázárs*.

In the forenoon I received a letter from the Amír Kabír in Persian, sent by his own *vakíl*, thanking me for the bouquet of flowers.

There was heavy rain all the afternoon and evening.

TUESDAY, *September 17th.*—I got a telegraphic message from the Governor-General asking if the Nizám would agree to a Madras Native Infantry Regiment from Secunderabad going to Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency, to relieve a Bombay Regiment required for the Abyssinian Expedition. I also sent to the Minister to ask the Nizám about it; but he first thought it was enough to ask him without referring to the Nizám. I would not agree, however, to this. At nine o'clock I got the Minister's answer, to say that the Nizám agreed to the regiment going to Sholapur.

In the afternoon I went with Khandaswámi to see the channel feeding the Hussain Ságar tank, and found it full of water and running merrily.

WEDNESDAY, *September 18th.*—Early in the morning I drove with the Minister and his nephew to Secunderabad. First we met the General and his Staff at the Public Rooms, where we showed the Minister the



Library and the maps; then we took him to the General Hospital for European soldiers; then to the soldiers' reading room; then to the military prison, where we showed him both the cells and the prisoners, and explained to him the discipline, &c. We next took him through the interior of the barracks of the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers, which were in beautiful order, Colonel Robertson showing us over most kindly. After that we saw the regimental reading room, and then a class, under an instructor, went through gymnastic exercises, which showed great physical power in the men. The Minister and his attendants, especially the Arab chiefs, looked on quite edified. Lastly, we breakfasted with the Officers at their Mess, the band playing, &c.

After breakfast we went over the engines, machinery, and workshops of the Public Works Department, showing the Minister and his party the immense logs sawn by steam, and all the elaborate carpentry done by the "general joiner" machine. After that we went over the new double-storied barracks then being built for the Artillery at North Trimalgiri, from the tops of which we saw a splendid view of the great cantonments of Trimalgiri. Thence we went on to the Residency at Baláram, which we reached at noon.

In the afternoon I took the Minister in my carriage to see a short review of the Baláram force (Hyderabad Contingent), and he was particularly pleased at the appearance of the Cavalry. The setting sun shining over the green grassy plain and the glittering troops made a very



pretty sight. After the review I introduced to him the Native Officers—the European Officers he knew before. Then I drove him in my carriage through the Artillery lines and stables, and thence home by the town of Baláram to the Baláram Residency, where he dined with me, driving back after dinner to Hyderabad. This must have been a hard day's lionising for him, but I could not prevail on him to stay another day quietly at Baláram. He seemed much pleased and diverted by all he had seen.

Khandaswámi came to see me, and I told him that very few native noblemen had had the advantage of seeing the interior of the barracks of a first-rate European Regiment, as his master had had during the day.

In the afternoon and in the evening I had some conversation with the Minister about political matters. He said that the Nizám had at first hesitated to give an immediate answer about the regiment going to Sholapur, but, when pressed, gave an affirmative reply, adding that he should hold the Minister responsible that this was all right according to the Treaty.

The Minister seemed very anxious about the present temper of the Nizám, lamenting that it was impossible to obtain his master's confidence, and saying that this Nizám, though in many respects better than his father or grandfather, was yet more suspicious in temperament than any of them; saying, too, that he was worse off in one respect than Chandú Lál, because that Minister had friends at Court and adherents even in the Nizám's palace, whereas he had not a single friend

anywhere about the Nizám, and indeed was prohibited by his master from having anything to say to the Nizám's people.

He then told me that the Díwání (Civil) Court at Hyderabad was not in good order, and was clogged with arrears; that countless claims were brought before it, because there was no expense and no stamps, &c. I asked him why he did not have stamps, and he said the difficulty was chiefly this:—that if a man laid a claim and got a decree there was no certainty that the decree would be executed, because, not only were individuals among the Nizám's relations inclined to set themselves above the law, but also many others, such as the Arab Jama'dárs and the Shamsu'l-Umará people were inclined to do the same. Therefore, he said he hesitated to have stamp laws. This was not, of course, a very conclusive reason; but he went on to say that he still thought of having stamps as a reasonable source of revenue. In that case, however, he would have to ask the Nizám, which he did not relish, because His Highness, though appreciating the increase of revenue, would dislike this particular resource, simply because it savoured of the English.

In reference to the correspondence about cleansing the City of Hyderabad, he said the real difficulty consisted in the opposition of the Kótwál, or head of the city police, who hated improvement, and who, though appointed by the Minister looked up to the Nizám direct, and was really beyond the Minister's authority. He promised, however, to do something in this matter, though



here again the real difficulty was the Nizám. He added, that some years previously he had made an attempt to improve the City, which the Nizám resented and had never indeed forgiven.

I urged him to look a little sharp in bringing out the arrangements about the *sadr ta'lukdárs* and the new Police Department, and he promised to do so.

He said that the Vikáru'l-Umará was perpetually asking by messages to get the ban removed.

THURSDAY, *September 19th.*—I spent the day at Baláram, accompanied by Lieut. Tweedie, who said that he, too, had mentioned the Bashíru'ddaula to the Minister, who at once pricked up his ears. This struck me as odd, and as showing that, perhaps, the Minister was jealous of the Bashíru'ddaula. In further conversation it was clear to me that Lieutenant Tweedie had also learnt in various quarters, as I had done, to the effect that the Nizam was getting more and more sulky with his Minister.

FRIDAY, *September 20th.*—In the morning I went with Major Price, the Chief Engineer, to inspect the new barracks being built for the Artillery at Trimalgiri.

In the afternoon I received the native officers of the Contingent Troops at Baláram, and I asked them about reliefs. They admitted more frankly and fully than I should have expected the desirability of having these every three or four years, saying that the sepoy benefited thereby, and was not at all troubled or put to undue expense if the reliefs did not take place oftener.

SATURDAY, *September 21st.*—In the afternoon I went

over the arsenal and magazine at Secunderabad, and arranged with the General that the Minister should have an opportunity of seeing it.

A native banker came to see me who said he had been at Secunderabad ever since its first establishment, and described the rapid growth of the place to me.

SUNDAY, *September 22nd*.—The Sálár Jang had expressed a desire to make a present to the soldiers of the 21st Fusiliers, whose barracks he had visited. After consulting the General, I replied that if he did anything in this way, it would be better to give some small present of books to the Soldiers' Institute, which would be then available for the whole force.

I saw Padamsí Nainsí, the native banker, who said that the accounts of the harvest and crops on all sides were good.

MONDAY, *September 23rd*.—I received the Governor-General's reply to my reference about the Minister's going on tour, to the effect that, although this would be most beneficial to the country, yet, if the Nizám could not be got to agree to it without strong pressure, he could not well take any decided action. On this I determined not to move in the matter further, for I had no hope that the Nizám could be got to agree, by any persuasion which I could ordinarily use.

Sayyid 'Alí, a servant of the Shamsu'l-Umará, came to see me. He had been under me at Nágpur, and I asked him whether there was any talk in the City about the Nizám being discontented with the Minister. He said the rumours which have been mentioned as



prevailing since the Bi'smi'llah ceremony, had gained ground within the last ten days; but that the truth of the Nizám's sentiments could not be known, and that these rumours were derived from the tales spread by the women about the palace, who were regularly paid for their information. He added, that the Nizám had held the Amír Kabír as security for the Minister's good behaviour, and that His Highness was displeased with the Amír Kabír as well. He went on to say that the Vikáru'l-Umará was most anxious to get the ban of his exclusion from the Residency removed.

I saw Faiz Muhammad, who said that the reports of the harvest and crops were good.

In the evening I met Khandaswámi, who told me it was reported in the City that the Nizám had refused to see the Amír Kabír, which rather corroborated what Sayyid 'Alí said.

TUESDAY, *September 24th*.—Early in the morning I rode out on a brief excursion to Farrukhnagar, about thirty miles on the Karnúl road. I passed through the City on my way, and near the Nizám's Palace I was struck by the frightful amount of filth in the roads and streets, all which might have been easily cleared away at slight expense, without causing annoyance to any one and without offending any prejudice.

I passed by Shamsábád and found the Amír Kabír's people waiting there, but did not stop, and got to Farrukhnagar in time for breakfast. I met one of the police officials employed under Haidar Bég, the Zila'dár, who said that he had a certain sort of jurisdiction in

the *jágírs*, though sometimes the *jágírdár* was a sort of go-between and buffer; and that he was obliged to step more cautiously in the *jágírs* than in the districts directly under the Minister. He complained much of the Arabs, of whom there was a small party posted in Farrukhnagar, as being troublesome and disobedient.

Farrukhnagar was in the *jágír* of Rájá Nárindar, the Peshkár or Deputy-Minister. The Rájá's *náib*, or deputy, met me on the road, and the townspeople received me very politely. I rested the day in a bower in a garden belonging to 'Azim 'Alí Khán, which was tastefully fitted up. 'Azim 'Alí Khán was an agent of the Mutahavvar Jang, one of the Nizám's *ta'lukdárs*, and had his headquarters at Mujáhidpur some miles off. The garden at Farrukhnagar was his private property.

In the afternoon I went to see a large tank in the neighbourhood, which I found half full only.

At night I slept in the traveller's bungalow on the high road at Farrukhnagar.

WEDNESDAY, *September 25th.*—Early in the morning I went to see the extensive temples built by Rájá Narindar's father, Bálá Prashád, a well-known man in Hyderabad politics and the son of the Minister Chandú Lál. As the family were originally Sikh Khatrís of the Panjáb, there were, of course, Sikh as well as Hindu priests in the temples.

I then went to see a sacred hill in the neighbourhood, called Rámésarkúta. From thence one could see a large tract of country, in which, as elsewhere, the



tanks seemed only half full. The amount of culturable waste, though dotted over with villages, and with groves of tamarinds, seemed immense—thousands and thousands of acres! I asked why the country was not more cultivated; and they admitted that no doubt most of the upland ground of the undulations (*chalká*) was culturable and would grow millets and pulses (*punás*), though rice could only be grown in the hollows watered by tanks. They said that occasionally there was some increase of cultivation.

'Azim 'Alí Khán told me in conversation that the Nizám had made over the Sarf-i-Khás *ta'luka* of Mujáhidpur to the Mutahavvar Jang, who in his turn had made it over to him as deputy; that he really managed the *ta'luka* and represented the Civil Government therein, deciding disputes, arresting criminals, &c.; that he was frequently in the *ta'luka*; that, however, for a large part of the year he lived in the City, some thirty miles off; that he kept a sub-deputy on the spot for petty cases; but that in every serious case he was obliged to go himself to the spot. This roundabout arrangement did not sound good, but might have worked pretty well, as 'Azim 'Alí Khán was an active and practical man. He said that he had had a dispute with the Minister some years ago about the misconduct of a certain Zamíndár, named Rámésar Ráo, but he admitted generally the Minister's merits; adding, however, his belief that sooner or later there must be a rupture between the Nizám and the Minister.

I stayed the day in the summer-house in the garden,



and left in the afternoon, returning twenty miles to Shamsábád, which I reached in the evening. I was received by Muhammad Shukúr on the part of the Shamsu'l-Umará. The town was illuminated, the leading native bankers were introduced to me, and I was put up most hospitably in the Amír Kabír's own house.

THURSDAY, *September 26th.*—Early in the morning I went out with Muhammad Shukúr and other officials of the Amír Kabír to look round the town, which is a walled one. It was originally built with four streets running out at right angles from the centre, and was tolerably clean.

After that I rode into Hyderabad and returned to the Residency, on my way stopping to look at the tombs of the Shamsu'l-Umará family. I noticed especially those of the Tégh Jang, the first Shamsu'l-Umará, and of the one who had died recently.

That morning at Shamsábád I took the opportunity of speaking to Muhammad Shukúr, who seemed just then inclined to listen to me, as he is reputed to be an intriguing character very hostile to the Minister. I explained to him that the Págáh jurisdictions near the line of Railway must be properly managed; otherwise cases would be always arising and there would be endless complaints. This he apparently admitted. I also explained that there was no intention of unnecessary interference, and that there was no other object in view save the honour and good name of the Amír Kabír's administration. He seemed to acknow-



ledge all this, and remarked that the Amír Kabír had submitted a programme of improved arrangements, which he was prepared to carry out immediately they were approved.

On returning to the Residency I received a visit from Dr. Wyndowe, the new Residency Surgeon, who had just joined.

Also Mr. Vere, the Deputy Commissioner of Customs, came to stay with me for a few days, and to take orders in detail about the new salt customs line to be carried round the Assigned Districts (Berar).

FRIDAY, *September 27th.*—Khandaswámi came to see me, and I told him to tell the Minister what I had seen of the remediable dirt of the City.

He said that no unpleasant message from the Nizám had been received by the Minister, but that His Highness had been trying to frame excuses for his conduct in not receiving the Minister on the plea of ill-health. It seemed certain that some aggravations of the ailment (hydrocele) had been apparent of late, and that the Nizám still hesitated to adopt any proper remedy, refusing the advice of Muhammadan practitioners trained in the Medical School. His Highness, it seemed, complained a good deal of physical distress just then.

I wrote a long letter to the Governor-General, the burden of which was that if he wished the Nizám to preserve anything of independence, we must try to induce him to make his government a good one; and that if left to himself His Highness would bring him-



self to grief and ultimately imperil his own independence.

I saw Lieut. Tweedie, who told me that in the City the reports still gained ground to the effect that the Nizám was desirous of bringing on a rupture with the Minister. I could not, however, so far discover any signs of it.

SATURDAY, *September 28th.*—Early in the morning I went with Major Thomas to see the logs of rosewood (*shísham*) and *babúl* (*acacia arabica*), belonging to his department, about 220 in number, placed in a tank to be seasoned, and understood that they all came from the forests in the Wárangal district, and the neighbourhood of the Pákhál Lake. The serjeant in charge told me that in the neighbourhood of that lake there were beautiful forests of *shísham* and *babúl* trees, which might easily be preserved, and were at present being cut in the most wasteful manner. I explained that the Minister was establishing a system of forest conservancy. The serjeant also said that in the spring and summer season he and his party found the neighbourhood of the lake quite free from fever. I afterwards wrote to the Minister to say what I had heard about the want of forest conservancy in the Pákhál Forests.

I heard from the General that orders had been received from the Military Department about the move of the 108th Regiment to Poona.

The Minister's official letter was received, sending the lists of the Págáh *talukdárs*, and asking if I



thought it all right. I replied in the affirmative, and that if the Shamsu'l-Umará and his brother only acted up to the arrangement there would be great improvement in the management of the Págh districts.

I wrote to the Governor-General explaining about the real position of the Arabs in the Hyderabad City and Country, also about the state and prospects of the Nizám's Reformed Troops.

In the afternoon there fell heavy rain, which seemed to be either the ending of the south-west, or the beginning of the north-east monsoon.

SUNDAY, *September 29th.*—Heavy rain, two inches, fell in the forenoon, being apparently the first sign of the north-east monsoon.

I received a visit from Mirzá 'Alí, a physician educated in the Chadarghát Medical School. He was a native of Shíráz, and I asked him what he supposed was really the matter with the Nizám. He said he had not seen the Nizám, but that he believed that His Highness was suffering from hydrocele with various aggravations, which could, if properly treated, be certainly cured; but which, if ignorantly treated as at present, would cause great inconvenience and ultimately render His Highness unable to walk about. He added, that His Highness would not consult any of the medical officers employed under the Minister, for fear of treachery; and that in this respect the suspiciousness of His Highness was almost beyond belief.

Hassan Raza', a judge of the Faujdári (Criminal) Court in Hyderabad, came to see me, and said that the



Díwání (Civil) Court was supposed to be heavily in arrears with its work, from which incubus it would never recover, unless some special arrangement were made.

MONDAY, *September 30th.*—Early in the morning I took the Minister to see the arsenal at Secunderabad. He was accompanied by several of his native officers, and, among others, by the Arab Chiefs, the Ghálib Jang and the Barak Jang. They were all shown over the arsenal, the stores, the gun-carriage shed, the armoury, and the workshops, and seemed much interested. The gun-carriage shed and the armoury in particular presented a fine spectacle, and I hoped that the moral effect on the Arab Chiefs of seeing all this material was good.

After that we breakfasted with General Grant, and returned to the Residency by noon.

There was heavy rain during the day, apparently pertaining to the north-east monsoon.

