

with fuel. Any opposition on their part would have occasioned the most serious inconvenience, but the garrisons of Candahar and of the other posts in southern Afghanistan which were entirely dependent on the supplies received from and through Sinde, were never allowed to suffer want. This friendly aid was gratefully acknowledged by Lord Auckland when on the eve of quitting India. After the Cabul force had been annihilated, and our military reputation had suffered a partial eclipse, the Ameers still continued to furnish supplies and carriage, which they might have withheld without any infraction of the treaties. The force at Candahar could neither have retired to the Indus, or advanced to Cabul without the assistance of Sinde, and it was solely by means of the three thousand camels sent up from that province that General Nott was enabled to march on the capital. But two or three of the Ameers were emboldened by our reverses to manifest a feeling of hostility, and Major Outram brought it to the knowledge of Lord Ellenborough in the form of distinct charges, which he represented to be of so serious a nature as to justify a demand for a revision of the treaties. Lord Ellenborough replied that he was resolved to inflict signal chastisement, even to the confiscation of his dominions, on any chief or Ameer who should have exhibited hostile designs against us during the late events, founded on a doubt of the existence of our power, but he added that there must be clear proof of the faithlessness of the Ameers, and it must not be "provoked by the conduct of the British agents, producing on the mind of any chief an apprehension that the Government entertained designs inconsistent with his interests or his honour."

Sir Charles

Napier's proceed-
ings, 1842.

Sir Charles Napier arrived in Sinde on the 9th September, invested with full diplomatic as well as military power. He was a soldier of distinguished reputation, and of extraordinary resolution and energy; but he was new to India, and profoundly ignorant of the language, habits, and character of its princes and people, and of political life in it. He landed in Sinde with a violent

prejudice against the Ameers, and in his first interview with them at Hyderabad discarded all those amenities which had always characterized the intercourse of the Company's functionaries with the princes of India. Lord Ellenborough had particularly enjoined on the British agents in Sindé to consider themselves the representatives of the friendship as much as of the power of the British Government, and to be mindful that all necessary acts of authority should be clothed with the veil of courtesy and regard. This generous admonition was entirely neglected by Sir Charles Napier. His menacing address created lively apprehensions in the minds of the Ameers, and all his subsequent proceedings only tended to confirm them. The investigation of the charges of disloyalty brought against the Ameers by Major Outram, was referred to him by the Governor-General, but with the distinct injunction that he should not proceed against any of them without the most complete proof of their guilt. All the charges except three were at once dismissed, and the question of their delinquency turned upon three points: whether a letter sent to a petty Boogtie chief, and another sent to the ruler of the Punjab were genuine, and whether the minister of Meer Roostum, of Upper Sindé, had favoured the escape of a malcontent. The evidence of the authenticity of the letters was considered by the best authorities in India extremely doubtful, and the seals appeared to have been forged:—in Sindé the fabrication of seals was a profession. Upon every principle of equity and fair dealing, the Ameers ought to have been heard in their own defence before they were condemned; but Sir Charles Napier called upon them for no explanation, and, relying only on his own sagacity, and on the opinion of one of his junior assistants, as ignorant of the country as himself, informed Lord Ellenborough that the letters were authentic, and the charges substantiated; and that the treaty of 1839 had been violated.

The new treaty,
1842.

Major Outram had submitted, together with the charges against the Ameers, the draft of the

new treaty to be proposed for their acceptance. Its object was to place the relationship of the two Governments on a more satisfactory footing, to substitute a cession of territory for the annual tribute, and to punish the hostile designs which had been manifested by certain of the Ameers. They were to be deprived of some of the districts they had formerly wrested from the Nabob of Bhawulpore, and he was to be rewarded by the restoration of them for the exemplary fidelity he had manifested during the Afghan crisis. The treaties reached Sir Charles Napier on the 12th November, when Major Outram found that they prescribed the sequestration of lands to the value of nearly four lacs in excess of those which he had proposed, and which it had been determined to take as a substitute for the tribute and as the penalty of disloyalty. They likewise deprived the Ameers of the regal prerogative of coining money. He attributed these additional demands to inadvertence, and requested Sir Charles Napier to bring the subject before Lord Ellenborough again, but ten weeks were allowed to elapse before the reference was made. The Governor-General admitted the error, and directed that it should be rectified, but his despatch did not reach the camp till after the battle of Meanee and the ruin of the Ameers. With regard to the new treaties, he had expressly instructed Sir Charles Napier to negotiate them with the Ameers, and not to carry them into effect until they had been concluded and ratified. Two days after they were received, Sir Charles Napier invited Meer Roostum to discuss them at a conference, but under the insidious advice of Ali Morad, he failed to attend it. A fortnight passed without any further communication regarding them with any of the Ameers, either of Upper or Lower Sinde, but on the 1st December the General informed Meer Roostum and his associates, that he had received the draft of a treaty signed by the Governor-General, which he now presented for their acceptance and guidance, and that in obedience to his instructions, he should proceed at once to occupy the territories indicated therein. The Ameers of

Khypore sent their vakeels to protest against the charge of disloyalty which had been brought against them, and to express, generally, their willingness to agree to the treaty dictated by the British Government, although they considered the terms unjust and oppressive. Within three days, and before they had signed the treaty, or had been allowed an opportunity of discussing its conditions, Sir Charles Napier sequestered the whole of the territory extending from Roree to the confines of Bhawulpore, which embraced the lands Lord Ellenborough had inadvertently included in the draft of the treaty. At the same time, he issued a proclamation forbidding the ryots to pay any rents to the Ameer after the 1st of January. These estates belonged to the feudatories of the Ameers, the Beloches chiefs, who were entirely dependent on them for their means of subsistence. Meer Roostum remonstrated against this wholesale confiscation of his territories before he had signed any treaty, and added with great simplicity that the English possessions extended over thousands of miles, while the whole of his territories would not be sufficient for the maintenance of a single sahib. An idle rumour had reached the General that the Ameers intended to make a night attack on his camp, and he immediately threatened Meer Roostum to march on his capital and destroy it and transplant the inhabitants. To this menace the Ameer meekly replied, "God knows we have no intention of opposing the English, nor a thought of war or fighting—we have not the power. Ever since my possessions were guaranteed to me and my posterity by the British Government under a formal treaty, I have considered myself a dependent of theirs, and thought myself secure."

Ali Morad and
the "Turban,"
1842.

These violent proceedings were evidently prompted by the nefarious intrigues and the consummate villainy of Ali Morad. The office of Rais, or lord paramount, was the highest dignity in Upper Sinde, and had long been enjoyed by Meer Roostum, then in his eighty-fifth year, who was venerated alike by the chiefs and the people, and held in high estimation by all the British officers

who had been connected with Sindé, for his invariable fidelity. The succession to this office, of which the Turban was the symbol, belonged by the usage of the country to his brother Ali Morad, who was, with the exception of Shere Mahomed of Meerpore, the ablest of the Ameers, but the personification of subtlety and perfidy. He was anxious to make sure of this honour, which Meer Roostum was desirous of bestowing on his own son, and our subsequent proceedings in Sindé may be traced in a great measure to the infamous means which he adopted to accomplish his object. On the 23rd November he obtained an interview with Sir Charles Napier, and, with that quick discernment of character for which the natives of India are distinguished, ascertained that his temper combined the elements of credulity and impulsiveness. He persuaded the General that all the chiefs were hostile to British interests, with the exception of himself and one of the Ameers of Hyderabad, and he succeeded in obtaining the promise of the Turban after the death of Meer Roostum. But he was anxious to obtain possession of it at once, and this object could be gained only by placing the old Ameer in a position of hostility to the British Government. With ingenious malignity he laboured on the one hand to draw his brother into some act of indiscretion which might compromise him, and on the other hand endeavoured to inflame the mind of the British General against him by constant misrepresentations. Through his influence three haughty and menacing messages were sent in succession to Meer Roostum by Sir Charles, and that venerable chief proposed to wait on him to offer a personal explanation. Sir Charles was induced to refuse the interview, because "it would be embarrassing," but advised him to proceed to his brother's residence, not without a hope that he might be prevailed on to resign the Turban without delay. "I send you this letter," he wrote, "by your own brother; listen to his advice; trust to his care. If you go to him, you may either remain, or I will send an escort to conduct you to my camp." This advice had all the force of a command, and Meer Roostum accordingly

repaired to Ali Morad's fortress at Deejee, and on the 20th December wrote to Sir Charles that of his own free will he had resigned the Turban, together with the control of his army, his forts, and his country to Ali Morad. Sir Charles informed the Governor-General, on the assurance of that intriguer, that this resignation had been written in the most formal manner in a Koran before all the religious men collected to witness it; but added that he was not without a suspicion that it had been obtained by fraud and violence, and that he was resolved on a personal interview with the old Ameer. This intention he communicated to Ali Morad, who was anxious to prevent the meeting, and rode over in haste to Deejee, roused his brother at midnight, and urged him to take flight in order to avoid Sir Charles Napier, who, he said, was coming the next day to make him prisoner; the terrified old chief accordingly escaped in haste to the camp of his relations twelve miles distant. Sir Charles immediately issued a proclamation to the Ameers and people of Sinde, in which he charged Meer Roostum with having insulted and defied the Governor-General by departing from his brother's roof, and announced his determination to maintain Ali Morad as the justly constituted chieftain of the Talpoora family. Meer Roostum lost no time in sending his minister to the General to put him in possession of the truth, and to assure him that Ali Morad had placed him in duress in his fort and had extorted the resignation of the Turban, and had subsequently prompted him to escape by flight the captivity with which he was menaced. To this message Sir Charles sent an arrogant reply, charging the Ameer with subterfuge and falsehood. "I do not," he said, "understand such double conduct, and will not allow you to take shelter under such misrepresentations. I no longer consider you the chief of the Talpooras, nor will I treat with you as such, nor with those who consider you the Rais." The resignation said to have been written in the Koran was a forgery, and the assemblage of holy men to witness it an audacious fiction. Under this deed Ali Morad claimed lands of the value of six lacs of

rupees a-year, as belonging to the Turban, and the abstraction of this property, combined with the sequestrations of Sir Charles Napier, left an income of only six lacs, out of twenty, for the support of eighteen Ameeris, and their thirty sons, and all their feudatory chiefs.

To this wholesale spoliation the Ameeris of Emamgur, 1843.