Before the Minister left the Residency I had a long conversation with him about political affairs, and he said that the Nizám was still suspicious, and had recently sent a message to know about three things:—namely, was there a fort being erected in Secunderabad? Was there a letter for the Nizám coming from the Governor-General? Was it the fact that the Minister had represented to the Resident that His Highness the Nizám was illiterate, &c.? To this the Minister said that he had replied as follows:—firstly, that only a sort of mud entrenchment was being put up round the



barracks, similar to what had been raised up during 1857; secondly, that he had no knowledge whatever of any *kharīta* from the Governor-General being on its way: thirdly, that he had never represented to the Resident that the Nizām was unfit, but that on the contrary the Resident had frequently expressed himself to the effect that the present Nizām appeared to be much better than either his father or grandfather had been. On receiving these assurances His Highness seemed much gratified, and continued talking for some time to the *vakīl*, the Tahniyat Yáru'ddaula.

The Minister seemed on the whole to be much better satisfied in respect to his master's disposition than he had been for some little time past.

I then told the Minister that it was commonly reported that the Nizām was dissatisfied with the Courts of Justice, especially with the *Díwání*, which was said to be overwhelmed with arrears. He replied that this Court had several thousands of cases in arrear, and that he would appoint a special officer to clear them off.

I spoke to him about the expediency of bringing out the orders soon about the *sadr ta'lukdárs*, and of obtaining the Nizām's sanction to the measure in general terms. This he said he would do, and he seemed sanguine that the Nizām would offer no objection. My impression, however, at that moment was that there was, for some reason or other, a certain degree of vacillation and dilatoriness about the Minister's proceedings in that matter.

TUESDAY, *October 1st.*—'Abdu'l-Karím, the Ta'lukdár

of Nalgúnda, came to see me. He was of an old *jágírdár* family in the Gantúr, now Kistna, district of Madras, when it was under the Nizám, and was a Muhammadan gentleman of refined manners and superior education. He gave me a great account of the tanks in his district, saying that many had been repaired to the great improvement of the revenue, but that many more might be repaired with advantage. He complained of the want of money and of professional resources for the repair of tanks, and described the business which devolved on him as head of the district as very heavy.

He then spoke with greater frankness than might have been expected about the Nizám's Government, and said that he believed, and that others believed, that the only chance which the Nizám's Government had of keeping its independence lay in its being a good Government. If it became a bad one, it would only follow the fate of Mysore and Oudh : if it remained as good as at present, the British Government would leave it alone. He condemned the Majlis-i-Málguzárí at Hyderabad as inefficient. He also said that during the recent disagreement between the Nizám and the Minister there was no great alarm among the ryots, but that the upper classes rejoiced.

In the evening I wrote to the Minister suggesting that he should send Mirzá Músá, or some such person belonging to his educational department, on a tour of inspection in the interior, and establish at Hyderabad a School of Engineering to teach the Mughal youth



a little practical science, so that they might serve under the Nizám's Government as Civil Engineers.

WEDNESDAY, *October 2nd.*—I went early in the morning, accompanied by a party of ladies and gentlemen, to visit the Mír 'Alam Lake.

Passing on an elephant through the City I was again struck with the accumulations of filth and water, and the natural facilities which existed for clearing these away.

Arriving at the lake, we were met by the Minister in his little steam-boat, named the *Deccan*, on which he had a band playing. In this we steamed about the lake, admiring the massive dam and the granite rocky hillock and islands. The lake, however, was not quite full, and did not yet overtop the dam and cause a sort of cascade, as is usual at this season. We then breakfasted in tents on the bank, the Nizám's troops, the horsemen, equipages, &c., making a very pretty scene.

We spent the day there, and in the afternoon again went on board the steamer to go about the lake, and then once more mounted on elephants on our way back towards the City. On the road we stopped to see a fine garden and summer-house belonging to the Arab Chief, the Ghálib Jang, the chief himself lionising the party about the place with more politeness than was to be expected of an Arab.

Lastly, by evening and dusk we passed through the City on our way back to the Minister's house. The long procession of elephants, the torchlights, and the crowd, altogether made a peculiar and even beautiful scene.



After dark, too, at that hour the streets are crowded, the usual squalor of the City is less perceptible, and those buildings which are fine stand out in stronger relief. All the way back from the Minister's house we were attended by a vast crowd, very orderly and respectful in its demeanour. The gentlemen of the party, including General Grant, commanding the Subsidiary Force at Secunderabad, seemed struck at the improved demeanour of the city crowd, and all were struck with the excellence of the Minister's hospitality at the Lake.

In the evening we dined with the Minister, and returned to the Residency.

During the day I had off and on a good deal of conversation with the Minister. He warmly approved of the proposal to have a school of engineering at Hyderabad, and seemed to appreciate the advantages even more strongly than I did, and declared himself much obliged (*mashkúr*) by the suggestion. He also said he would send Mirzá Músá on a tour of educational inspection.

I asked him whether he would object to any British money being spent on the road between Hyderabad and Kulbarga; and he said his Government would object, but that if any more surplus revenue from Berar should be given over, some of that might be so spent.

I asked him how cases of property came to be tried by the City Kází; and he said that this only occurred when the cases related to the Muhammadan law of inheritance, to marriage, divorce, and the like.

In the evening I spoke to him seriously about the



filth of the City, pointing out how easily it might be cleansed, and this, too, without offending any prejudice or interfering with any one. He admitted this, saying "*ho saktá*," and declared he would see to it. I complimented him on the improved demeanour of the Arabs, and suggested that he should urge the Arab Chiefs to teach their men the advantages of civility.

THURSDAY, *October 3rd*.—Rain fell again in the afternoon, altogether making up four or five inches since the 30th September, when the north-east monsoon began to fall. This, it was hoped, would be beneficial to the tanks.

FRIDAY, *October 4th*.—In the morning I met Haidar Bég, the Minister's police officer for the environs of the City, and expressed to him my satisfaction at the small return of heinous crime for some months past.

I saw Rustamjí, the *ta'lukdár* mentioned in the journal entry for 11th September. He had been recently employed by the Minister in arranging the details for the new *sadr ta'lukdárís*, and said that he thought the four divisions, or *sadr ta'lukdárís*, would not suffice for so large a country as the Deccan. He also thought that the pay which the Minister intended to allot to the *sadr ta'lukdárs* would not prove sufficient. In this, however, I feared he had an eye for his own interest, for he expected to get one of the *sadr ta'lukdárís* for himself! Still he thought the new arrangement would be a great improvement over the present plan of the Majlis-i-Málguzarí, which he condemned as inefficient.

I saw Govind Ráo of the Minister's household, who told me an amusing story about the Nizám, to the effect that His Highness was usually afraid to eat the food that had been expressly prepared for him, but was in the habit of going about at meal time from one lady's apartment to another, and eating from her dish! In this way His Highness thought to secure himself from the risk of being poisoned.

I sent to the Nizám an enormous bunch of Gindí (Madras) plaintains, having upwards of one hundred plaintains on one stem, together with a lot of flowers laid out on what is called a *chaman*, or tray of flowers.

I also sent in the usual official application in Persian to the Nizám for a farewell reception and interview, before my departure for Berar, which was fixed for the 21st October.

SATURDAY, *October 5th.*—Early in the morning I left the Residency for Ambáripet and Malkápur on the Masulipatam road.

I found that Ambáripet was once the *jágír* of the Nizám's mother, and that after her death it was brought into the Sarf-i-Khás, or Nizám's own jurisdiction, and by His Highness made over to the Saulat Jang, whose *náib* or deputy met me on this occasion. The *náib* said that the rental of this estate used to be Rs. 3,000, but had become Rs. 5,000 since the rise of prices : similarly another village named Amjyál near Baláram had risen from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 8,000.

At Hayátnagar near Ambáripet, I was struck with



an old mosque and a really splendid *báolí* (well), and found that half the estate was in *jágír* to the Vikáru'l-Umará.

In the afternoon I marched into Malkápur, attended by the *amín* or police officer of the road, who occupied much the same position as the official who had accompanied me to Farrukhnagar. He had all his police out, and they seemed in very fair order, both horse and foot. He said that he had full jurisdiction over the road, but only a partial jurisdiction over the villages along it, which were all in *jágír*. If, however, a crime was committed, he followed up and arrested the criminal, even into the *jágír* villages; but when caught the criminal was handed over to the *jágír* authorities, a report being made by the *amín* to his chief, Haidar Bég; or, if the *jágír* authorities declined to take charge of the prisoner, he was taken in custody by the police. This plan, if really followed, might not be theoretically perfect, but it might answer sufficiently well, without unnecessarily offending the *jágírdárs*, who were all persons of proverbial influence with the Nizám or his Government.

Halfway between Ambáripet and Malkápur lay Bhátí Singawáram, an important village.

Malkápur estate was the property of the Jama'dár of Náráyanpur, but the revenues were assigned to Daulat Khán, a Pathán in the Minister's service, for the keeping up of *sawárs*. He kept a *náib*, who did the civil and quasi-judicial work of the place. Commissariat cattle from Secunderabad were sent to this

place to graze. There was a fine *sarái* built by the former Minister, the Mír 'Alam, and the town nestled, as it were, in the midst of a number of low granite hills.

SUNDAY, *October 6th.*—Early in the morning I went to spend the day at Tumalgarhá (or Tumalagudiam), near the banks of the Músá. It was very hot—unusually so for the Deccan—and I stayed during the heat of the day in a beautiful tamarind grove.

MONDAY, *October 7th.*—I marched back to Ambáripet, and after breakfast had a conversation with 'Abdu'l-Karím, the *ta'lukdár* of the Nalgúnda district, about the repair of tanks.

In the afternoon I drove amidst pouring rain back to the Residency, and thence I went with the Mukaram-u'ddaula, the Minister's nephew, to see the gathering of Hindu worshippers and holiday makers at the Dasahrá festival.*

In the evening I got a note from the Minister, saying that he feared that the Nizám would have great difficulty in holding a farewell reception before my departure for Berar by reason of ill-health.

TUESDAY, *October 8th.*—I got a note from the Minister saying that the Nizám had replied to the application for an interview, to the effect that His Highness feared that the state of his health would render it impossible for him to hold a reception by the date fixed. This view was much backed up by

* This festival commemorates the classical war between Ráma and Rávana, as celebrated in the *Rámáyana*, and is the great Hindu military festival of the year.



the Minister. It was unfortunate, considering how important it was that His Highness should hold an interview if possible. So I thought it best to convince the Minister first, and wrote to him, saying that such a reception was justified, almost necessitated, by precedent, and that if it did not come off the effect on public opinion would be bad. I added, that I would send Lieutenant Tweedie the next morning to explain further verbally.

The rest of the day I was occupied in reading up various data and information furnished by the Minister for the preparation of my *Deccan Report*.

WEDNESDAY, October 9th.—Lieut. Tweedie went to see the Minister, and came back reporting that the Minister thought the Nizám's ill-health so troublesome that the application for an interview ought not to be pressed. I sent Lieut. Tweedie back again to explain that if His Highness should really be precluded by sickness from holding an interview, it could not be helped; but that if His Highness could possibly manage it he should do so, lest exaggerated rumours should get abroad about His Highness's illness and seclusion; adding, that His Highness's father, the late Nizám, deemed it so important to hold an interview with the Resident and the Minister, that he did so once when he was extremely ill. I urged that we would stand on no ceremony; that His Highness could receive us sitting or reclining, or in any way most convenient. Lieut. Tweedie came back with a reply showing that the Minister was at last convinced, and



would again urge the matter on His Highness's attention.

The rest of the day I was occupied in commencing the *Deccan Report*.

THURSDAY, *October 10th.*—In the morning I got a letter from the Minister to say that the Nizám was impressed with the considerations about the expediency of holding an interview, and he replied that if his health would permit, he certainly would endeavour to do so next week.

Lieut. Tweedie happened that day to be engaged to breakfast with the Amír Kabír, as a matter of courtesy, and I told him to take occasion quietly to ask the Amír Kabír to try and second the efforts of the Minister, so as to induce the Nizám to hold a reception. Lieut. Tweedie on his return told me that the Amír Kabír seemed thoroughly to appreciate the point, and had promised to use all his influence in the right direction.

During the day I went on writing the *Deccan Report*.

FRIDAY, *October 11th.*—In the morning the Shamshér Jang, the Jágírdár of Tándúr came to see me. He is of the family of Shahwáru'ddaula, one of the best in the Deccan. He was of very good manners, but no special knowledge. In the afternoon his relation, the Asghar Jang, the Jágírdár of Chitapur, came to see me. He was a capital specimen of a Muhammadan gentleman, but not much more. I explained to both that I proposed shortly to pass through their *jágírs* on my way to Kulbarga.



I was much occupied during the day in writing the *Deccan Report*.

In the evening Daulat Khán, the Jágírdár of Malkápur, came to see me. He was an ordinary respectable Pathán, of fairly good family.

I dined at Secunderabad and slept at Baláram.

SATURDAY, *October 12th*.—In the morning I looked round the station and town of Baláram and found them clean, and then rode to the General's house at Secunderabad, and was there occupied all day in writing the *Deccan Report*.

In the afternoon I went with General Grant to see the garden house, near the Hussain Ságar Lake, belonging to the Arab chief 'Abdu'llah bin 'Alí. He was very old and infirm and could not get out, but his son received us, and showed us about very politely. I noticed some of his men and asked what they did, and he replied that they looked after *ta'lukas*. This sounded odd, and I thought that some day I would ask the Minister about it, because I had understood that by recent reforms the Arab Chiefs had been made to give up all these *ta'lukas*, to the great relief of the ryots.

SUNDAY, *October 13th*.—Aghá Muhammad Shustrí, the President of the Majlis, came to see me, and talked a good deal about the land revenue settlements, which had been ordered some two years previously. It struck me that the progress had been somewhat indifferent, and that the supervision exercised by the Majlis had been rather weak.

'Azim 'Alí Khán, agent of the Mutahavvar Jang,



came to say that his master was representing to His Highness the necessity of receiving the Resident before his departure.

MONDAY, *October 14th.*—Amínu'ddín, the Minister's judicial secretary, came to see me and explain to me all about the original constitution of the Courts of Justice under the Muhammadan Government, and the judicial reforms effected by the present Minister. All this I embodied in the draft of the *Deccan Report*, on which I was occupied all day.

In the evening the Minister came to dine with me quietly, and afterwards we went together to a large evening party given by the First Assistant.

I had occasional conversation with the Minister on political matters, during which I found, rather to my surprise and disappointment, that what I observed during my interview with 'Abdu'llah *bin* 'Alí's son in the garden, was but too true in respect of *la'lukas* being still in several places under Arab Chiefs. 'Abdu'llah *bin* 'Alí had not very many, but the Barak Jang had several *lákhs* worth of country, and several other Dakhaní Muhammadans had small tracts. All these were called *tankhwáh jágírs*. The Minister admitted the abuse which thus existed: A. had to receive Rs. 1,000 pay (*tankhwáh*); instead of receiving this in cash, he took a village estimated to yield Rs. 1,000 annually, and then screwed say Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 extra out of the ryots, or in all Rs. 1,200 or Rs. 1,300. I remonstrated with the Minister as strongly as I could about it, and he promised to put an end to it by



degrees, adding, he thought his master would not object.

He said in the course of conversation that his Government had not raised their land revenue in proportion to the rise of prices and consequent increase of income to the ryots, as the Gáikwár and others had done, and that had he acted like the Gáikwár, he might have obtained an immense increase of revenue.

TUESDAY, *October 15th.*—The Minister sent to say that he had sent to the Nizám to inquire when an answer was to be expected about the reception of the Resident, and that His Highness had said he would give a reply by Thursday.

In the afternoon I went, accompanied by General Grant, to see the *bárádari* or summer-house which once belonged to the Minister Chandú Lál. It was really a very fine place, with extensive grounds and lofty buildings, where the Minister used to entertain former Residents, and other notables, and in this sense it had historical interest. There were two Linewálá Regiments, not Reformed Troops, drawn up to receive us, who presented arms, &c., remarkably well. The place was somewhat dilapidated, and was in the hands of Rájá Nárindar, the Péshkár, or Deputy-Minister, and grandson of the Minister Chandú Lál. The Péshkár was an intelligent but weak man, and did no real work, though he drew a salary of Rs. 10,000 a month. He received us in state on this occasion.

WEDNESDAY, *October 16th.*—In the morning Mr. Bowen, the Minister's Private Secretary, came at my

request to take to his master the draft which I had prepared of the *Deccan Report*.

Aghá Muhammad Shustrí came to see me again, to give me information about the land settlements, &c., and he explained all about the arrangements with the *zamíndárs*, the *ryots*, the *patéls*, the *déshmukhs*, the *pándyas*, and the like. He also told me about the annual settlements; and said that as yet engagements or *kauls* had not actually been given to the *ryots*, but had only been ordered to be given some two years previously. He said, that although the people had benefited much by the rise of prices, their revenue had been hardly raised at all, and that this was a proof of great moderation.