Upper Sindé could offer no resistance. Their military force consisted of about two thousand men, under the command of the son and nephew of Meer Roostum, and they had never dreamed of offering any opposition to the British General. But there was a fort in the desert, Emamgur, belonging to Meer Mahomed, who had not given any cause of offence to the British authorities. Owing to its inaccessible position, it does not appear ever to have been captured, and Sir Charles considering it to be the Gibraltar of Upper Sindé, was determined to show the chiefs, as he said, that "neither their deserts nor their negotiations could intercept the progress of the British army." On the 5th January he commenced his march into the desert with fifty horsemen, two 24-pounders, and three hundred and fifty Europeans, mounted on camels, and after traversing the arid waste for four days without seeing the face of an enemy, reached the fort on the 9th of that month. It was abandoned on his approach, and the fortifications were blown up with the powder they contained. The Duke of Wellington pronounced the expedition "one of the most curious military feats he had ever known to be performed." It was unquestionably a gallant exploit, but as there was no declaration of war, and as we had no differences with the chief to whom the fort belonged, it was an act of wanton aggression.

Sir Charles Napier had ordered the Ameeris of Upper and Lower Sindé to meet Major Outram at the Ameeris, Conference with
1843.

Khyrpore to discuss and sign the treaties, and invested him with full powers, but directed him to listen to no remonstrance regarding the Turban, or the lands which Ali Morad had seized. Major Outram pressed the omission of

the clause regarding the coinage, because the right to coin money was the most cherished prerogative of royalty in the east, and, likewise, because the image of the Queen was an emblem forbidden by the Mahomedan creed; but Sir Charles replied that the orders of Lord Ellenborough on this subject were imperative and irreversible. By the contrivance of Ali Morad, Meer Roostum and his brother Ameers were prevented from attending the meeting, and only two of the agents of the Ameers of Lower Sind made their appearance; with the concurrence of Sir Charles, Major Outram therefore transferred the conference to Hyderabad, and fixed it for the 28th January. Two days after, the vakeels of the Ameers of Hyderabad arrived in the camp, bearing the seals of their masters, with full authority to affix them to the treaties. If they had been allowed to carry out their instructions there would have been a peaceful solution of all differences, but Sir Charles Napier peremptorily refused them permission to execute the deed, and directed them to return to Hyderabad, in company with the Ameers of Upper Sind, who were informed that they would be treated as enemies if they refused to proceed thither. This order was issued under the crafty advice of Ali Morad, whose object was to create embarrassments, well knowing that the Ameers of Lower Sind dreaded the appearance of the despoiled princes at their capital, lest it should inflame the minds of the Beloochee chiefs, who were flocking to it with their followers.

Conference at
Hyderabad,
1843.

The conference was held on the arrival of Major Outram at Hyderabad. The Ameers denied that they had infringed the treaties. They repudiated the hostile correspondence, and maintained that they had never affixed their seals to the letters said to have been addressed to the Boogtie chief and to the ruler of the Punjab. They demanded that these documents should be produced and examined in their presence, but were informed that they were with the Governor-General. Meer Roostum again asserted that he had been placed under restraint by Ali Morad, and

that his seal had been affixed to the deed of resignation by force. Several conferences were subsequently held, at which the Ameers assured the Major that the Beloochee troops now assembled at the capital were not under control, and that the continued advance of Sir Charles Napier, who was marching on Hyderabad, must inevitably lead to a collision. They assented to the conditions of the treaties, although they were deemed harsh; they were ready even to relinquish the large territory which Sir Charles had confiscated, but they required the assurance of Major Outram that the Turban and the territory seized by Ali Morad should be restored to Meer Roostum, if he could substantiate the allegation of violence. If this concession were made, they thought that they might succeed in restraining the passions of the troops. It was beyond the power of Major Outram to assent to this proposal. On the 12th February, he attended a durbar in the fort, when all the Ameers affixed their seals to the treaties. The city, however, was in a state of commotion; the sight of the fugitive and disinherited princes of Upper Sind, and, more especially, of the venerable Meer Roostum, deposed from the chiefship and stripped of his territory by his perfidious brother, exasperated the inhabitants and the Beloochee chiefs beyond endurance. On issuing from the fort after the treaties had been executed, Major Outram and his officers were surrounded by a dense crowd of citizens and soldiers pouring execrations on the British name, and they would inevitably have fallen a sacrifice to popular fury, if they had not been protected by a guard under the command of the most influential chiefs, who refused to leave them till they were safe within the gates of the Residency. The next day a deputation waited on Major Outram to state that the Beloochee troops were wrought up to such a state of desperation that the Ameers were unable to restrain them, and could no longer be answerable for their conduct. "We have given you," they said, "all that you wanted for yourselves and for the Nabob of Bhawulpore without a murmur. Promise to restore the lands which Ali Morad has seized, or permit us

to recover them ourselves;" but Major Outram could only assure them that the Ameers must be held responsible for the conduct of their subjects. They entreated him to retire from the Residency to a place of greater safety, but he replied that he should neither move an inch, nor place an additional sentry at his door. On the morning of the 15th February, masses of infantry and cavalry came down upon the Residency and assailed it with great resolution, but they were effectually repulsed by a small body of native troops, and a company of the 22nd Foot, which happened to be present. After a gallant defence of three hours against overwhelming numbers, Major Outram retired with the loss of seventeen killed, wounded, and missing, to the armed steamer anchored in the river about five hundred yards distant. It is important to the interests of historical truth to correct the groundless assertion made on the authority of Sir Charles Napier in Lord Ellenborough's proclamation of the 5th March, that "the Ameers signed the new treaty on the 14th February, and treacherously attacked the residence of the British Commissioners with a large force on the following day." The treaty was signed on the 12th, and for two days the Ameers continued to importune Major Outram to retire from the Residency, because they were unable to curb the indignation of their feudatories, but, true to his chivalrous feeling, he resolved to remain and brave the danger.