In the afternoon 'Abdu'l-Karím, the *ta'likdár* of Nalgúnda, came to take leave before going back to his district, and spoke very much of the excessive delays in sanctioning his proposals for the repairs of tanks, and also for carrying out a summary settlement. He was strongly in favour of the latter measure.

THURSDAY, *October 17th*.—Muhammad Shukúr's brother came to see me, to say that the Amír Kabír had urged the Nizám to hold some sort of reception.

The Minister sent a note to say that his *vakíl* had gone to the Nizám for an answer, and had been told to attend at nine o'clock the next day.

Maulaví Amínu'ddín again came to see me, and explained further about the constitution of the Courts of Justice under the old Muhammadan regime. He told me also about the various returns, judicial statis-



ties and the like, which his department received from the Courts which then existed. I urged him to look sharp and clear off arrears, &c.

Chitambar Ráo, the *mansabdár* and future *sadr ta'lukdár*, came with an introduction from the Minister, and said that he had long been employed under the Minister direct; and that he was to accompany me on my tour, according to custom, as *mansabdár* on the part of the Nizám's Government.

FRIDAY, *October 18th*.—Muhammad Shukúr's brother came to see me by desire of the Amír Kabír, to say that his master had strongly urged the Nizám to receive the Resident if he possibly could; and that he expected that His Highness would fix the following day, Saturday.

Sheo Lál, a rich *sáhúkár* (native banker), came to see me, and said that the inquiries ordered by the Minister into the outstanding debts of the Government would be tedious and probably protracted.

I expected that the Minister's *vakíl*, who had been instructed to attend at nine o'clock, would return at noon with news of the time fixed for my visit to the Nizám. As he did not come, I sent Lieut. Tweedie to the Minister to inquire, and the Minister replied that the *vakíl* had not yet returned. About three o'clock the answer came, to the effect that His Highness would receive me alone (*jarída*) at 11 A.M. on the following day, the 19th.

Rafik Yáwaru'ddaula came to see me, with his son. He was a Pathán chief, rather too much addicted to

making himself too common in the society of the Cantonment of Secunderabad. Before me, of course, he looked everything that was becoming, and I had him shown over the Residency gardens.

Khandaswámi told me that the Nizám had sent a message inquiring what the Minister's intentions were about the *sadr ta'lukdárs*, and rather complained that the Minister had not kept him informed. I must confess that the Nizám had reason in this, and I had over and over again urged the Minister to get his master's sanction; but he had put it off from day to day.

SATURDAY, *October 19th.*—Early in the morning I wrote to the Minister, giving him a compendium of the measures which we had been conversing about at different times lately—to wit, the arrears in the Civil Court of Hyderabad; the bringing up the settlement of the outstanding public debt; the bringing out the orders about the *sadr ta'lukdárs*; and the settlement of the new police department. In the afternoon I got a note from the Minister to say that he entirely agreed, and would see to all these things, and would try to settle them all before my return from tour.

At eleven o'clock I attended, quite alone as requested, at the Nizám's Palace, and was met first by the Mír Munshí, and then by the Amír Kabír, and conducted to the Darbár-room, on which a white cloth was spread, at the edge of which we took off our shoes. Off the Darbár-room was a small chamber called a *hujra*, and we were told that His Highness would receive us



there. As we approached the door of this chamber all the attendants were told to stand back, as the Minister and the Amír Kabír alone were to accompany me.

We walked in, and found His Highness recumbent on pillows, draped gracefully in silks and satins. He was apparently unable to sit up or stand up, and motioned to us three to be seated, and we sat accordingly, Oriental fashion, on the ground.

He began by asking after the health and movements of the Governor-General, which I duly explained. He then spoke of the harvests and the rain, and seemed glad to hear that grain was becoming cheaper all over India. He next asked me when I was going to Berar and when I should return, all of which I explained. Lastly he thanked me for the various bouquets of flowers which had been sent, and which he said were very fine. I then told him in various forms of Persian expression, that I thought it very kind of him to thus hold a reception when he was so ill; that I hoped he would ever regard me as a well-wisher, and that I should on my return find him quite recovered. He said: "Please God this may be the case." Then he signalled for *'atar* and *pán*, and after the usual salutations we withdrew.

The Nizám did not look weak or pulled down, nor exactly in pain, but his face had decidedly the expression of protracted distress and sleeplessness.

The Amír Kabír looked well, and his nephew the Bashíru'ddaula was not present as usual, on account of the death of one of his sons. The Minister, as he



always did on these occasions, looked pale and nervous—more so than usual.

I then returned to the Residency, and shortly afterwards Muhammad Shukúr's brother came to say that the Amír Kabír was pleased with the reception.

In the evening Khandaswámi came to see me, and I asked him why the Minister looked so nervous at the reception. He said because of the doubt which had been let fall as to whether the Nizám would in his present state receive any one save the Resident, and whether His Highness would not direct that the Minister and the Amír Kabír should wait outside.

There was no great crowd in the City as we passed to and fro, because of the heavy rain which poured the whole day.

SUNDAY, *October 20th.*—In the morning Khandaswámi came to see me, and said that at the last interview the Minister believed that the Nizám feared that some draft of a convention was going to be submitted to His Highness—indeed a message had been received enquiring about this. It was, of course, denied.

In the afternoon after church I drove out to Golkonda, and then rode on to Búlkápur, where there was an anicut* across the Músá River.

MONDAY, *October 21st.*—Early in the morning I arrived at a point where I met with Faiz Muhammad in a tent; also Chitambar Ráo, the *mansabdár* who was to accompany me on my tour.

* An anicut is a dam thrown across a river for irrigation purposes; the word is Tamil, *annaikattu*.



TUESDAY, *October 22nd.*—At daybreak I found myself still some ten miles from Chitapur. The roads were heavy and the ground wet, so I mounted a pony, and let the palanquin follow.

WEDNESDAY, *October 23rd.*—An hour before daybreak I started from Chitapur on an elephant, accompanied by the *ta'lukdár*, till we reached a river. I occupied the time in explaining to him the advantages of fixed money settlements with the ryots.

THURSDAY, *October 24th.*—Early in the morning I went from Mr. Brereton's house at Kulbarga to see the site of the old lake.

FRIDAY, *October 25th.*—Early in the morning I left Kulbarga *en route* to Sholapur on horseback.

SATURDAY, *October 26th.*—I spent the day at Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency.

SUNDAY, *October 27th.*—I spent the day at Sholapur, and in the evening I left for Poona by train.

I wrote a letter to the Minister about the *sijjádá-nishín** of Kulbarga.

MONDAY *October 28th.*—I spent the day at Poona in Mr. Mansfield's house, and in the evening I dined with Sir R. (Lord) Napier (of Magdala).

TUESDAY, *October 29th.*—I left by train for Akólá.

WEDNESDAY, *October 30th.*—I reached Akólá at three o'clock.

THURSDAY, *October 31st.*—

FROM FRIDAY, *November 1st,* TO WEDNESDAY, *No-*

* *Sijjádá-nishín* is the controller of a Muhammadan religious endowment



vember 13th.—I was touring about in the Berar Province, of which the affairs are civil rather than political.

THURSDAY, November 14th.—Leaving Básiṃ in Berar in the morning, I marched about twenty miles within Berar limits, and at a village called Bhándígáon, about six miles short of Hingólí, I got into the Párbhaní, or Zila' district, of the Díwání, or Minister's jurisdiction. I was here met by the *ta'lukdár awal* and his people, among whom were the *ta'lukdár doyam* and the *muhtamim-i-koṭwálí*, or district police officer, and a number of mounted officials.

FRIDAY, November 15th.—I spent the day at Hingólí, and early in the morning reviewed the troops of the Contingent stationed there, consisting of a squadron of a Cavalry Regiment, a Battery of Artillery, and a Regiment of Infantry.

SATURDAY, November 16th.—Early in the morning I marched for Sindagí, half way between Hingólí and Nándáir. The *ta'lukdár awal*, Muhammad Haníf, and the *tahsildár* of Aundá accompanied me as far as their boundary. The *tahsildár* was a young man of good Hyderabad family, and, though he promised well, he seemed then to be inexperienced.

SUNDAY, November 17th.—I spent the day at Nándáir.

MONDAY, November 18th.—I marched from Nándáir in the early morning for Madnúr.

TUESDAY, November 19th.—Early in the morning I looked round the town of Madnúr, which belonged to the *jágír* of the Peshkár, whose *náib* seemed to be a



competent and respectable man. The town was fairly clean and well kept, and seemed to have some traffic and to be a small cotton mart.

After that I marched for Kalairú, and on the way I passed through Bích Kondá, a place of evil fame for Arab outrages in former days. It was then held by the Ghálib Jang. His *náib*, a foxy-looking old Dakhaní Bráhmaṇ, and a small party of Arabs, chiefly *mawallads*, met me on the road. It was a walled town, situated close to some rocky hills, consisting chiefly of granitic boulders, with a quantity of fine rice cultivation in the neighbourhood.

After that I crossed a fertile plain till I approached a range of wooded hills. These were the hills of Kaulás, the Rájá of which, a Rájput, was a feudatory of the Nizám. A river issued from a small gorge in the hills, and at that point his fort and town were built. The road passed at a short distance off it, so that I could not see the position closely ; but it seemed to me to be very fine and picturesque. The Rájá was prevented by sickness from coming out himself, but he sent his Díwán, a Muhammadan, with a party of mounted officials to meet me. I then crossed the range, which was thickly covered with small timber trees, by a fair-weather road, which the Rájá's people had made for me, and then came on to an elevated plateau.

Passing by one or two fine tanks I got to Kalairú, where Rahmán Bég, a *ta'lukdár* in the Amír Kabír's service, of the Náráyan Khérá *ta'luká*, was ready to meet

us. The Amír Kabír had sent tents and breakfast there, and I stopped during the heat of the day talking to the *ta'lukdár*, the *désh mukhs*, the *déshpándyas*, and the local officials. The Amír Kabír's *vakíl* Fakhru'ddín, attached to the Residency, was also present. So far as I could see, the *ta'lukdár* appeared a competent man, and to have a pretty good system of administration. The *désh mukhs* and *déshpándyas* also seemed to be fairly good men.

Before reaching Kalairú I passed through one or two villages belonging to the Ghálib Jang, the Arab Jama'dár, and also by a village where the Zamíndár used to hire Rohélas and plunder. He was subdued by a force from the Hyderabad Contingent, and died in prison. His son was still living, and was a respectable landholder and presented himself before me.

In the afternoon I marched for Shankarámpet, where I again met a number of *désh mukhs* and *déshpándyas*, and the *ta'lukdár awal* of the Bidar Zila'.

Between Kalairú and Shankarámpet I passed through a walled village belonging to the Arabs. Shankarámpet is under the Díwání in the District of Bidar.

WEDNESDAY, November 20th.—Early in the morning I marched from Shankarámpet for Patancherú, accompanied by the Bidar *ta'lukdár*, a Dakhaní Bráhmaṇ of good and intelligent manners. He said he had once been *sarishtadár** to Mr. Maltby, Commissioner of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, and when half those districts were restored his appointment was abolished.

* *I.e.*, Clerk of the Court.



He then got employment under the Minister, and became *sarishtadár* to the Majlis at Hyderabad. Now that the Majlis was being reduced, and *sadr ta'lukdárs* were being appointed, and, again, his *sarishtadári* was abolished, he had been promoted to be a *ta'lukdár awal*. He was a promising man, and with him was the *ta'lukdár doyam* of Bidar, who was going to act as *ta'lukdár awal* in Raichúr. He was a Dakhaní Muhammadan of respectable family, but was a stupid-looking man.

Conversing with them both I reached Masalapur, the frontier of the Médak District, where we met the *muhtamim*, or superintendent of police of that district—a good looking young Muhammadan. He had just received the Minister's orders with reference to the constitution of the new police department.

THURSDAY, November 21st.—Accompanied by Khanda-swámi I set out at three o'clock in the morning from Patancherú for Baláram, driving in the Minister's carriage. We were met halfway by a *náib* of one of the Sarf-i-Khás *ta'lukas*, a respectable man, and we were joined on the road by 'Azim 'Ali Khán, the deputy of the Sarf-i-Khás *ta'lukdár*, the Mutahavvar Jang.

We reached Baláram by six o'clock, in time to get to the Múl Alí Races. The scene on the race-course was pretty, the great rock of Múl Alí standing up well in the distance, and the ground round being covered by the tents and the camps of the visitors to the races. Among the native visitors I observed the Rashídu'ddaula, the Mír Munshí to the Nizám.



FRIDAY, *November 22nd.*—

SATURDAY, *November 23rd.*—I attended the Múl Alí races early in the morning.

SUNDAY, *November 24th.*—I went into the Residency at Chadarghát to spend the day there.

MONDAY, *November 25th.*—I attended the funeral of the aged Mr. W. Palmer. The occasion was such as to arouse solemn reflections in the minds of those who were able to take a retrospect of his long career !

In the afternoon the Minister came to visit me, and asked me about the state of Berar and about what I had seen of his Díwání districts. I expressed general satisfaction.

I then asked him whether he could attend the races, both at Múl Alí and at Chadarghát. He said that he would be able to attend the Chadarghát races, but that he was afraid that the Nizám would not let him attend those at Múl Alí, and would advert to the promise which he had made in the previous March, to the effect that he would not leave the city of Hyderabad without his master's permission.

TUESDAY, *November 26th,* TO WEDNESDAY, *December 4th.*—

THURSDAY, *December 5th.*—Early in the morning I received a cypher telegram from the Viceroy offering me the Foreign Secretaryship, and authorising me to start at once ; but enquiring, in the event of my not being able to do that, when I could start. I replied by cypher telegram accepting the post with thanks, but saying that I could not start for some



three weeks, for reasons which I would explain by post.

I then wrote by post to say that I wished, if possible, to finish the *Deccan Report*, still unfinished, and to help the Minister in certain affairs then pending with the Arab Chiefs. I further wrote to beg that, if possible, I might retain my appointment at Hyderabad substantively until April next.

In the evening I went to Baláram to dinner to meet General Lumsden, Commanding the Hyderabad Contingent.

During the day I heard that the Vikáru'l-Umará was likely to try to bribe some of the Residency servants in order to procure an interview with the Resident. I sent for the principal Residency servants to my study, and warned them seriously to avoid falling into temptation.

Lieut. Tweedie went in the morning to breakfast with the Minister, and to ask him, at my request, whether on the whole he did, or did not, object to my availing myself of the Government permission to receive Khurshéd Jáh. Lieut. Tweedie came back to say that the Minister, so far as his opinion went, was against the measure; and that the Minister was anxious to know what my decision would be. I then wrote to the Minister to say that I should not move further in the matter without his concurrence.

That afternoon Lieut. Tweedie started for Bombay, *en route* for Abyssinia.

FRIDAY, *December 6th.*—I wrote privately to the



Minister to say that the rumours so prevalent about my departure were partly true, and to propose to dine with him the following day and explain verbally.

I got a note from the Minister acknowledging this last note, and also the note about Khurshéd Jáh. He thanked me for what I had said about Khurshéd Jáh, and agreed to my proposal to dine with him the following day.

Faiz Muhammad Khán, the principal *ta'lukdár* of the Vikáru'l-Umará, came to see me, and to bring a regular solicitation from his master to be re-admitted to the Resident's presence; or, if this could not be done, that his son, Khurshéd Jáh, might be admitted. I told him that under the orders, as they stood, the Vikáru'l-Umará at all events could not be received, and explained that the conduct of his party had been such, in former days, that it was difficult to divest myself of apprehension, and that confidence could only be restored by a long continuation of good conduct.

SATURDAY, *December 7th.*—Early in the morning I sent the First Assistant, Mr. Cordery, to explain to the Minister that my approaching departure rendered the early preparation of the data for the *Deccan Report* necessary. Mr. Cordery, on his return, reported that the Minister seemed dejected and bothered at my departure to a degree which he had not anticipated.

During the day I was chiefly busied in the affairs of Berar.

In the evening I went to dine with the Minister



alone, and he seemed much troubled at the prospect of a change of Resident. I explained that I might still be able to help him as Foreign Secretary; and he said that might be, but still, necessarily, he was obliged to look mainly to the Resident for the time being. He asked anxiously about my successor, canvassing the names of various gentlemen who had been mentioned. He asked me if he might tell the Nizám confidentially about my departure, and I said that he might.

He promised me, as soon as possible, the data for the *Deccan Report*, and expressed his satisfaction at the draft chapters he had seen. He repeated his anxiety that it should not be published lest the Nizám should be offended.

I asked him how he was getting on with the Arab business, and he said he had very nearly settled it with the Barak Jang, and that he had not yet got an answer from the Saifu'ddaula. He praised the conduct of the Barak Jang.

In the course of conversation he said that he was getting on well with the determination of the accounts of the native bankers in reference to the old debts of the Nizám's Government; that the arrears of the Civil Courts were being cleared off fast, as they turned out to be chiefly nominal; that the case of the Názim Jang, the corrupt *ta'likdár* of Khamman, was approaching conclusion, there having been some delay through mismanagement on the part of the Criminal Court.

I asked him about the Vikáru'l-Umará and Khur-

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shéd Jáh, and he said that he could not fix any intrigue upon them, but that in little ways they were always showing a personal spite. He added that the Vikáru'l-Umará had the day before sent a rather remarkable message, to the effect that he hoped that he might be re-admitted to the Resident's presence, because, in truth, the *lák*h of rupees bribe which had been given to Mrs. M * * *, was given not by him, but through him, and that the money really was the Nizám's ! The Minister seemed to think that this version was not far from the truth ! And he thought that if I was unable to receive Vikáru'l-Umará himself, I had better not receive Khurshéd Jáh, the son, either ; that if the son were received the father had better be received, too ; that either the whole should be done or nothing ; and that half-measures would do more harm than good. I told him that I could not, under existing orders, receive the Vikáru'l-Umará, and that he might intimate this to him.

The Minister then spoke of the Nizám, who had been sending unkind messages for some days past, which could not be traced to any particular cause, and were merely of a general character. Their substance was that it was rumoured that the Governor-General was going to send a *kharíta* to say that the Nizám must hold *darbárs* for the reception of the Resident so many times a month ; that it was the Minister's fault that there was not a cordial understanding between the British Government and the Nizám ; that the Minister was going on as his uncle, the Suráju'l-Mulk, had gone



on before him, and would come to an equally evil end ; that the Minister was much too familiar with European officers, and went too much into society ; and that the Hyderabad people were crying out for bread. To all this, the substance of the Minister's replies, according to his own account, was that no such *kharīta* was coming to his knowledge, but that it was undoubtedly true that successive Residents had deemed that the Nizām ought, as a sovereign, to show himself more than he did ; that so far from the British Government being displeased with the Nizām's Government, it was rather pleased than otherwise ; that his uncle had not come to an evil end, but had died in honour, and would have been successful as a Minister had he not been so much thwarted ; that he himself did not go into European society more than his predecessors, but only on such occasions as were sanctioned by precedent ; that no doubt the Hyderabad people felt the dearness of grain ; but, on the other hand, nowadays they had money to buy it with, whereas formerly the people used to perish by scores whenever grain got dear ; and now, too, death by starvation was unknown ; and that the dearness would have been felt more than it was, had it not been for the reforms which had been carried out in the interest of political economy.

The Minister said that he feared that these replies must have vexed the Nizām, but that it was necessary that His Highness should know the truth now and then. He, however, showed much vexation at these recriminations from his master, and even went so far



as to say that if it went on much further he would resign. I tried to console him, reminding him of his great services to the Deccan and of the satisfaction repeatedly expressed thereat by the British Government. I urged him to be patient and to bear with the Nizám, and I left him about midnight.

SUNDAY, *December 8th.*—I sent a telegram to the Governor-General to know whether my proposal to fix my departure from Hyderabad for about the beginning of January would be approved.

Khandaswámi told me that his master, the Minister, had been sadly put out by the unkind messages from the Nizám; that he expressed fear that some day there would come a regular outbreak between himself and the Nizám, and that his only hope was that, as the British flag waved over him, he would be ultimately safe.

MONDAY, *December 9th.*—Early in the morning I sent the First Assistant to the Minister to say that I proposed to send for the Vikáru'l-Umará's *vakíl*, and tell him exactly how the case stood about his master and Khurshéd Jáh, as being the best means of preventing ill-blood between them and the Minister, and also of preventing any suspicion on their part of the Minister being the cause of their continued exclusion. Mr. Cordery came back saying that the Minister cordially assented; so I then sent for Faiz Muhammad, the Vikáru'l-Umará's *vakíl*, and explained exactly that I had asked Government whether his master's exclusion from the Residency might cease, and had been told that



it must not cease—*i.e.*, I must not receive him; that I had then asked whether I might receive Khurshéd Jáh, and had been told that I might; and that I wished to know whether Khurshéd Jáh would or would not come to me for an interview. He said he would tell his master, and would come to me again the following morning.

I got a telegram from the Governor-General requesting me to ask the Nizám whether he would agree to pay half the Governmental interest on the railway from Kulbarga to Hyderabad.

TUESDAY, *December 10th.*—I got a reply from the Governor-General to my telegram of Sunday, saying that I could do as I proposed, but that I must avoid delay as much as possible.

I then wrote to the Minister to ask that the Nizám should receive me if convenient on Thursday, so that I might explain to His Highness about my departure.

I sent for the Amír Kabír's *vakíl*, Fakhru'ddín, and when he came I told him to tell his master about my approaching departure. He seemed really distressed and taken aback at the news.

Faiz Muhammad came and said that the Vikáru'l-Umará hesitated to send his son Khurshéd Jáh, as he could not come himself, and repeated all the arguments for receiving the Vikáru'l-Umará. I told him positively that this latter was out of the question, and that Vikáru'l-Umará could decide for himself about sending Khurshéd Jáh or not.

As regards the telegram from the Governor-General about the Railway, I wrote to the Minister giving

*Hyderabad.*

him the heads of the arguments he should put to the Nizám, and suggested that he should make the reference to His Highness immediately after the interview on Thursday was over.

WEDNESDAY, *December 11th.*—I received a reply from the Nizám to say that he would receive us the following day at eleven o'clock.

I was much occupied during the day with the *Deccan Report*.

THURSDAY, *December 12th.*—Early in the morning Hanmant Ráo, the Minister's head accountant, came to explain to me several points in the Financial Statement in the *Report*.

At eleven o'clock I went to the Nizám. The visit being of a quasi-private character, there was no great crowd to witness me pass along; though, of course, there were a good many people. Near the Nizám's palace I noticed numbers of Arab soldiery lolling and sitting about, staring at us vacantly.

In the Nizám's Palace I found His Highness reclining in a small darkened side room; still unable to stand or sit up.

FRIDAY, *December 13th.*—Early in the morning, accompanied by the Mukaramu'ddaula, the Minister's nephew, and by Khandaswámi, I set out, driving in a carriage, for Narkáilpili *en route* to Nalgúnda, in order to see something of the great tank district.

SATURDAY, *December 14th.*—Early in the morning I rode with the Mukaramu'ddaula to Nalgúnda, distant about twelve miles.



SUNDAY, *December 15th.*—I stayed in camp at Nalgúnda all day.

MONDAY, *December 16th.*—Early in the morning I marched back to Narkáilpili.

TUESDAY, *December 17th.*—I spent the day at Hyderabad.

WEDNESDAY, *December 18th.*—Faiz Muhammad came on the part of the Vikáru'l-Umará to fix a day for my interview with his son Khurshéd Jáh. His master, he said, had decided that, as he could not see the Resident himself, the next best thing was that his son should do so. We arranged that the next morning I should go to the Lingampili Gardens, and that Khurshéd Jáh should meet me there.

THURSDAY, *December 19th.*—Early in the morning I went to the Lingampili gardens, a place of some size and beauty, and Khurshéd Jáh received me with considerable state.

FRIDAY, *December 20th.*—In the afternoon the Minister came to see me by appointment, and his wish evidently was to talk to me confidentially about his relations with his master, and as to what he should do in the event of his ever becoming unable to bear the difficulties of his position. The substance of his remarks was that he frequently received verbal messages from his master couched in very unkind or even cruel language; that the Nizám attributed, or pretended to attribute, everything done by the British Government, to the Minister; that if the Minister had to propose anything at the Resident's request, and if the Nizám did

not like it, His Highness immediately said that the proposition was at the Minister's instigation; that ill-blood existed still; that some day the Nizám would break out worse, and the Minister's patience would break down under a system of bullying; that, moreover, if the Nizám's remarks were confined to confidential messages, it would not be so bad, but that they were often made before others, and got repeated over the City with every form of distortion and exaggeration. The Minister said that he felt all this acutely, and that if ever it went beyond a certain point, he would rather resign and live on his *jágírs* than stay in office; that he would rather give his office up than keep it with the reproach of his countrymen; but that he had no idea of resigning at present, and that, if he did so at all, he would not break openly with his master, and would endeavour to arrange his resignation amicably, and with the sanction of the British Government; that this is what he would like to do if he could, supposing that the Nizám were to pass a certain limit of unkindness beyond which endurance would be difficult. He added, too, that he feared much for his own credit. Whenever difficulties arose he would do his best; but if anything went wrong, and the Nizám were to take that opportunity of throwing him over, or if the Resident differed with him—in short in a hundred ways,—he would be left without support in the face of his enemies. He said all this quite quietly and earnestly, and that as I was going away, he wished my candid and friendly



opinion as to how he should look the future in the face.

I asked him if he had really reflected how he would like to be out of office, after he had been in power so long. He said he had, and that this was the very thing he wished steadily to contemplate.

I told him I rather doubted whether the Nizám's feelings towards him were so unkind as he supposed; and that His Highness treated other noblemen, for instance, the Shamsu'l-Umará, with the same hauteur and reserve with which he treated the Minister. I said that he should attribute much of the harshness of expression to petulance and to irritation arising from the illness from which His Highness had for months been suffering; and I advised him to bear with the Nizám as much and as long as possible, and on no account to put forward resignation as a threat; but I added, that *in extremis* every Minister should be prepared for the possibility of quitting office. He should do his best for the Nizám, and serve His Highness as long and as well as he could; falling that, he could ultimately retire, and he should always keep his house in order, so that if he did retire he might do so with honour. He should consolidate his Government, so that it should stand hereafter, when he was gone.

I also urged him to try and co-operate in making the young nobility qualified for high command, such as the Mukaramu'ddaula, the Bashíru'ddaula, and Khurshéd Jáh; and that he need never be jealous of them, &c.



After this conversation I took the Minister for a walk in the Residency gardens, and he professed himself much strengthened in mind by what I had said, saying that he would follow the straight course, doing his duty and still trying to please his master, and if the worst came to the worst he could retire.

SATURDAY, *December 21st.*—Early in the morning I received orders from the Governor-General, directing me to be at Calcutta in January. I telegraphed to say that I would leave Hyderabad, so as to be at Madras in time for the steamer which would sail from Madras for Calcutta on the 6th or 7th of January.

SUNDAY, *December 22nd.*—In the evening Khurshéd Jáh came to pay me a return visit at the Residency, attended by a long train of followers. He brought Faiz Muhammad with him, and repeated carefully over again all the arguments on the Vikáru'l-Umará's side, apparently with the hope of getting me to refer once more to the Governor-General by telegraph before I went. This, of course, I declined to do. I then showed Khurshéd Jáh over the house, and took him for a walk in the Residency gardens. He then took leave of me with every expression of regard.

MONDAY, *December 23rd.*—Early in the morning I went to see the country garden of the Arab chief, the Barak Jang, on the Golkonda road, who received me with some state, and had a fine show of Arab soldiers, mostly from Yaman near Aden. I complimented him on the creditable manner in which he had behaved of late towards the Nizám's Government, but the rest of



the conversation turned on the internal troubles then going on in Yaman. I was very favourably impressed with his manner and demeanour.

Khurshéd Jáh's *vakíl* came to see me, and to say how much his master had been pleased with his visit, and I had a large bouquet of flowers given him from the garden to take to his master.

In the afternoon Maulaví 'Abu'l-Halím, the first judge of the Chief Civil Court at Hyderabad (Díwání Buzurg), came to see me on his return from leave. I told him that the character of the Court had fallen considerably during his absence, and that arrears had accrued, and he said that he was fast having them cleared off. He spoke of the want of stamped paper at Hyderabad, and said until this was introduced his Court would never work properly. He attributed much trouble to the want of it, saying that the plaintiffs, having nothing to pay, brought absurd cases forward, or that even if a case was fair, still the plaintiffs having staked nothing in the shape of costs, were careless and dilatory in the prosecution of cases. I told him what the Minister had said on the subject in September last, and advised him to urge the question on the Minister's attention. He seemed an able man.

Rafík Yáwaru'ddaula, the Pathán Chief, came to take leave of me. He remarked emphatically, and whether sincerely or otherwise I cannot say, that his class felt much obliged to me for having enquired after them, and noticed them. He brought with him his son, a fine young man.



DECEMBER, *Tuesday 24th.*—On the 23rd the Minister had sent me a paper from the Nizám referring to the Railway negotiation, and asking various questions about the effect it would have on the country. His Highness expressly stipulated that if any of his relations should fly by Railway into British territory, such person would be given up. Knowing the extreme weight His Highness attached to this, I said that if His Highness liked to make this a condition I would represent it. I also answered the other questions.

In the morning I went, accompanied by Khanda-swámi, to see the remains of *anicuts*, or dams, made in the river Músá near Golkonda by the Kutabsháhí kings, with a view of keeping the citadel and town supplied with water, and was much struck with the imposing dimensions of these ruined works. Khanda-swámi said that the objection to restoring them would be that the villages belonged to *jágírdárs*, and were somewhat neglected.

It rained in the afternoon, and in the evening I went to a farewell party at the City house of the Amír Kabír. It was well got up—dinner, illuminations, fireworks, *náches*, &c. The Amír Kabír and his nephew, the Bashíru'ddaula, sat down to dinner with us, eating their style of food, while we ate ours.

I asked the Amír Kabír about the Nizám's health, and he said that His Highness would not submit to any operation for fear of inflammation setting in. I asked him about the Railway proposition, and he said that many persons about the Nizám had a great pre-



judice against it, but that His Highness would ultimately agree. He was strong in his expressions of regret at my departure.

CHRISTMAS DAY, WEDNESDAY, *December 25th*.—Early in the morning I had a complimentary visit from the native bankers of Chadarghát, and afterwards attended church there.

In the course of the afternoon Maulaví Ahmad 'Alí, chief judge of the Muráfa' 'Adálat, came to see me, and expressed regret at my departure, for the reason, among others, that if I had stayed I might have settled the standing quarrel between the Nizám and the Minister. I asked him how this would be possible; and he said that sooner or later it would have to be settled as to whether the Nizám was to have the upper hand or the Minister. I suggested that the Minister did, in fact, obey the Nizám; but he said that the Nizám was of a different opinion. I asked, "How?" He said that the Nizám considered that the Minister had been disobedient in refusing to acquiesce in the appointment of the Lashkar Jang. I replied that this matter had been settled in Sir G. Yule's time, and that it must be reckoned among the by-gones; but I understood him to say that it still rankled in the Nizám's mind. I also gathered that he, the Maulaví, thought the Minister disobedient to the Nizám; and I then explained in general terms the reasons why the Sálár Jang was considered to have rendered such services to the country. This Maulaví was supposed to be an enemy to the Minister, and, though he was cautious and guarded,

still I could see that he wished to sound me, and see whether I could be induced to give my support to those who sided against the Minister.

Another judge of the same Court came to see me.

Hammant Ráo, the Minister's head accountant, also came to see me, and on going away he begged me to lay my hand on his head in token of my approval, and I did so!

In the evening there came all sorts of Christmas offerings in the shape of fruit and cakes from the Nizám and the principal nobles.

THURSDAY, *December 26th.*—Early in the morning Khandaswámi came to tell me that the Minister had received various interpellations from the Nizám about the Railway business, and that His Highness seemed to be in a cross humour, and would not discuss the subject at all. The Minister wished to know whether His Highness should be further pressed on the subject, and I said not; adding that His Highness must be left to reply negatively or affirmatively, just as he liked, and that all I should ask would be that His Highness should favour me with some reply, yes or no, before I left. Shortly after, I got a note from the Minister stating His Highness had rather questioned the propositions we had laid down regarding the increase of revenue and prosperity, on which further explanation had been offered. I again wrote saying that I had nothing further to say, save that I hoped that His Highness would let me have a reply one way or other.



After breakfast I attended the giving away of the annual prizes at the School for European children at Chadarghát.

Mr. Keay, of the Bombay Bank, called on me to explain about a proposal that had once been made to make over the Hyderabad Treasury to the Bank, observing that if the principle had been adopted in British Territory, *a fortiori*, it was desirable at a place like Hyderabad, where the Government had monthly to raise in the local market large sums of money for the pay of the troops, giving repayment by bills on Calcutta, &c.