The battle of
Meanee, 17th
February, 1843.

The attack on the Residency closed all negotiation, and rendered an appeal to arms inevitable. No course was left to Sir Charles Napier but to march to Hyderabad, and to join issue with the national force which had flocked thither in augmented numbers when it was perceived that he continued to advance after the treaties had been signed. On the morning of the 17th February he came upon the Beloches army posted at Meanee, about six miles from Hyderabad, numbering more than 20,000 men, while his own force did not exceed 2,700. The Beloches took up a strong position, with the dry bed of the Fullailee in

front, and a wood on each flank defended by fifteen guns. During three hours they maintained their ground with the greatest courage and resolution, and being excellent swordsmen, repeatedly rushed down the bank on the British ranks, after having discharged their matchlocks. The fortune of the day was at length decided by a charge of cavalry on the right of the enemy, while another body of horse fell simultaneously on their camp, spreading dismay in the rear of the masses opposed to the British infantry. The Beloochees disputed every inch of ground, and gradually retired from the field, leaving their camp, their artillery, and all their military stores in the hands of the victors. Braver men never rushed on death, and never on any Indian battle-field had the gallantry of British troops, or the generalship of a British commander, been more conspicuously displayed. No quarter was asked or given, and the loss of the Beloochees in killed and wounded was computed at 5,000, while that of the British force, owing to the admirable tactics of Sir Charles Napier, did not exceed 257, of whom nineteen were officers. The victory was as complete as it was brilliant, but a fresh body of 10,000 Beloochees arrived the next day, and Shere Mahomed, the Ameer of Meerpore, the ablest and most martial of the princes, was in the neighbourhood with about the same number of men, who had taken no part in the engagement. Sir Charles was without the means of laying siege to the fort of Hyderabad, and would have been constrained to retire to the banks of the Indus and throw up entrenchments, while he awaited the arrival of a battering train. This appearance of weakness might have marred the prospects of the campaign. From these embarrassments he was happily relieved by the voluntary submission of the Ameers, and the surrender of the fortress. He entered Hyderabad on the 20th February, and obtained possession of the accumulated treasures and jewels of the Talpoora family, which were distributed as prize among the captors. Major Outram refused to accept his share of the plunder, acquired in what he considered an unjust war, and

distributed it, to the extent of 30,000 rupees, among the charitable institutions of India. Lord Ellenborough, soon after receiving intelligence of the victory at Meanee, issued a proclamation annexing the kingdom of Sinde, "fertile as Egypt," to the Company's territories, abolishing slavery, and opening the Indus to the navigation and commerce of all nations.

Second battle;
22nd March,
1843.

The gallant Shere Mahomed, of Meerpore, who, when Hyderabad was threatened by Sir John Keane and General Cotton in 1839, had come to the rescue with his coffin and his shroud, employed himself in collecting together the scattered bands of Beloochees, to make another effort for the independence of his country. He appeared in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, near the village of Dubba, on the 22nd March, and Sir Charles Napier, who had, in the meantime, received reinforcements which raised his force to 6,000, found the Ameer encamped with about 20,000 men in a strong position behind the dry bed of the Fullailee. The British artillery played on the enemy's centre, till it began to waver, the cavalry charged the left, and the 22nd Foot rushed up the bank of the river, under a galling fire of matchlocks without returning a shot, till within forty paces of the entrenchments, which they stormed with a noble devotion. The field was gallantly contested on both sides; the Beloochees fought with exemplary courage; the British officers and men emulated the example of their heroic commander, who moved about with the utmost composure where the shots were flying thickest. The victory was as complete as that of Meanee, and Shere Mahomed fled with only a small body of followers. A detachment was sent into the desert to take possession of the fortress of Omercote, famed as the birthplace of the Emperor Akbar. It was found deserted and Sir Charles Napier soon after announced to the Governor-General the complete subjugation of the country, which he made the subject of a pun, and, in reference to the charge of injustice with which the conquest was universally assailed, wrote *peccavi*, "I have sinned" (Sinde). During the year, there were some slight

ebullitions of discontent, but they were subdued without difficulty, and no conquered province in India has been found to acquiesce more rapidly and more completely in the establishment of British authority. Every effort to raise a local force in Afghanistan to sustain our authority had been defeated by the inveterate hostility and treachery of those who enlisted; but the Belochees entered cheerfully into the service of their conquerors, exhibited a feeling of invariable loyalty, and did not hesitate to embark on foreign service to garrison their transmarine settlements.

Remarks on the
conquest of
Sinde, 1843.

The achievements of the British army in Sindé, which were naturally contrasted with the cowardice and imbecility exhibited in Afghanistan, created a feeling of just exultation in India; but it was clouded by the conviction that the rupture with the Ameers was unjustifiable, and the war unrighteous. Lord Ellenborough, at a subsequent period, drew up an elaborate vindication of these proceedings, but it only served to place the weakness of the cause in a more prominent light. There is no doubt that he was keenly sensible of the injury inflicted on British prestige in India and in Asia by our disasters in Afghanistan, and was quick to resent any manifestations of hostile or even equivocal conduct in our allies, which could be traced to a suspicion of the decay of our power. Such indications of disaffection had been exhibited at the native Courts upon every former occasion of our reverses, even far more palpably than in the present instance in Sindé: but no Governor-General had deemed it necessary to visit them with a heavy retribution. They had always disappeared when victory was again associated with our arms, and they would have died a natural death in Sindé if the management of affairs had been in other hands than those of Sir Charles Napier. Lord Ellenborough, unwisely, placed indiscriminate confidence in his judgment, and regulated his own proceedings by the information he communicated. Many extenuating circumstances and many documents which could not have failed to modify his opinions were withheld from him,

and the fullest credit may be given to the assertion of Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, that the conquest of Sind would never have taken place if Lord Ellenborough had been in full possession of the real facts, and had been cognisant of the misdeeds of Ali Morad. Sir Charles entered upon his duties with a strong prejudice against the Ameers, and he was the victim of a foregone conclusion. At the beginning of his Sind career, he remarked, "We only want a pretext to coerce the Ameers," and after examining the letters said to be treasonable, affirmed "they have given a pretext, they have broken treaties. The more powerful Government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker, and it would be better to come to the result at once, if it can be done with honesty." On a subsequent occasion he wrote, "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be." The rascality is more apparent than the advantage, except to the captors, to whom it brought a rich draught of prize money, of which seven lacs fell to the share of the General-in-chief. On the finances of India it inflicted a loss of two crores and a-half of rupees in the course of fifteen years. The war was the result of Sir Charles's rash and impetuous proceedings, but it must not be forgotten that he was surrounded by the creatures, and stimulated by the villainous intrigues, of Ali Morad. The conquest of Sind admits of no vindication. It is a blot on our national escutcheon, but it stands alone among the transactions which have enlarged the boundaries of the British empire in India, and it is unjust to yield to an indolent dislike of investigation and pass a general censure on our career for an exceptional transgression. The treatment which the Ameers experienced forms one of the darkest pages in the history of British India. State policy might dictate their removal from a country where they had once been masters, but it was nevertheless an act of cruelty to inflict an indiscriminate banishment on these unhappy princes, many of whom were innocent even of a hostile thought, and

to consign them to a distant and dreary exile, separated from all those associations which form the charm of existence.

The mutinies,
1844.

For the first time in the history of British India, the expansion of the empire led to a mutiny of the sepoy. Sindé became a British province, and they lost the extra allowances which had been granted to them while on active service in an enemy's country. The sepoy could not comprehend why he should be deprived of any portion of his pay because he had assisted in adding a new province to the dominions of his masters, and he became insubordinate. In February, 1844, the 34th Native Infantry, which had been warned for service in Sindé, refused to march without the additional allowances granted to troops proceeding beyond the Indus. The 7th Bengal cavalry, and several companies of Bengal artillery followed the example on the line of march, and were ordered back to their former stations. The 69th and the 4th, which were ordered in their stead to the frontier, refused to embark in the boats provided for them at Ferozepore. The 64th at Loodiana exhibited equal reluctance for the service, and was countermarched to Benares. On reaching Umbala, the native officers came forward and assured the General commanding the division that the regiment had thought better of it, and was ready to proceed to Sindé. The Commander-in-chief, elated with this return of loyalty, imprudently determined to recompense it by a promise of higher pay and pension, and greater indulgences of furlough; but when the regiment arrived at Moodkee, the men broke out in open mutiny, and endeavoured to seize the colours, but were induced by the flattery of the commandant to resume their march. Two days after, the despatch of the Adjutant-General which announced the concessions made by the Commander-in-chief, under the impression that the corps was animated with a feeling of loyalty, was received in camp; but though it was then in a state of complete rebellion, the weak Colonel not only translated the letter into Hindostanee and circulated it among the sepoy, but aggravated the imprudence already com-

mitted by promising the batta they had received under General Pollock in Afghanistan. On the arrival of the regiment at Shikarpore, the extra allowances, to which the sanction of the Government of India had never been obtained, were withheld, and the men again broke out into mutiny. The station was under the command of General Hunter, an officer held in the highest estimation throughout the native army, but he was unable to restore discipline and was openly insulted and hustled on the parade. The sepoys affirmed that they had been allured to Sinde by false pretences, that they had been promised "Pollock's batta" but had received eight rupees instead of twelve. As there was unfortunately too much reason for this complaint, he marched the regiment back to the Indus, and agreed to condone the offence of all but the ringleaders. The mutiny was hushed up, and the Colonel cashiered. Finding it impracticable to garrison Sinde with a Bengal force, the Government turned to the Madras army which had never manifested any hesitation to embark on foreign service. But the Madras army was not free from the taint of insubordination; and, during the previous six years, there had been repeated instances of mutiny on various occasions, and at more than one station. The 47th was under orders for Moulmein, a station across the bay on the Tenasserim coast, where the sepoys had always enjoyed extra allowances. It was determined to change their destination and embark them for Bombay on their way to Sinde, with the promise of the same additional pay they had enjoyed when crossing the sea. The assurance thus given by the Governor in ignorance of the regulations of the Bengal army, was of no validity, and the men, finding on their arrival at Bombay that their expectations were disappointed, broke out in open mutiny on parade. The leaders were placed in confinement, and a small advance of money was served out which kept down the spirit of resistance, but it was deemed hazardous again to attempt the experiment of despatching Madras regiments to Sinda.

The province was made over to the Bombay army, and satisfactory arrangements were made regarding the allowances of the troops. These repeated explosions clearly demonstrated that the feeling of subordination was gradually becoming relaxed in the minds of the sepoys, and afforded a premonition of that climax of mutiny which, thirteen years later, swept away the whole of the Bengal army.