In the evening I attended a farewell party at the Minister's, given by the Nizám's Government. The house and grounds were brilliantly illuminated, and upwards of a hundred guests were present. After dinner there was a really lovely display of fireworks. Many of the principal people of the Minister's Government came in during the course of the evening, and the whole affair was managed in a first-rate, indeed, in a splendid style. Four strangers from Bombay, my guests, were present: Mr. Chatfield, Principal of the Elphinstone College; Mr. Kennard, a traveller from England; M. Thénon, the French Consul at Bombay; and M. Müller of the French Bank at Bombay. They were all much surprised and delighted at the spectacle of the evening.

During dinner time there came a message from the Nizám, saying that he would give an answer to the question about the Railway. The Minister said that

he thought His Highness would be anxious to retain his police jurisdiction over the Railway unimpaired ; also that there was a sort of superstitious belief among many classes to the effect that the Railway was the forerunner of undefined evil.

I spoke to him as to the political aspect of Mr. Keay's proposition about a government bank taking the treasury.

FRIDAY, *December 27th.*—Khandaswámi told me that the messages from the Nizám to the Minister had been couched in the harshest terms, and among other things His Highness had said sarcastically that the Minister was descended from British ancestors ! (“ *in ke aulád men se hai*”). Shortly afterwards a message came from His Highness, saying that the Minister must excuse unkind language, and that His Highness's ill-health had made him peevish and irritable !

Faiz Muhammad came to see me, and said that Khurshéd Jáh was anxious that I should dine with him in the City. I rather objected, on the ground that as his house was almost in the same enclosure as that of his father, the Vikáru'l-Umará, my doing so might be regarded by the people as virtually visiting the Vikáru'l-Umará. I promised, however, to give an answer on the following day.

The Shamshér Jang, a *jágírdár*, came to pay me a farewell visit.

In the afternoon I went with a party of friends for a sail in the steamer on the Amír 'Alam Lake.

SATURDAY, *December 28th.*—Khandaswámi told me



that the Minister had felt much consoled by the gracious apologetic message received the day before from the Nizám.

'Azim 'Alí Khán came to see me, and spoke about the real idiosyncrasy of the Minister, whom he described as being as smooth as water apparently, but still so persistent, that, like water, wearing away rocks or undermining hills, and still remaining soft and smooth, he would beat down opposition. He said that if the Minister would really resign, it would be soon seen that there were plenty of men in Hyderabad to take up the reins. I asked him then, whether the Bashíru'ddaula, or Khurshéd Jáh would do. He said, no. I then said, in that case a Minister of some lesser status socially would have to be accepted. He said, "What did that matter?" The present Minister had begun as 'Turáb 'Alí, and had ended in being, Sir Sálár Jang. I said, "Hardly that, inasmuch as the Sálár Jang was the nephew of one Minister, the Suráju'l-Mulk, the grandson of a second, the Muníru'l-Mulk, and the great grandson of a third, the Mír 'Alam, and therefore must be considered to have great social status." He said that, be that as it might, the Nizám was always thinking of how to get rid of the Sálár Jang. I could further gather from him that there were constant intrigues going on with this view, probably aided by the Mámá Ramazání and other ladies of the Palace, and more or less backed by many of the Sarf-i-Khás *ta'lukdárs*.

In the afternoon I went to show my guests the



Makka Mosque in the city, and passing by the Minister's stables on our way home, we walked in there. The Minister came to meet us there, and I asked him about the last message from the Nizám. He said that among other things His Highness said that he and the Minister ought to pull together, and that the Minister ought to think of the welfare of the sovereign and the State.

In the morning I had sent the First Assistant to the Minister to ascertain whether or not the City people would regard my going to dine with Khurshéd Jáh as virtually visiting the Vikáru'l-Umará. He said they would, and I then sent for Faiz Muhammad, and told him that, on the whole, I thought I could not go.

In the evening I attended a farewell party at Khandaswámi's house, which was a brilliant affair.

SUNDAY, *December 29th.*—During the day three Arab Jama'dárs, the Ghálib Jang, the Barak Jang, and the Mukadam Jang came to see me as a farewell. They came in imposing state, and with really a fine lot of picked Arab troops: fine men, well armed and set up. I exhorted them that, as being Deccan-born Arabs, they should be well-wishers of the Nizám's Government of the Deccan, and that they should keep their men in discipline, and support the cause of order generally. They said they would do so, and that there was already much improvement perceptible in the demeanour of the Hyderabad Arabs.

The Asghar Jang, the *jágírdár*, came to see me. He was of the Shahwáru'l-Mulk family, and one of the



first nobles of Hyderabad. I admonished him about a row which had lately happened in one of his villages.

Several Pathán Jama'dárs of Cavalry in the Nizám's horse came to see me, and the usual complimentary conversation was interchanged.

MONDAY, *December 30th.*—Early in the morning I heard from the Minister that the Nizám would not fix the day for the *darbár*.

A *maulavi*, a native of Berar, came to see me, and said that he had heard that the Hyderabad Courts had been brushed up lately, which he said was much wanted. He had had cases before them, and thought the judges lazy.

After breakfast the Mutahavvar Jang came to see me. Among other things I asked why the Nizám had hesitated about the Railway, and he repeated the argument about His Highness's relatives running away by rail. He said, too, that His Highness had been afraid about so much land being taken up, and then went on to say that His Highness was afraid that the existence of the Railway would give His Highness's enemies increased facilities for approaching Hyderabad. I asked him further what this meant, but he would not say. Evidently, however, it did refer to the apprehension that the rail would increase the British power, and give it increased means of overawing Hyderabad. That this much should have been admitted by him was perhaps remarkable.

I asked him why the Nizám disliked the Minister; and he said point blank that the reason was that the

Minister had introduced a system of Government formed on the English model, or at all events, quite new ; whereas there was an old (*kadīm*) system, which answered well enough, and was approved by the Nizām. It was the innovations that the Nizām disliked. At present the Government was neither one thing nor the other. The English system might do ; but would not the old Mughalái system do also ? Could not the Mughalái people manage in their own way ? Did not the Ruknu'ddaula,* the 'Arastú Jáh, and the Mír 'Alam manage well ? To this I replied that it depended on what is meant by the *kadīm* system. If it meant the system, which had existed under Chandú Lál, then I denied that that was the *old* system ; if districts were to be let out in farm to Arabs and others, and if that and other flagrant abuses were to be continued, then that would be a recent rather than an ancient custom. Those who talked about re-introducing the *kadīm* system wished to restore the above, which was really a vicious and modern one. The reformed system was a much nearer approach to the *old* system of the Mughal Emperors. The so-called English system was in many respects copied from the Mughal original ; and that the Mughal people certainly could not manage for themselves, if they stuck to the ways which were followed in Chandú Lál's time. Perhaps the first of the Ministers

* This nobleman was twice minister ; as Sayyid Lashkar Khán from 1752 to 1755, and as the Ruknu'ddaula from 1765 to 1775, when he was assassinated. The others are noticed in the introduction.



mentioned, the Ruknu'ddaula might have managed well, but even in the 'Arastú Jáh's time abuses began. The same also could be said of Mír 'Alam's time; and I begged him to think well over the replies given to his argument.

Adverting to the benefits secured to the State by the present Minister, I alluded to the increase of revenue, and he said this was due to increase of prices, rather than to good Government.

The conversation then turned on the sort of interference which the British Government might exercise in the affairs of the Deccan, and he said that if any internal evils became such as to affect British interests, the British Government could properly interfere; but that if such evils only affected the Nizám himself, or his subjects, then the British Government had no power, under the Treaties to interfere.

Shortly after that, the Amír Kabír and his nephew the Bashíru'ddaula paid me a visit. His manner was much stronger and less marked by physical weakness than on previous occasions. He said emphatically that he had advised the Nizám to agree to the Railway proposal,—to give *parwánagí*, as he phrased it. I thanked him for all he had done on this and previous occasions, and expressed my best wishes for his welfare.

When he had gone I shortly afterwards got a note from the Minister to say that the Nizám had given a favourable answer to the Railway proposal, and forwarded certain papers therewith. He said also that His Highness fixed Wednesday for the farewell *darbár*.

Faiz Muhammad came to say, that as I could not dine



at Khurshéd Jál's house in the City, would I breakfast there? This seemed strange persistency after my previous refusal, and I explained that time did not admit.

In the evening I went to Baláram, to a farewell dinner party given me by the officers of the Contingent.

TUESDAY, *December 31st*.—I spent the day at Baláram.

Early in the morning I reviewed the 3rd Regiment Hyderabad Cavalry for the last time, and after the review I said a few words of farewell to the Native Officers. M. Thénon, the French Consul, was present.

During the day I got the Minister's official reply about the Railway, and I prepared my despatch reporting the successful issue to the Governor-General.

In the afternoon I drove over to Trimalgiri to witness the New Year's Games of the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers. After dinner I attended a soldiers' ball in the barracks, and returned to Hyderabad about midnight.

During the afternoon I showed some gentlemen over the prison at Trimalgiri.

WEDNESDAY, *January 1st, 1868*.—At the usual hour I proceeded to take my final leave of the Nizám, and, as arranged, I went quite alone.

Passing through the City I thought the people seemed quite alive to the occasion, as for two miles the streets were lined with spectators, and the salutations were endless. I had never seen the people looking so well dressed, or so respectful. I rode on the elephant through the Court-yard in the usual way, and was ushered by



the Minister and the Amír Kabír into a small darkened room as before, where the Nizám was reclining. After I had sat down, His Highness beckoned to the Minister and to the Amír Kabír to be seated.

His Highness began as usual with asking after the Governor-General. He then went on to express regret at my departure, saying that he would have been particularly glad if I could have remained at his Court, and then he asked about my successor. I said that my successor was not yet nominated, and I then went on to say that I was very sorry to quit the Hyderabad Court; that I was much impressed with the kindness and consideration I had received there; that the phrase used in the Resident's despatches wherein he described himself as "an undoubted well-wisher" (*khaírkhwáh bilá ishtibá*), was not to be regarded as an empty form, but as a reality (*hukíkat*), and His Highness might understand that I was a real well-wisher; I should continue to be so, though stationed at a distance; and also that His Highness might believe I was very well pleased with all my intercourse with him. He again repeated his expressions of regret at my departure, adding that he was sorry to have been obliged to receive me in private instead of in public, and that the state of his health prevented his holding a public *darbár*; but that he hoped soon to get better, and would then hold *darbárs* as before. He begged that I would explain this to the Governor-General; and finished by sending his best compliments to His Excellency.

After the *darbár* I wished the Amír Kabír and others



good-bye, and then went back to the Residency. The crowd still watched the *cortége* on its way back. The day was bright, and I had never seen Hyderabad look so well.

At two o'clock the Minister came by appointment, and we talked over the Railway project. He seemed to consider that in my farewell expressions to the Nizám I had used courtly Persian, which was much appreciated by His Highness.

THURSDAY, *January 2nd.*—During the day I was occupied in finishing up all sorts of public business, and in preparing for departure.

In the evening the Sálár Jang came to dine with me alone at the Residency. The occasion was not a cheerful one, and after dinner I embraced him cordially, after the Oriental fashion, at the head of the great flight of steps, and he drove away.

FRIDAY, *January 3rd.*—At sunrise I started, *en route* for Calcutta, to assume the Foreign Secretaryship.

Khandaswámi came from the Minister to accompany me for the first stage out, and remarked that it was a melancholy duty.



CSL

DIARIES OF TRAVEL

IN

JAMMÚN AND KASHMÍR

IN 1859 AND 1871.

INTRODUCTION.

UNLIKE the former journal, which referred to political matters concerning the whole of the dominions of the Nizám of the Deccan, so far as these are administered by his own Government, this portion of the work relates to travels in only a part of the wide possessions of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír. His double title is characteristic of his country, which is really a political agglomeration of mountain tracts that have little connection otherwise with each other. In the Panjáb he is always known as the Mahárájá of Jammún, the *n* having a nasal sound, and to the English as the Mahárájá of Kashmír. He is, however, lord of various territories besides, divided mainly into those of Gilgit, Baltistán or Little Tibet, and Ladákh, called collectively the Outlying Provinces, occupying geographically a wide and important area.



From the map hereto attached it will be seen that his whole Southern Frontier, bounding the province of Jammún, and a small portion of Ladákh, abuts practically on British India; his Eastern, all in Ladákh, on Chinese Tibet, and the Chinese Empire proper; his Northern, made up of the three Outlying Provinces, on Eastern Turkistán; and his Western, consisting of Gilgit, Kashmír, and Jammún, chiefly on the lands of the wild tribes of the Hindú Kúsh. It will be seen, therefore, that when Englishmen and English travellers speak of Kashmír, that word has two meanings:—the Valley of Kashmír proper, the largest of its kind in the Himálayas it is true, but still the smallest division of the Mahárájá's Territories; and the extended tracts over which he rules. In this volume the term is applied in the strict and limited sense proper to it, unless it is clear from the context that the wider signification is intended.

The two journals which these remarks are to introduce, were kept respectively in 1859 and 1871, during short periods of travel into Kashmír through Jammún by what are known as the Bhimbar or Pír Pantsál,* and the Báníhál routes. To these is added a memorandum originally contained in a letter to Lord Lytton, under date 30th September, 1876, stating what could be seen in a week's visit to the Kashmír Valley *via* the Báníhál Pass. As there are naturally many references

* This word is usually written and pronounced Panjál by Europeans, but it is *always* Pantsál to the Kashmírís, and hence it is so written in this volume.



in the succeeding pages to the topography, history, geography, ethnology, and so on of the country passed through during these journeys up and down Kashmír, it will be necessary here to give a short general description of it, as it was during the period 1859-1871.

Physically the territories under the Jammún and Kashmír Government, estimated to contain 68,000 square miles, can be looked at from several aspects; but perhaps the best general bird's eye views of the whole country are those given by Mr. Drew. He first divides it into elevations, wherein the variety is enormous,—from 1,000 to 28,000 feet. The lowest portion is the plain to the south-west in the Jammún Province, and known as the Dáman-i-Koh, or Skirt of the Hills, which is really a continuation of the great plain of the Panjáb. Keeping to Jammún, we next come to the region of the Outer Hills, occupying a definite line, and beginning with a ridge about 2,000 to 3,000 feet, followed by a rugged country, chiefly consisting of ridges running pretty nearly parallel to the first, with long narrow valleys between them, and reaching a height of about 4,000 feet. Next comes the region which Mr. Drew calls the Middle Mountains, reaching to 10,000 feet, with ramifying valleys as low as 2,500, and spreading from the lower gorges of the Kishngangá and the Jhélam Rivers on the west, past Púncbh, Rájauri, Búdíl and Bátal to Bhadrawáh in the east. Then rise the lofty mountain ranges which encircle the Vale of Kashmír, the average level of which is itself as much as

5,000 feet and more. The summits of these magnificent mountains reach from rocky snow-clad heights 15,000 feet, to the eternal snows of Nanga Parbat on the north-west 27,000; of Nun Kun, or Mír and Sír, 23,000, in the east; and of the heights of Kishtwár, 19,000, in the south-east. This splendid mountain system forms the catchment area of the Rivers Chináb and Jhélam, treating the Kishngangá as a tributary of the latter. We now reach the drainage of the Upper Indus with its great tributaries the Zánskár and the Shayók, a land of mighty mountains, comprising Ladákh, Baltistán, and Gilgit, the whole of which is at a very high level, the peaks ranging from 17,000 to 22,000 feet and upwards; one, indeed, K2 of the Trigonometrical Survey, reaching to 28,000, and being thus one of the highest mountains in the world. The valleys, however, vary a great deal, from wide flat depressions in the south-east, at 15,000 feet, to deep narrow gorges in the north-west, as low as 5,000. There are also some table lands, or rather upland plains, in this region at great heights, such as the Déosai Plateau, at 13,000 feet, and the Linzhítang and Kuenlun Plains, at 16,000 and 17,000.

It is clear that such differences in level must cause an immense variety of climate, which indeed ranges from tropical heat to the cold of perpetual snow, causing men in some parts to go almost naked, and in others to be heavily clad in skins. The atmosphere is further greatly affected by the very varying humidity of the different parts, dependent greatly on altitude, which literally divides the country into regions of climate, and



affects its outward aspect more than any other physical condition. Thus in the Outer Hills and Middle Mountains periodical rains prevail and much moisture; in Kashmír, both valley and surrounding mountains, the rainfall is sufficient though not periodical; but in Astór and parts of Baltistán and Gilgit forest is scanty, the hill sides almost bare, and the crops require irrigation; while in Ladákh and most of Gilgit and Baltistán the earth is nearly rainless, the whole country barren, and nothing can be grown without irrigation.

Such a land is likely to be peopled by several descriptions of the human race, and the subjects of the Maharájá of Jammún and Kashmír, vary almost as much as the climate of his territories. They are separated from each other sometimes by actual difference of origin, and sometimes by divergent characteristics, though springing from the same stock. Roughly there are of Aryan stock—Dógrás, Chibálís, Paháris, Kashmírís and Dárds; and of Turanian stock—Baltís, Ladákhís and Chámpás, all of the Tibetan family.