Lord Ellenborough's announcement of the victory of Meanee, and the subjugation of Sindia, was dated from the palace of Agra on the 5th March. On the same day an order was issued to concentrate a large force on the frontier of Sindia's territories, at a little distance from that city, to support the authority of the regent, recently appointed under the auspices of the Governor-General. Before the close of the year two battles were fought which placed the whole of the Gwalior kingdom at the disposal of the British Government. Resuming the thread of events at that durbar, after the death of Dowlut Rao Sindia, we remark that his widow, Baeza Bye, adopted Junkojee Sindia in 1827, and that he died on the 7th February, 1843, without issue, and without having named a successor. In 1838 he had taken for his second wife, Tara Bye, now in her thirteenth year. Immediately upon his death she adopted a boy of the age of eight, not without the full concurrence of the chiefs and of the Governor-General, and bestowed on him the royal title of Gyajee. The durbar, comprising the most influential men in the state, lay, military and ecclesiastical, was anxious that the government of the country should continue to be administered by the existing council of ministers. Lord Ellenborough, however, considering the geographical position of the kingdom, which consisted of many straggling districts, impinging in every direction for many hundred miles on the territories of the Company and its allies, and bearing in mind also the extreme youth of the raja and his adoptive mother, deemed it important that the management of the state should rest upon the responsibility of a single individual as regent. Two candidates appeared for this dignified office, the Mama

Progress of
affairs at
Gwalior, 1842.

Sahib, the uncle of the late raja, and Dada Khasjee, the hereditary chamberlain and keeper of the jewel office. The claims of the Dada were strongly supported by the young queen and the ladies of the court, but Lord Ellenborough directed the Resident to inform the durbar that he should prefer the appointment of the Mama Sahib, who was accordingly installed on the 23rd February. This interference in the appointment of the minister involved the necessity of giving him the support of the British Government, while it also rendered him an object of increasing aversion to an influential party in the state, by whom his rival was preferred. The ranee and her partisans, irritated at their disappointment, set every engine to work to thwart and harass the regent, and to throw his administration into confusion. It was in the prospect of being obliged to afford him material support, that Lord Ellenborough ordered the assembly of troops on the 5th March, but the receipt of more favourable intelligence from Gwalior induced him to countermand it three days after.

State of the
Gwalior Army,
1843.

The great source of disquietude at Gwalior was the state of the army, consisting of about 30,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, with 200 pieces of cannon, commanded for the most part by Christian officers of European descent. It was not in any sense a Mahratta force corresponding with that of the first Sindia and animated with a strong feeling of national enthusiasm, but a mercenary body recruited from the martial population of the provinces of Rajpootana, Oude, and the Company's territories. It was out of all proportion, not only to the requirements of the kingdom, which was protected from external invasion by its British alliance, but also to its revenues, of which it absorbed more than two-thirds. The Government of Gwalior had made repeated attempts to reduce its numbers with a view to the tranquillity of the country and the relief of the treasury, but the troops peremptorily refused to permit any of the corps to be paid up and disbanded, or any vacancy in their ranks to remain empty. They were, moreover, always in arrears, some-

times to the extent of ten months' pay, which necessarily served to increase the feeling of arrogance and insubordination. The army was in fact too large and too strong for the state. One of the battalions of a brigade of infantry under a native commandant, had recently committed great excesses in Malwa, and in consequence of a strong remonstrance from the Resident, he was ordered to repair alone to Gwalior to answer for his conduct; but he chose to march up contumaciously at the head of his battalion, and the whole brigade was immediately infected with a mutinous feeling. Lord Ellenborough pressed on the regent the importance of dealing vigorously with this spirit of rebellion, and offered him the assistance of a British force, but he prudently declined the proposal, from the conviction that the appearance of foreign soldiers in the country would raise a flame in the army, and inevitably lead to a collision.

Dismissal of the Regent, 1843. The opposition to the regent was organized in the zenana, chiefly through the intrigues of a very clever slave girl, who had acquired a complete ascendancy over the childish mind of the ranee. The slave was at length induced by a large donation to withdraw from the palace, and the Dada, who headed the adverse faction, was advised to proceed to Benares with the bones of the deceased raja, as he had conveyed the bones of Dowlut Rao Sindia sixteen years before to the same holy city; but he declined the insidious proposal, well knowing that he would not be permitted to return to Gwalior when he had once quitted it. To strengthen his influence at the court, the Regent betrothed the young raja to his own niece, but the palace confederacy assured the ranee that this alliance would completely undermine her influence, as indeed it was intended to do, and ten days after the ceremony had taken place, she sent abruptly to inform the Resident that, having various causes of complaint against the regent, she had thought fit to dismiss him from his office. The Resident energetically remonstrated with the self-willed girl on the folly of this course, but she turned a deaf ear to

all his representations. He then requested permission to call up a British detachment to support the cause of the regent, but Lord Ellenborough refused to sanction this movement, though he caused intimation to be given to the ranee, that it was indispensable to establish a Government at Gwalior capable of maintaining tranquillity along the extensive line of its frontier, and that it was impossible for him to permit "the growth of a lax system of rule generating habits of plunder." Lord Ellenborough had lost all confidence in the regent, who ought in his opinion to have been able, with the aid of the army and the countenance of the British authorities, to baffle the machinations of the palace. "You have proved yourself," he said, "unfit to manage men or women, and a minister at Gwalior must manage both." The regent was violently expelled the country, and the revengeful Dada would have deprived him of his liberty, as well as of his property, as he passed through the independent state of Seronge, but for the interposition of the Governor-General. The degradation of the minister who had been supported by the Government of India was an insult which Lord Ellenborough was not disposed to overlook, and the Resident was desired to withdraw from the capital with all his establishment, and to retire to Dholpore. The durbar had not forgotten that the retirement of Colonel Collins in 1803 was immediately followed by the battle of Assye and the dismemberment of the kingdom, and every effort was made to induce the Resident to return to the capital; but the Governor-General steadily refused to give his consent.

Confusion at
Gwalior, 1843.

On the expulsion of the regent, the ranee assumed the ostensible management of the state, and held durbars daily, but all real power was in the hands of the Dada, who had secured the females of the zenana by lavish gifts of money and land. He manifested his hostility to the Government of India by expelling from office those who were favorable to it, and installing those who were known to regard it with aversion. The most influential nobles held aloof

from him, and he never moved out of the palace, where he considered himself secure, without the protection of a strong guard. In this state of political confusion, the army, which was concentrated at the capital and courted by all parties, became more arrogant and overbearing than ever, and the soldiers of the artillery insulted their officers and expelled them from the camp. The ranee continued to importune the Resident to return, but he was instructed to inform her that until the Dada, the author of all these complications, and the only obstacle to the restoration of friendly relations between the two states, was removed from her counsels, he was not at liberty to resume his functions at the capital. This communication was delivered, in common with all others, to the Dada, but he improperly withheld it from the ranee. Considering, however, that he was the chief minister of the state, and the sole medium of communication with her, the transgression will appear very venial, but the Governor-General thought fit to regard it as an "offence of the most criminal character against the state of Gwalior," and peremptorily demanded that he should be committed to the custody of the Resident. The ranee replied that she was prepared to deprive him of his office and authority, and to place him under restraint within the Gwalior territories, but that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the crown to surrender him at the dictation of a foreign power. Three of the ablest and most influential of the nobles, anxious to preserve the alliance and friendship of the British Government, formed a junction with one of the brigades hostile to the Dada, and, after having besieged the palace for three days, obtained possession of his person. The capital presented the appearance of two hostile encampments. The rival parties were equally balanced in numbers and strength, but the command of the treasury gave the ranee a preponderating influence. They came at length to an open rupture, which resulted in the loss of fifty or sixty lives. Soon after, the Dada contrived to effect his escape, and again assumed the management of affairs, issued eight months' pay to the troops, and made pre-

parations to oppose any movement of British troops which the Governor-General might order.

On the 1st November, Lord Ellenborough recorded a Minute on the state of affairs at Gwalior, which furnishes a key to his subsequent proceedings. It was exceptionally free from paradox and eccentricity, and, if viewed either with reference to the soundness of its political views, or to the vigour of its style, may be considered one of the ablest state papers on the records of the Council. Whether forced on us, he said, by circumstances, or the settled object of our arms and policy, our position in India is that of the paramount and controlling power, and it is therefore impossible to take a partial and insulated view of our relations with any one state within that limit. To recede from that position would endanger our own existence, and bring upon all the states now dependent on us the most afflicting calamities. It would let loose all the elements of confusion, and lead the several states to seek redress for daily occurring grievances against each other, not from the superintending justice of the British Government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured; and the countries which, under our protection, have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace would again be exposed to devastation. He then passed in review the transactions of the year at Gwalior where the expulsion of the regent, nominated with our concurrence, and the elevation of his rival, was an affront of the gravest character, and where, moreover, an army of 30,000 men, with a very numerous artillery, under the direction of a person who had obtained his post and could only retain it in despite of the British Government, lay within a few marches of the capital of the north-west provinces. "Still, under ordinary circumstances, we might perhaps have waited upon time, and trusted to the disunion manifest among the chiefs, and the usual vicissitudes of an Indian court, to restore our influence at Gwalior. But the events which have recently occurred at Lahore will not permit the resort to a policy

suit only to a state of general tranquillity in India." In the Punjab both the sovereign and his son had been murdered in the month of September at the instigation of Dhyān Sing, who was himself slain on the same day by the assassin he had employed to destroy his master. Heera Sing, the son of Dhyān Sing, revenged the death of his father, proclaimed Duleep Sing sovereign, and endeavoured to gain over the army by the addition of two rupees and a-half to the monthly pay of each soldier. Amidst these convulsions and massacres the army had become the dominant power in the state, and Lord Ellenborough justly remarked that "with an army of 70,000 men within three marches of the Sutlege, confident in its own strength, proud of its various successes against its neighbours, desirous of war and of plunder, and under no discipline or control, it would be unpardonable were we not to take every possible precaution against its hostility, and no precaution appears to be more necessary than that of rendering our rear and our communications secure, by the re-establishment of a friendly Government at Gwalior." It will admit of no controversy that while this large army, composed of the bravest soldiers in India, and its three hundred guns, complete masters of the Government, and eager to pour down on our territories, lay across the Sutlege, and another powerful army with two hundred guns, trained by European officers and equally beyond the control of the state, lay within sixty-five miles of Agra, the British empire was in a position of extreme peril. The Governor-General would have incurred a serious responsibility if he had been indifferent to the importance of reducing the Gwalior army before the collision with the Sikhs, which was evidently inevitable, came on. Lord Ellenborough had continued for two months to press the surrender of the Dada on the ranee, and the Resident had assured her that nothing short of it would satisfy the British Government. "If," he said, "the Governor-General, who is now on his way to Agra, should not find the Dada there on his arrival, God alone knows what orders may be issued."