The Dógrás are the present ruling race, and are Hindús, claiming, as is the habit among dominant Hindús of North India and the Himálayas, a Rájput descent. They occupy, however, only a small portion of the plain and Outer Hills of Jammún to the south-east, roughly from Bhimbar to Basólí and south of Bhadrawáh. The Chibálís are practically Muhammadan Dógrás, differing from them to the extent that Musalmáns always differ from Hindús in India. They occupy all the frontiers east and south, and principally the lower



ranges from Shardí on the Kishngangá round to Bhimbar. The Paháris are the inhabitants of Kishtwár and Bhadrawáh, and are Hindús in the main, while their congeners, the Kashmírís, occupy Kashmír and the immediately surrounding mountains, overflowing in patches into Jammún to the south and northwards among the Dárds. They are nearly all Muhammadans. The Dárds who, distinctly belong to the type of the Hindú Kúsh tribes, and like the bulk of them are Muhammadans, occupy the habitable country between Kashmír and the Upper Indus Valley immediately north of Kashmír, together with Astór and Gilgit; while what is capable of sustaining human life to the north and east of them in Baltistán is the land of the Baltís, a Muhammadan race of Tibetan origin. We now come to Ladákh proper, peopled as far as is physically possible by Ladákhís, except in the south-east, where the nomad Chámpás wander in the upland valleys of Rupshú. Both of these last are Tibetan Buddhists. The north-east of Ladákh, *i.e.* the Linzhítang and Kuenlun Plains, are practically uninhabited.

In appearance these races vary greatly. The Dógrá-Chibálí is slightly built and well-looking. The Pahárikashmírí is large and stoutly-built, with a fine caste of countenance; the former division hardy, and the latter robust, but wanting in courage. The Dárds cannot be called a handsome, though they are a powerfully made people, exceptionally hardy, and well knit together. The Baltís, the Ladákhís, and the Chámpás are of the regular thickset Tibetan type; the Chámpás being the



most, and the Baltís,—apparently by becoming Muhammadans,—the least like the real Tibetans. It is needless to remark that the languages and the characteristics of these peoples differ as much as their personal appearance.

Such being, shortly, the general view of the motley inhabitants of the Mahárájá's dominions, it is sufficient to remark here that the people met with by the writer of these journals were, from Bhimbar to the Pír Pantsál Pass the Chibálís, while from Jammún to Udhampúr on the Bánihál Route they were Dógrás, and thence onward to the Bánihál Pass Paháris. Beyond both the Pír Pantsál and the Bánihál Passes and throughout Kashmír they were all Kashmírís. These three races, therefore, deserve a more extended notice here.

The Dógrás in their own home appear as a distinct race of the ordinary Indian type, and are divided off into castes, such as one would consequently expect to find, from Bráhmans down to the outcaste Dúms. These castes are Bráhmans (priests), Rájpúts (rulers and soldiers), Khatrís (writers and merchants), Thakars (who are not, of course, Thákurs), and Jats (farmers), Baniyas and Kirárs (small traders), Náís (barbers), Jíúrs (carriers), Dhiyárs (smiths), Méghs and Dúms (low castes and scavengers). The mere enumeration of these "castes" and their titles will suffice to show that the Dógrá body politic in the hills differs in no way from that of the Panjábís in the plains, so far as these last are Hindús and not Sikhs or Muhammadans. The Chibálís, evidently essentially the same people as the Dógrás, are Muhammadanized Hindús of a type common to all



the Panjáb, especially in the hilly parts of the North. Physically the Dógrás are slim, high shouldered, and weak on their legs, but wiry and enduring; of comparatively fair complexion and good intelligent features. In general character, excepting those about or connected with the Court, they are simple and childlike, conceited, tractable if properly led, though otherwise obstinate, avaricious and close-fisted, but faithful in service. As rulers they are wanting in tact and sympathy, and are therefore disliked; but they possess the patience, courage, and endurance necessary to control the many aliens subject to them. The main apparent difference between them and the Chibálís is that caused by the "get-up" due to religious distinctions. Among the latter, too, are included miscellaneous hill Muhammadans, such as the Kakká-Bambás, of the lower Jhélam valleys, the Gakkhars about Kótlí, and the Maliks of Darhál, who have slightly variant but marked characteristics of their own. Just as is the case in the Panjáb Himálayas, all these last belong to what are called the Sáhús, *i.e.*, the upper classes of the hill peoples converted to Islám.

The Paháris are the inhabitants of the Middle Mountains of Kishtwár and Bhadrawáh, including Búdil and Bátal, that have remained Hindú. Their name, of course, means "Mountaineer," but it is restricted locally to that particular race. They are strong and hardy, of a good, powerful and active frame, well-formed face, and remarkably hooked nose. Their castes assimilate to those of the Dógrás; the Thakars, or peasant farmers predominating. Among these people, and apparently



closely connected with them, are to be found the Gaddís, wandering Hindú shepherds common to all the western Himálayas; and also the Gújars, Muhammadan buffalo- and cow-herds, whose characteristics are the same as in the Panjáb and North-west India generally.

The Kashmírís, if we except the weakly shawl-makers, are one of the finest races physically in all India; robust, broad-shouldered, muscular, and well-featured, but of not more than middle height as a rule. In character they are credited with exceptional cowardice, and the concomitants of this failing—lying and deceitfulness, wrangling and weeping on occasion. But they are intellectually superior to all their neighbours, talkative and cheerful. They are divided into Hindús or Pandits,—which term in Kashmír does not by any means imply Brahmanical rank—and Muhammadans, the latter forming six-sevenths of the population.

The large and important class of boatmen is, of all those inhabiting Kashmír, that best known to European travellers, because the great highways of the country are the Jhélam River, the canals, and the lakes. They are called Hánjís and possess alike the best and worst traits of the Kashmírís. Powerful, well-developed, and exceedingly skilful in the management of their boats, their cowardice in a storm on one of their lakes is a source of danger to themselves and their passengers. Good-humoured, energetic and versatile, they will yet lie with extraordinary readiness, and are greedy and importunate to a degree.

The Kashmírí Muhammadans are split up into some

twenty tribes or classes, of which the most important are the Chaks, originally the warrior class, the Maliks, and the Bats. The chief religionists are the Ríshís, who seem to be celibate monks of a type not uncommon in the East, but are nevertheless, as a class, peculiar to Kashmír. The shawl-weavers, too, are Muhammadans, and form a numerous and withal a miserable class, badly paid, badly nourished and badly housed, and therefore physically and morally wretched. The Hindús are, as usual, infinitely subdivided; but by occupation they are—firstly, priests, secondly, astrologers, and thirdly, writers, merchants, and farmers. In addition to these there are a few principal outside tribes, such as the neatherds who are Panjábí immigrants, the shepherds, the horse-keepers who were also at one time the chief marauders and highwaymen, the Dams who are police and watchmen, the Argauns or half-breeds between Kashmírís and the Tibetan races, and the Bátals, a low, outcaste, and probably indigenouš people, who do the dirty work of the country, and supply the dancing girls of Northern India with many a recruit.

With reference to the Kashmírís there is one striking and peculiar habit of theirs in the winter, alluded to in the journals, and deserving therefore some notice here. Every Kashmírí in the winter, asleep or awake, at work or play, sitting or walking, has under his long loose garment, the *phéran*, a portable brazier or *kángar*, known to Europeans always as the *kángrí*. It consists of an open earthen vessel, enclosed in wickerwork and filled with live charcoal, and is held over the stomach and loins.



This is naturally a dangerous practice, and as a matter of fact there is hardly a Kashmírí in existence that has not been more or less severely burnt in consequence of it. Despite its common use in Kashmír, it is believed to have been introduced there so late as the Mughal times, and it bears a common family likeness to the various braziers and hand-warmers of Europe, so much in favour during the Middle Ages.

At the time under consideration, the population of the Mahárájá's territories amounted to a million and a half, of whom 20,000 were Buddhists, while the Muhammadans out-numbered the Hindús in the proportion of three to two. The inhabitants were distributed thus:—900,000 in Jammún, 500,000 in Kashmír, and 100,000 in Ladákh, Baltistán and Gilgit. Only in Jammún did the Hindús exceed the Muhammadans in number, and then as three to two, but in Kashmír the Hindús formed but one-seventh of the population, and in the Outlying Provinces their numbers were insignificant. The City of Srínagar had 132,000 inhabitants, absorbing more than one-fourth of the whole population of the Kashmír Valley, and in it the Muhammadans more than doubled the Hindús.

It is now necessary to explain shortly, in order to render the diaries clear, something further as to the regions actually traversed, viz., the Outer Hills and Middle Mountains of Jammún; the mountains surrounding Kashmír, especially those enclosing the south side of it crossed by the Pír Pantsál and Báníhál Passes; and lastly, the Valley itself.



On entering the Mahárájá's territories the traveller is still in the plains of the Panjáb, and the country has all the appearance of the submontane tracts of the Western Himálayas; dull and bare when the crops are off the ground, hard and dried up in the summer heats, bright and agreeable during the spring and autumn harvest seasons, verdant in the rains, and dotted over with villages and the scrubby foliage of the Panjáb. In the spring the air is clear, and the views of the great mountains distinct and far-reaching. This plain tract of Jammún is called Kandí, or the Edging, by the natives, for which Dáman-i-Koh is of course a Persianized expression; and that between the Outer Hills and the Middle Mountains *par excellence* Pahár, or the Hills. The Outer Hills form really part of what are called elsewhere the Siwálíks—that long chain of low hills running for 1,300 miles along the foot of the great Himálayas. Their width here varies from 14 to 36 miles.

The Kandí tract, though closer to the hills is drier than the submontane districts further distant, a condition chiefly due to the presence of many and deep ravines drained by flood streams from the mountains, and a light soil, which causes an entire absence of that swampy fringe well-known in the Eastern Himálayas as the Tarái. The surface is on the whole arid, and the yield of the crops uncertain; but much jungle grass or *khar* is found. The rivers traversing that part of it which now concerns us are the Taví, the Chináb, and the Mínáwar Taví. The Taví rises at the back of the Outer Hills, and after a course of 80 miles, liable to severe



and sudden floods, flows past Jammún Town on the outermost hill of the range, and soon afterwards joins the Chináb. The Mínáwar Taví rises similarly in the Ratan Pantsál range behind Rájaurí, and after passing Mínáwar runs into the Chináb, not far below its sister of the left bank. The Chináb, by the time it debouches on the plains at Aknúr is already a mighty river, breaking into several channels, which create a fertile area in its immediate neighbourhood; but the country between Bhimbar and Mínáwar is rather drier than that more to the east, Bhimbar itself being on a plain cut up in all directions by ravines such as those above described.

To the east of the Chináb as far as the Ráví there runs a line of stony hills, reaching to 2,000 feet in gentle slopes, and covered with a low forest of acacias. This comes to an abrupt termination on its northern side, and then follows about as wild, stony and tangled a mass of bare sandstone hills and ravines as can well be imagined, and exceedingly rough to traverse. Passing these, a flat valley or *dún* about four miles wide is reached, the northern side of which is bounded by the outer range of the Middle Mountains. To the west of the Chináb, the country bears something of the same characteristics, till the traveller is past the Mínáwar Taví, when in the neighbourhood of Bhimbar, and between it and Naushahra, are several lines of bold parallel ridges, commonly between 3,000 and 4,000 feet high, and divided by narrow and broken-hollows.

In this region the climate is much that of the



Northern Panjáb; hot in April to June, then wet till September, and cold for the rest of the year; but the night temperature is somewhat lower in the hot weather than is the case in the Panjáb plains generally. The unhealthy season is during the months after the cessation, or partial cessation, of the rains, *i.e.*, August, September and October, when much fever prevails of a severer type than that which is apt to break out below at the same season. The vegetation is of the usual Panjáb type, with acacia and *ber* (*zizypha jujuba*) forest, and a good deal of *euphorbia* scrub in the further hills; and also trees of the banyan, *pípal*, mango, bamboo, and phœnix palm, and along the streams oleander bushes. Between 3,000 and 4,000 feet, there is a good deal of the *pinus longifolia*, the well-known *chíl* pine. The Spring crops are wheat and barley; and in the Autumn are harvested maize, millet and rice. Plantains and sugar cane are also grown.

A line run roughly through Basólí, Rámnagar, Riási and Rájaurí, and thence through Pínchh to Muzaffarábád, will give the southern boundaries of the Middle Mountain region, which extends northwards from this to the lofty ranges, including thus the tracts of Bhadrawáh and Kishtwár, and having as its northern boundary the Pantsál mountains. This region varies from 40 miles in width north of Basólí to as little as 10 miles at Rájaurí, and consists of a mass of mountains, split up in all directions by ravines and narrow valleys, and destitute of flat spaces. The mountains range up to as high as 12,000 feet in peaks, and the average valley level is

*Introduction.*

4,000 feet. The vegetation is therefore temperate in its character, and the forest consists of Himálayan oak, spruce, silver fir and deodar cedar. The cultivation, which is everywhere carried on where possible, is dependent chiefly on the level above the sea. The usual double harvests of India are, however, only obtainable in the lowest valleys, and the land has generally to be reserved for one harvest in each year, though as usual wheat and barley are cut in the Spring, and maize and millet in the Autumn. Snow falls everywhere, melting as it falls in the valleys, but lying on the hill slopes for as long as five months in the higher parts.

In order to understand how the wide depression of the Kashmír Valley is surrounded by lofty ranges, and the relation of these to each other, it is necessary to somewhat closely follow the map, and the best way to view the question generally is to treat the valley and its surroundings as the catchment area of the Jhélam and its tributaries. Commencing then from the north-west corner at the magnificent pile of Nanga Parbat, and following the watersheds, *i.e.*, the ranges which divide the streams falling into the Indus from those joining the Jhélam, eastwards towards Tilél and Súrú, we reach Nun Kun, the lofty south-east boundary of what we may call the main chain. The tortuous line thus followed can be easily traced by the colours differentiating Kashmír Proper from the Outlying Provinces. From this main chain there trends to the north and west from near Sónamarg a clearly defined and lesser, though still splendid, range of mountains, including Harmukh,

17,000 feet, which form the actual north-west boundary of the Valley as far round as Báramúla, and separates the basin of the Jhélam from that of its tributary the Kishngangá. Again, somewhat to the east of Sónamarg there trends from the main chain southwards as far as the Bánihál Pass another clearly defined range, which then turns sharply to the west, again as far as Báramúla. This line can also be easily followed by the colours separating the Kashmír from the Jammún Territories; and beyond Bánihál, *i.e.*, all along its southern stretch, it is called the Pír Pantsál Range. Its geographical duty is to divide the basins of the Jhélam and the Chináb, though strictly speaking the drainage of the Púnchh River belongs to the Jhélam system, and so the true watershed between the Jhélam and the Chináb stops short at the Pír Pantsál Pass; and westward of that point the bounding mountains of Kashmír divide the basins of the Jhélam and the Púnchh. Having so far endeavoured to lead the reader through the salient points in the mazes of these mountains, it is sufficient to add here, that along the Bhimbar route the traveller is traversing the tributaries of the Chináb until he reaches Bahrámgul, and along the Bánihál route until he has actually crossed the pass of that name.

These mighty walls of the Vale of Kashmír are pierced by a great gap formed by the Jhélam at Báramúla, and are rendered passable by several low points or passes. These last are especially numerous in the Pír Pantsál Range, varying in height from 14,000 to 8,000 ft.; and among them, those that now concern us are the Bánihál



(9,200 ft.) and the Pír Pantsál itself (11,400 ft.). Throughout this range, too, are innumerable lakes of all sizes, the largest being that in the Brahmá Sakal Mountain, which is over two miles long by three-quarters of a mile wide; and the most famous that of VERNÁg at the Kashmír foot of the Báníhál Pass. It may be here noted that in this connection *nág* in Kashmír often means merely "tarn" or "pool," from the tutelary deity of such places; and that *pír* means "pass," from the fact that in days gone by, some *pír* or ascetic took up his abode in one as long as it was open, and helped the passing traveller. It may be further noted that *nág* is a Hindu term, and *pír* a Muhammadan one. The tarns are also often called *sar*, which is merely the modern form of a Sanskrit word meaning "lake," and there seems to be little doubt as to their being formed by the action of former glaciers.

If we follow the main chain, starting from Nanga Parbat to beyond Nun Kun, south-eastwards as far as the Bára Láchá Pass, we find ourselves in the mountains dividing the tributaries of the Chináb from those of the Indus, and that the general run of the system is north-west and south-east; and we have already seen that the mountains immediately surrounding the Valley of Kashmír are mighty spurs jutting out from the main chain. The valley, then, is really nothing more than a depression, though a wide one, in the system, and follows its general direction. It is, in fact, an oval, with its long diameter running north-west and south-east for 84 miles along the flat, while its flat width varies

from 20 to 25 miles. In appearance, however, it is much larger, as the view, of course, includes the summits of the encircling mountains, which are 116 miles apart at the long diameter, and from 75 to 40 miles at the shorter ones.

The vale itself has a double conformation, caused, firstly, by the alluvium of the Jhélam River (called by natives the Behat or Vehat, and pedantically by the *pandits*, Vítastá, from its old Sanskrit name Vitastá), and, secondly, by the plateaux arising from older alluvial or lacustrine deposits, called locally *karéwas*. Its average level is 6,000 ft., *i.e.*, it varies from 5,200 in the lowest part of the alluvial plain, to 7,000 ft. in the highest plateaux. The alluvial plain, which bears the usual characteristics of such formations, lies on the banks of the Jhélam, along the northern side of the valley from Islámábád to the Walar Lake, and is some 50 miles long and from two to fifteen wide. Much of this plain is covered permanently with water, forming shallow and weedy lakes—of which the Walar is the largest, being ten miles long by six wide—and much more of it is marsh land, dry in winter when the river is low.

The flatness of the alluvial part of the valley makes the Jhélam a sluggish river from Islámábád to Bára-múla, a distance of 120 miles, and easily navigable by boats of all sizes, rendering travelling pleasant and comfortable. When low it is considerably below its banks, but, as it continually overtops them at the season of melting snow, they have been artificially raised. This, however, has not hitherto been done with such thorough-



ness as to prevent frequent floods. Besides the great river itself, there is a multitude of waterways through Srinagar formed by canals, the description of which properly belongs to that of the City itself; but outside it is the important Narú Canal from Shádípúr on the Jhélam to Sópúr, made to avoid the Walar Lake, and having a commonly used branch southwards to Patan.

The lakes worthy of mention here are the Walar, the Dal, and the Mánas Bal, all in the course of the Jhélam. The Walar is in the north-west corner of the valley, and is formed merely by the waters of the Jhélam overflowing into the depression situated there. It is bounded, therefore, by mountains on three sides, and resolves itself into a swamp where the river enters it, to be lost for a while in its waters and to reappear again at its south-west corner. This lake is nowhere more than 14 ft. deep; but it is subject to violent storms, which are the terror of the Kashmíri boatmen. The Dal is the lake of Srinagar City, with an average depth of 10 ft., shut off from the Jhélam by artificial banks, and saved from floods by ingenious, though primitive gates, so made in the passage left for navigation as to open towards the river. The Mánas Bal is a much frequented lake near the Walar on the right bank of the Jhélam, with which it is connected by a channel. It is about three miles long and a mile wide, and its depth is about 50 ft., though locally reputed to be fabulous.

The upland parts of the Kashmír Valley are called by the natives *karéwas*, and are to be found to the

north-west beyond the Jhélam plain, thence from Sópúr to Shúpén along the foot of the Pír Pantsál mountains, to a width of 8 to 16 miles into the valley, and then in the side valleys beyond the Jhélam to the east and north-east. They are of two kinds, the flat-topped and the sloping, and are separated by deep ravines varying from 100 to 300 ft. in depth, sometimes being thus made to stand out alone in the midst of low ground. Their soil is mostly loam, and their drainage complete, so they are apt to be arid, but if irrigated they are very productive.

The elevation of the valley renders the climate temperate, especially in comparison with the plains of India. The spring is cold and showery, the summer warm and fine, the winter damp and foggy. The marshy ground about Srinagar is apt to bring on fevers in July and August; but they can be escaped by moving a few miles to higher ground, and in the same manner the fogs of winter can be avoided by a move into the higher parts. There is no regular double harvest as in India, though it is practicable in parts to reap barley in spring, or rather summer, and then rape, maize, or millet in the autumn. The cultivation of wheat and rice, however, precludes a second harvest; the latter is the great crop in Kashmír, but the former is not of a good quality.

Besides the grains grown for food there is much to interest the observer in the general vegetation of Kashmír, especially in the matter of forest and fruit-trees. The deodar, or Himálayan cedar, the pine (both *longifolia*



and *excelsa*), and the yew, all abound, and are most valuable forest trees; the elm, too, and the sandal wood appear to be common. The cypress, the plane or *chunár*, are abundant and luxuriant, though exotic; while the poplar flourishes everywhere, and to these must be added a wild chestnut, the mountain oak, two varieties of willow, the maple, red and white hawthorn, the birch, the spruce, the juniper, and the rhododendron, all flourishing at the elevations suitable to each. As to fruit-trees, they are exceptionally numerous, apples and pears of many kinds, peaches, apricots, plums, almonds, pomegranates, mulberries, walnuts, hazels, vines and cherries. Then there are strawberries, raspberries and currants. Vegetables, too, of all sorts are grown in any quantity; potatoes, cauliflowers, carrots, rhubarb, beetroot, turnips, onions, endive, and so on; cucumbers, also, and melons and the water caltrop, or *singhára* nut, in the peculiar floating gardens of the Dal Lake. In addition to all this, Kashmír is a veritable land of flowers, wild and cultivated, both on land and on water; roses, iris, and saffron in enormous quantities, and the splendid lotus of the waters about Srínagar.

No account of Kashmír would be in any way adequate without a more or less detailed reference to its chief feature, the City of Srínagar—the Kashmír of the Muhammadans during their rule, who, as usual, would have nothing to say to former Hindu names. It is not only the most important place in the Valley, but as we have seen above, it actually swallows up one-fourth of the entire population. It lies along the Jhélam, ex-

tending for about three miles on either bank, and about half a mile inland ; but it is surrounded by swamps, and built on ground more or less artificially raised above their level. In this way it is a lacustrine city, streets and thoroughfares being of minor importance, and the main arteries of traffic being firstly the river, and secondly the canals and lakes or swamps. The houses are not exactly built in blocks and lines, but independently of each other, and are combined wood and brick structures on a firm and solid stone foundation higher than the flood line. The public buildings are of the usual Indian type ; mosques and temples, palaces and forts.

A good deal will be said about the City and its appearance further on, and it will therefore be sufficient here to point out its main features, so that the reader may not in any way be puzzled by the references and statements in the journals. The most remarkable objects in Srinagar are the River Jhélam and the canals that intersect it in every direction. The Jhélam makes one long bend through the City, and during its course there is confined within, for it, a narrow channel only 80 yards across, by an embankment of limestone blocks, now in considerable want of repair, broken by numerous stairs or *gháts*, and topped with buildings. The river is thus deeper and swifter in the City than anywhere else in the Valley. Of the canals the chief are the Katha Kul on the left, and the Tsónta Kul, the Nahari Már, and the Rainawárá on the right bank of the river. The Katha Kul leaves the Jhélam under the walls of the Shérgarhí Fort, and after a while bifurcates,



the western branch entering the Dúdgangá River just before its junction with the Jhélam, and the eastern branch returning to the great river itself. In the flood season it is navigable by the largest boats; but for the rest of the year it consists merely of a series of stagnant pools. The Tsónta Kul leaves the Jhélam opposite the Shergarhí, and reaches the Dal Lake in a mile and a half. A branch called the Sónáwár canal joins it to the Jhélam higher up to the east of Harí Singh's Garden. The Rainawárí canal, or rather network of water channels, starts from the watergate at the Dal Lake end of the Sónáwár canal and runs northwards to the Harí Parbat, through walls, meadows, and lotus swamps. But the grand canal of Srínagar is the Nahari Már, which with its many branches is rather difficult to follow. It may be said to start from the south-west corner of the Dal Lake, flowing thence to the Diláwar Khán Bágh, formerly set apart for the residence of Europeans, and onwards in a winding manner past the Sráf Kadal to the Náo Kadal. It has two main branches, the Shihilting canal flowing westwards near its commencement across the Brárí Nambal, and joining it again towards the Sráf Kadal; and another flowing northwards near its termination with the Anchar Lake, and joining the Jhélam miles away near the junction of the Sindh River.

The Bridges of Srínagar are very numerous, and, as they are the principal landmarks of the City, it is as well to enumerate the chief ones here. Beginning then in every case up stream, and premising that the suffix



kadal—a particular form of bridge, as will be seen further on—is added colloquially to each name, they are as follows:—over the Jhélam, the Amíri, Hubbá, Fatteh, Zaina, Haikí, Nayá, and Saffá; over the Katha Kul, the Tainkí, Darash, Chutsa, Kanhayyá, Bozágar, and Wátal; over the Tsónta Kul, the Gáo; over the Rainawári, the Náidyár; over the Nahari Már, the Náopurá, Náid, Bhúri, Sráf, Kádí, Razáwar, Khwádar, Gáo, Dúmá, Púchá. All these bridges are of the same type, excepting those over the Nahari Már, which, the Gáo and Dúmá *kadals* excepted, consist of single pointed masonry arches, and appear to be very ancient.

Perhaps the features of Srínagar which first catch the traveller's eye are its avenues of poplars. The chief of these is that known as the Poplar Avenue *par excellence*, which starts near the Amíri Kadal on the right bank of the Jhélam, and extends for a mile and more to the Sónáwar Canal, at the foot of the Takht-i-Sulaimán. Another celebrated avenue commences at the same bridge on the left bank of the river, and runs southwards for seven miles along the road to Shúpén. A third runs southwards from the Shérgarhí to a bridge over the Dúdgangá.

Srínagar is protected, or supposed to be protected, by two fortresses; Shérgarhí to the south, and Harí Parbat to the north. The Shérgarhí is a rectangular enclosure about 400 yards long by 200 broad, between the rivers Jhélam and Dúdgangá. It is surrounded by double loopholed stone walls, connected by numerous bastions on its three land sides, and on the river, *i.e.* the Jhélam,



side, it is defended by a high wall surrounded by public buildings and dwellings. Inside, the fort contains a long *bázár*, many residences and Government offices and store houses, a hall of audience, a treasury, and a royal palace with a temple attached. The Harí Parbat is a hill dominating the northern end of the City, and rising 250 feet above the valley level. This hill is surrounded by a massive bastioned wall some three miles long, constructed by the Emperor Akbar in 1597. The fort itself is on the top of the hill, and is reached by a broad easy road from the north. Its form follows the outline of the crest, and its walls are of massive and lofty stone work. Within are barracks and arrangements for a small garrison only, and without, and between it and the outer wall, are several suburbs and walled enclosures. At the northern end of the fort is a separate square building named Shujá'ul-Mulk's tower, after the ill-fated ruler of Afghánistán.

The plot of ground on the right bank of the Jhélam, between the Tsónta Kul and its branch, the Sónáwár canal, has been reserved for Europeans. It is an open grassy plain a mile and a half long by a mile broad, intersected by the Poplar Avenue, and divided into *bághs* or gardens, containing bungalows, all belonging to the Mahárájá. These are the Munshí, Harí Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Tára Singh, and Shékh Bághs, which last is the residence of the British Political Agent. These spots are therefore those best known to visitors; and to them may be added the Rám Munshí Bágh, a mile or so higher up the river, the island opposite the

Harí Singh Bágh, and Kirpá Rám's Chháuní, a mile below the City, as favourite camping grounds.

The Public Buildings of Srinagar, besides those in the forts already mentioned, are few, and more peculiar than beautiful. They are all mosques—some of stone, and some of wood on stone foundations—and are the Jama' Masjid, built by the Emperor Sháh Jahán; the celebrated and remarkable mosque of Sháh Hamadán, the local name of the great Sayyid 'Alí Hamadání, who fled to Kashmír from the persecutions of Amír Taimúr (Tamerlane) in 1380, and who with his son Mír Muhammad Hamadání had as much to do with the fixing the religion of the Valley as any personage in its history; the 'Alá Masjid outside the city to the north-west, and dated 1471; the Bulbul Lankar on the Jhélam in honour of Bulbul Sháh, the local saint who is said to have introduced Muhammadanism into Kashmír; the Rattan Sháh Masjid, an old stone building also on the Jhélam, and the Mungrí Masjid to the west of the city. There are also the ruins of a beautiful mosque built by Mulla Sháh, the pastor of the unfortunate Dará Shikóh, the elder brother and rival of the Emperor Aurangzéb; the disused Pathar Masjid erected by Núr Jahán; and the shrine of Thagí Bába on the Katha Kul. Of antiquities Srinagar can boast but few, the iconoclastic zeal of the earlier Muhammadan rulers having caused these to disappear to a great extent; indeed the chief signs of the old Hindú occupation are the many sculpture stones worked into the river and canal embankments, and the stone foundations of the modern wooden buildings. There is, however, an old tomb to the great Kashmíri King



Zainu'l-'ábidín (1423-1474), which also contains an inscription by Mirzá Haidar Dughlát, the general and relative of the Emperor Humáyún, who made himself master of Kashmír from 1540 to 1551. But the really ancient Hindú site in the immediate neighbourhood of Srínagar is on the summit of the well-known hill called the Takht-i-Sulaimán, from whence is to be obtained the magnificent panoramic view so carefully detailed in the journals. Here there is a comparatively modern temple, containing a *linga*, or phallic emblem, and constructed on a very old plinth. Besides this, there are about three miles above Srínagar, on the right bank of the Jhélam, the ruins of Pándrénthan, a city of the old rulers of Kashmír, containing the remains of a very celebrated temple, also described in the journals.

Srínagar is more or less surrounded by lakes and morasses. These are, on the left bank of the Jhélam, the Vatnár and the Nagat Nambal along the highroad to Shúpén, and the Brimman stretching away to the shores of the Walar Lake; and on the right bank the Anchar to the north-west of the town, and the series of swamps and lakes called the Dal, or Srínagar, Lake. This last, with its surroundings, is one of the chief delights of Kashmír. It is five miles long by two broad, generally shallow, inclined to be marshy, and partly covered by the floating gardens peculiar to it, and the leaves of the lotus and other aquatic plants, interspersed with plots of partially and wholly reclaimed meadow and garden land; but of clear water and exquisitely situated in an amphitheatre of mountains. It is divided into several distinct parts, whose names it is always as



well to bear in mind, when talking of it. Commencing from the south-east corner, these are the Gugríbal, the Búd Dal, and the Astawól; then westwards the Sudarkan, the Dal Kótwál and Dúdar Pókhar, which last is a district of sedge, weeds and swampy land. Nearer to the City itself, and within the canal region, is the Brárí Nambal. The lake is crossed by a narrow path running along a raised causeway, called the Sútú, or Sútí Chaudharí, and contains two artificial islands, the Sóná Lank in the Búd Dal and the Rúpá Lank, or Isle of Chunárs, in the Astawól. This last is famous for having contained a black marble inscribed tablet, placed there by three well known European travellers, and as it has now disappeared and is fast becoming forgotten, it may not be out of place to give the text of the inscription here, especially as it brings vividly before the mind the fact that only fifty years ago the now oft visited Kashmir Valley was practically an inaccessible land:—

THREE TRAVELLERS,

BARON CARL VON HÜGEL FROM JAMMUN,

JOHN HENDERSON FROM LADAKH,

GODFREY THOMAS VIGNE FROM SKARDU,

WHO MET IN SRINAGAR ON THE 18TH NOVEMBER, 1835,

HAVE CAUSED THE NAMES OF THOSE EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS WHO PREVIOUSLY VISITED THE VALE OF KASHMIR, TO BE HEREUNDER

ENGRAVED:—

BERNIER, 1663,

FORSTER, 1786,

MOORCROFT, TREBECK AND GUTHRIE, 1823,

JACQUEMONT, 1831,

WOLFF, 1832.

OF THESE, THREE ONLY LIVED TO RETURN TO THEIR NATIVE COUNTRY.



At the foot of the hills surrounding the Dal, and in other places about it, are situated many gardens and structures, mostly dating from the Imperial Mughal times. Of these it will be sufficient to mention here those that concern us in this volume: the Shálmár and the Nishát Gardens, the Parí Mahal, the Chashma Sháhí, and the Hazrat Bal.

Before closing this general description of Kashmír and its people, a short reference must be made to one or two special points.

Among these the boats on the canals and the Jhélam deserve mention as being one of the chief means of conveyance in Kashmír. They are all built of deodar (cedar) wood, and are peculiar in having no sails. They may be divided into State, passenger, and cargo boats. Belonging to the first category are the *bangla*, called also *chákhwár* and *larináó*, and the *parinda*, both reserved for persons of consequence. The *bangla* is a large State vessel with a house amidships, and the *parinda*, a light fast boat, with a canopied platform in the fore part. Of the passenger class are the *shikárí*, a fast "six-manned" wherry, fitted with comfortable cushions, the *bandúkí shikárí*, a small swift punt for wild fowl shooting on the lakes, and the *dúnga*. This last is used by the Kashmírís as a cargo and dwelling boat, and by the English as a commodious travelling conveyance, because it supports a convenient house made of matting. The regular cargo boats are the *baht*, a heavy cumbersome barge with a house in the stern, and the *khúch*, a very large boat without cover or awning.

The bridges of Kashmír are also, as will have been already perceived, a matter of some importance, and they are of various kinds. First comes the *kadal* proper, of which there are thirteen over the Jhélam, seven being in Srínagar itself. The construction and appearance of this bridge are very peculiar and worthy of a short description here. A foundation of deodar piles is first made in the river bed, and on this logs of the same wood 25 ft. long and 2 to 3 ft. in girth, are laid 2 ft. apart in layers at right angles to each other. In this way a large open pier 25 ft. square is formed, and raised to a height of 25 to 30 ft. These piers are built about 90 ft. apart and spanned by long undressed deodar timbers covered over by a double row of small transverse logs, closely packed and then plastered with earth. As a protection to the piers, abutments of stones and piles running to a point are constructed on their upstream sides. There are also bridges of a single span, called in Kashmír *kadals*, but elsewhere in these hills *sanghás*, which are thus constructed. On either side the stream strong abutments of rubble and timber are made, and into these are firmly inserted, in successively projecting tiers, stout poles, increasing in length as the tiers rise upwards, the opposite sides being firmly connected by two or three stout and long trees, on which are placed a pathway and a handrail. Such a bridge is sometimes of considerable span. Then there are two kinds of rope suspension bridges, often of great length, called respectively the *chíká* and the *jhólá*. The *chíká* consists simply of a stout cable, formed of six or eight ropes of



hemp, or of willow and birch twigs, loosely twined together, and swung from rude piers on either side the stream, along which is hauled a large wooden ring by means of a rope. From this ring is suspended a loop, in which the passenger seats himself. The process of being pulled across is a tedious one, but though it looks dangerous it is safe enough. The *jholá* is similarly formed of a cable and rope swung across a stream, but the former is used as a footpath and the latter as a handrail. Crossing a mountain stream by the *jholá* is more nervous work than by the *chíká*, as these bridges are apt to swing considerably with the traveller's weight, and violently in a high wind. Besides these there are the *tangarí*, formed by two side timbers, on which are laid brushwood and earth kept down by large stones, and the *káanal*, which is merely a tree trunk or plank thrown across a stream.

A word or two is necessary as to the routes between Kashmír and the plains of India, as there are, or certainly were at the time the journeys were undertaken, important restrictions as to choice. There are seven main routes over the mountain passes into Kashmír, of which only four were then open to European travellers, because of the heavy demand on transport required by them. The natives of India, except those of the highest rank, travel very lightly, and with no impedimenta to speak of; whereas the European requires stores, tents, and much baggage for himself and his numerous followers; and in a land where men's backs are the principal vehicles for all articles requiring carriage, and the

number of persons available for the purpose very limited, the inevitable requisitions would soon prove a burden beyond endurance. Hence the restrictions imposed.

The seven routes are: (1) That by the Bánihál Pass from Jammún, which is the chief commercial route, as it leads to the great emporium of Amritsar. It is a rough road, practicable with difficulty for horses, and the carriage is done by men and pack bullocks. (2) That *viá* Búdíl from Jammún, impassable for horses, and practicable only for men as beasts of burden. (3) The celebrated Mughal route from Bhimbar over the Pír Pantsál Pass, which can be ridden over, and so is still in much request, especially by Europeans. (4) That from Bhimbar *viá* Rájaurí and Púnchh over the Hájí Pass, traversing lower ground than the Pír Pantsál route, and so open longer. (5) The route from Jhélam, which is rough and therefore unpopular. (6) The Murree (Marhí) and Báramúla route, not much used commercially, but along an easy rideable road greatly esteemed by Europeans. (7) That from Abbotabad *viá* Muzaffarábád to Báramúla, an easy road, free from snow nearly all the year round. Of these the first two are closed to Europeans for the reasons above given, and the value of the descriptions of the journeys in the succeeding pages is enhanced by the fact that the unfrequented Bánihál route is three times described, and twice by unusual detours. The Bhimbar route, too, though followed once, was not strictly adhered to, and so a part of the country is described that is not commonly traversed.

Allusions are more than once made in the journals to the



manufactures of Kashmír, and these must accordingly be shortly noticed. They are not numerous, but in one or two cases of some importance. Thus the shawl-weaving, paper and *papier mâché* making are of universal celebrity, and to these must be added homespun woollen cloths and blankets, raw silk, leather, soap, and goods of stone, gold and silver, copper, iron, steel and wood.

The manufacture of Kashmír shawls has often been exhaustively explained, and though its details are most interesting, a very brief account must suffice here. The shawls are of two descriptions, loom-made and hand-made, and each variety employs a separate class of makers. The loom-made shawls are produced by *kár-khándárs* or manufacturers, buying the spun thread from the dealers, dying it under their own superintendence, and distributing it to weavers (*shálbáfs*), who work under overseers or *ustáds*. In the hand-work system the ground cloth (*pashmína*) is made by workmen (*sádabáfs*), who procure their materials themselves, and then hand over the manufactured article to *rafúgars*, or fine drawers, to work in the coloured threads. The preparation and construction of the patterns is intricate and peculiar. The pattern is first drawn on paper, and from the picture the *gandanwól*, or foreman, dictates it to a shorthand writer (*kitábwalá*), who takes it down in a species of stenography possessing a special interest of its own, and from this *written* document the pattern is woven by the working weavers. When the shawl is so far completed that its value can be estimated, it gets thoroughly into the grip of the tax-gatherer; indeed, throughout every

process, from the growing of the wool to the final sale, this official never lets go his hold of it. It is this fact that has rendered the workmen connected with this manufacture so wretched, though their work is of surpassing excellence and their skill unrivalled. The shawl being the sport—legitimate and illegitimate—of a host of officials, it is obvious that the office of *Díwán*, or Superintendent, of the Shawl Department at *Srínagar*, is one of great pecuniary value and of no small importance. At the time of the first visit referred to in this volume, the well-known *Rájá Kák* was still *díwán* of shawls. He died in 1866, and was succeeded by *Bhúl Rájá*, son of *Partáb Sháh*, another very prominent *Kashmírí*, but he had to be removed for incompetence or perhaps worse, and was succeeded by *Pandit Bhadarí Náth*. The materials from which the shawls are manufactured is the *pasham* or wool of the shawl-goat, an animal apparently peculiar to the *Himálayas*, and the *Karakoram Mountains*.

Kashmír paper is valued by the natives of India for its durability, and generally excellent quality. It is made of cotton rags and hemp pulp, whitened by slaked lime and *sajjé*, an impure subcarbonate of soda. It is all hand-made, and the process is substantially that gone through in the production of what is universally known as “country paper” in India.

The *papier mâché* ware is familiar to all Europeans in appearance, and is produced by pulping and moulding coarse “country paper,” and then painting and varnishing it. The varnish is procured by boiling clear copal



(*sundras*) in pure turpentine, and is absolutely transparent. This system of painting and varnishing is by no means confined to *papier mâché*, but is frequently applied to woodwork on a large scale. It is commonly called lacquering by travellers, but this is an entire mistake, lacquer in any form having no connection with it.

The home-spun cloths or *pattús* are of numerous descriptions, but both these and the blankets are of a type common to the Himálayan districts generally; and the stone and metal goods are chiefly remarkable and valued for the exquisite art lavished on the ornaments with which they are covered.

Something must now be said as to the general civil and military administration and history of the heterogeneous possessions of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír.

For administrative purposes Jammún was, when the journeys under consideration were made, divided into seven districts, viz.:—Jammún, Jasrótá, Rámnagar, Udampur, Riási, Mínáwar and Naushahra, modelled on the plan in vogue in the Panjáb, and each under a district officer, assisted by a general assistant or *náib*, and three or four sub-divisional officers. To these districts must be added Púnchh, which was a separate Government under a Rájá, a relative of the Mahárájá, and dependent on him, but nevertheless left very much to his own devices. Kashmír was under a governor appointed by the Mahárájá, and was divided into six districts, viz.:—Kámraj, Patan, Srínagar, Shúpén, Islámábád or Anat Nág, and Muzaffarábád, administered

pretty much as above. Lastly, there were separate Governors respectively for Ladákh, Baltistán, and Gilgit, each province having its own special rules of Government made to suit its peculiar circumstances. Here the Governors were left much to themselves, and allowed considerable latitude and independent power, the whole form of administration being necessarily primitive, rough, and ready.

The Mahárájá took a considerable share daily in the judicial, and what may be called the "personal" administration of his territories, hearing prayers of all kinds from all classes of the people, and being the final judge in such civil and criminal cases as his subjects by petition brought to his notice. In this work he was aided by his eldest son and heir, and spent a large part of every day in it. On the whole the system of Government was excellently devised, but it was unhappily more than indifferently carried out by the agency employed. Oppression was unquestionably rampant and taxation excessive. The country was, however, fortunate in possessing at the time a wise and judicious Minister in the person of Díwán Kirpá Rám. In 1860, this eminent administrator introduced many and important reforms into the Government of the Jammún districts, by abolishing the collection of revenue in kind, and substituting fixed cash payments, making an assessment favourable to the cultivators, doing away with the presentation of *nazars* or customary gifts to the rulers, and appointing men of substance and standing to the posts in the collection of revenue. The effect of all this



was the payment of arrears of taxation, enhancement of Government receipts, and a general increase of agricultural prosperity. In 1861 similar reforms were commenced in Kashmír by the appointment of respectable revenue collectors, and in 1868 a reasonable land assessment was taken in hand, though the dues were still collected in kind. Kirpá Rám continued his life of useful reform till 1876, when on his death the writer of the journals, in a letter to Lord Lytton, said of him; "I have just heard with much grief of the death of the Díván Kirpá Rám of Jammún. He will be a great loss. He was among Hindús what the Sálár Jang is among Muhammadans."

For the protection of his territories, and the preservation of the public peace, the Mahárájá kept up an army of about 20,000 men, divided into 2 Cavalry, 24 Infantry, Line, and Irregular Regiments, 16 Batteries, two of which were horsed, and a corps of Sappers and Miners. Each Infantry Regiment had small pieces of artillery attached to it, called curiously, little wasps (*zambúra*), lion cubs (*shérbachá*), and tiger cubs (*bághbachá*). Its personel consisted almost entirely of Dógrás, Dárds, and Panjábís, both Hindú and Musalmán; Kashmírís, Baltís, and Ladákhís being practically absent from it. The army, excepting the artillery was, for a native force, fairly equipped and efficient, copying, after a fashion, the British drill and dress; and it was well paid, which is certainly not the rule in a native State. The cavalry was chiefly employed as an escort to the Mahárájá, and the infantry in collecting revenue! The troops generally



were stationed all over the country in detachments, garrisoning the innumerable forts. The Rájá of Púnchh had besides a small force of his own, consisting of one battery, 1,200 infantry and a reserve of pensioners. As a whole, the Mahárájá's army was apt to be a source of private expense to his subjects, because the men during their frequent movements from place to place were accustomed to live at free quarters.

The history of the varied territories of the Mahárájá of Jammún and Kashmír is obscure and complicated, but it is necessary that the reader should be put in possession of the main facts, if he would comprehend aright the many allusions to it in the journals. The first Mahárájá, the celebrated Guláb Singh, of whom more presently, began by obtaining possession of Jammún proper, then Kishtwár and Basólí, then Ladákh and Skardú; after which Rámnagar and Bhadrawáh fell to him. Next he became ruler over Kashmír and its appanage Gilgit; and lastly, Rájaurí, and, as a dependency, Púnchh came under his sway. The tangled web of events that led to this consummation, it is now proposed briefly to unravel and make plain.

The early history of the Jammún districts, and indeed up to quite modern times, is much that of the Himálayas generally, the whole country being split up into petty territories, hardly more than villages in size, ruled over by independent chiefs claiming Rájpút descent, among whom a strong man, here and there, and now and then, obtained suzerainty over his neighbours. Much in this way Ranjít Déo of Jammún, a great name in these moun-



tains in the middle of the last century, rose to something more than local eminence. On his death in 1780, the usual quarrel for the succession arose between his sons, which gave the Sikh notable, Mahán Singh, father of the great Ranjít Singh of the Panjáb, the opportunity of turning Jammún into a dependency. Ranjít Singh himself for many years after this carried on expeditions of conquest and plunder into the hills hereabouts, and in the course of these, the dispossessed family of Jammún in a junior branch, again came to the front. Ranjít Déo's youngest brother, Surt Singh, through his second son, Zóráwar Singh, had three great-grandsons, all of whom occupied in their day a distinguished place in the history of the Sikhs. These were Guláb Singh, Dhyán Singh, and Suchét Singh. The rise of the three brothers from humble positions about the Court of Ranjít Singh at Lahore, the prominent parts played by all of them during the troublous days of the brief Sikh monarchy of the Panjáb, and the tragic end of the last two, are matters of general history; and what concerns us now is the acquisition by Guláb Singh of supreme power in the Western Himálayas. In 1818 Ranjít Singh conferred the Ráj of Jammún on Guláb Singh, that of Púnchh on Dhyán Singh, and that of Rámnagar on Suchét Singh, as feofs, in return for war services rendered by them. Having thus achieved his ambition of becoming a ruler in his native land, Guláb Singh set about settling the country and establishing himself firmly on the throne of his forefathers thus granted him. This he accomplished thoroughly, it is said, at the cost of much



cruelty, and by the free exercise of the unscrupulous guile for which he was famed. About 1833 he extended his power over Kishtwár, then in the possession of a Muhammadanized Rájá, Muhammad Tégh Singh, who had retained his Hindú title of Rájá, and mixed up a Hindú name with a Muhammadan one in a fashion common to his class in the Western Himálayas. This chief was descended from a family of the usual hill Rájput type, which had become Muhammadan during the rule of the bigoted Emperor Aurangzéb in the 17th century, and lost his kingdom without a blow by allowing the crafty Guláb Singh to take advantage of a Court squabble. Basólí, too, which had passed into Sikh possession so long previously as 1783, seems to have come under the sway of Guláb Singh about this time.

The next steps in the acquisition of territory were the conquests of Ladákh and Skardú. Up to about 1600 A.D. Ladákh seems to have formed an integral part of Tibet, but from that time onwards to its conquest by the troops of Guláb Singh in 1834, it was governed by a dynasty of independent Buddhist princes, whose history is that of war with varying fortunes with their neighbours, especially Kashmír and Skardú. In 1834 the Jammún Rájá sent his henchman, Zóráwar Singh, a Kahlúriá Rájput, who earned for himself a lasting name in these hills, to take Ladákh for him. This he managed to do after two years' campaigning, taking possession of the little dependency of Pádar belonging to the Chambá Rájá at the same time, so as to open communications with Jammún *via* Kishtwár. This war



it gives the journal entries themselves a value they could not otherwise possess. Of the accuracy and importance of Montgomerie's labours it would be superfluous to speak here; but a quotation from a paper by the author of the diaries relating to this wonderful man may be of interest to the reader. "In the completion of the Trigonometrical Surveys of Kashmír and Jammún, Captain Montgomerie and his assistants have undergone, in addition to mental labour, much physical toil and hardship, and have borne every vicissitude of climate, and the extremes of heat and cold. During the crisis of 1857, they were a small band of Englishmen in the heart of the Himálayan Mountains, separated one from another, and divided by a large and rugged tract from their fellow countrymen, who were carrying on so fierce a struggle in Northern India. Their position, therefore, was isolated and trying, and peculiar even among the accidents of that terrible time. But the Kashmír-Survey was never suspended for a moment, and its progress was as good as ever. Captain Montgomerie, and those who assisted him, thus showed a good example of how Englishmen can preserve a calm attitude in the midst of trouble and alarm, and adhere to duty, and work in the midst of distractions." It was no idle boast, indeed, of General Walker, when writing a short time ago his report on the completion of the triangulation of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey of India, that during the eighty years of the progress of this stupendous work, neither war, nor famine, nor physical disaster—and



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all were frequent—had ever delayed it on its onward way. Montgomerie has long been dead, but Lieutenant-Colonel H. H. Godwin-Austen, F.R.S., who served under him and took his full share of the labours and dangers of the time, is still alive and yearly adding to our knowledge of India.

Having thus explained to the reader all that it is necessary for him to know in order to comprehend them properly, we now pass on to the diaries themselves.

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