Proceedings of
Lord Ellen-
borough, 1843.

Lord Ellenborough arrived at Agra on the 11th December, and finding that the Dada had not quitted Gwalior, wrote the next day to inform the ranee that it would have been gratifying to him if her conduct had enabled him to look forward to a long continuance of friendship between the states, but her Highness had unfortunately listened to other counsels and the British authorities could neither permit the existence within the territories of Sindia of an unfriendly Government, nor allow those territories to remain without a Government willing and able to maintain order, and to preserve the relations of amity with its neighbours. Compelled by the conduct her Highness had been advised to adopt, he was obliged to look to other means than those of friendly remonstrance to maintain the relations of the two states in their integrity. He had directed the British armies to advance, and would not arrest their movements till he had full security for the future tranquillity of the common frontier. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, accordingly, commenced his march towards Gwalior, and the Dada was immediately sent to Dholpore with a letter from the ranee to request that as the wishes of the Governor-General had been complied with, the progress of the army might be arrested. On the 18th December, Lord Ellenborough replied to her communication, repeating his former remarks on the necessity of a strong Government able to control its own subjects, and he required that the Gwalior army, which was to all intents the master of the Government it pretended to serve, should be reduced within reasonable limits, and that the strength of the British contingent should be increased. The completion of this measure in a satisfactory manner by the Maharanee and the durbar, would render the advance of the British armies no longer requisite, but they would be at hand to give aid to her Highness, if necessary, in effecting this purpose. Instead, however, of resting the justification of these proceedings on the undeniable argument of an imperative necessity, Lord Ellenborough

adopted the feeble plea of the duty he owed "the Maharaja, whose person and whose rights as the successor of Dowlut Rao Sindia were placed by treaty under the protection of the British Government." The treaty thus unexpectedly brought forward was that of Boorhanpore, forced on Sindia by Lord Wellesley in 1804, and negotiated by Colonel Malcolm. It provided that a subsidiary force of 6,000 men should be organized on Sindia's behoof, and that "it should be ready at all times, on the requisition of the Maharaja, to execute services of importance, such as the care of his person, his heirs, and successors, and the overawing and chastisement of rebels, or excitors of disturbance in his dominions." But as this subsidiary force was not to be paid from his treasury, or even stationed within his territories, it was never called into existence. The treaty itself became a dead letter from the day it was signed, and no reference was subsequently made to it, either by the Mahratta court, or by the Government of India. When a new treaty was formed with Sindia by Lord Hastings, in 1817, although previous and succeeding treaties were recapitulated and confirmed, that of Boorhanpore was unnoticed. It was this obsolete treaty which Lord Ellenborough now restored to life, after it had lain in the grave for forty years, and on the strength of it ordered two armies into the Gwalior territories, not only without the requisition of the raja, but in spite of the remonstrances of his Government.

Deputation from
Gwalior—March
of the army, 1843.

The ranee and raja, finding that the Governor-General was moving down with a large force to the Chumbul, the boundary of the two states, determined to advance to the frontier town of Dholpore to meet him; and a deputation of three of the most influential chiefs of the durbar, friendly to the Company's Government, was sent forward to arrange the interview. They suggested that the queen and the prince, who were then on the eve of leaving the capital, should wait on Lord Ellenborough in his present encampment, which was the spot where all former Governors-General had awaited the visit of the Gwalior rajas. Lord

Ellenborough replied that he could not wait their arrival, and that the army would advance as soon as the whole of the troops had joined it. The chiefs entreated him to reconsider this determination. It was, they said, a question of vital importance, affecting the honour of the house of Sindia, which would be eternally disgraced if, contrary to all precedent, the Governor-General should cross the frontier before the raja had paid his respects to him on British territory. It was in his hands to uphold or to destroy the dynasty of their master; the treaty which had been propounded would occasion no difficulty; it was for him to dictate the terms, it was for them to obey; but they implored him with joined hands to weigh the serious consequences which might result from his crossing the Chumbul with a large force before the interview with the raja. The only reply vouchsafed to this entreaty by the Governor-General was a repetition of the assertion that it was impossible to suspend the progress of the army. The chiefs then proposed that the queen and the prince should meet him at Hingona, about twenty-three miles distant from Gwalior, and sign the treaty, and Lord Ellenborough consented to fix the 26th for the meeting; but the Gwalior troops did not fail to perceive that the advance of the British army was a hostile movement, and would result in depriving them of the power and the position they had acquired, and in consigning them to beggary. All party animosities were hushed before the danger which equally menaced the independence of the state and the existence of the army, and chiefs and soldiers made common cause against the designs of the Governor-General. The Gwalior battalions prevented the ranee and the prince from keeping their appointment at Hingona, and marched out of the capital with exultation, assuring the Resident as they passed, that they were going to drive the English back across the Chumbul.

The battle of
Maharajpore,
29th Dec., 1843.

The Governor-General waited in vain two days at Hingona for the royal party, and on the 28th December directed the army to advance upon

Gwalior. Sindia's troops had taken up a strong position at Chounda, and the arrangements of Sir Hugh Gough were directed to this point, but, during the night seven battalions of infantry, with twenty guns of heavy calibre, advanced to the village of Maharajpore and entrenched themselves, with their formidable batteries in its front. The Commander-in-chief and the officers of his staff had fallen into the usual error of despising the enemy, and considered them a contemptible rabble, ready to take to flight on the first shot. General Churchill, the Quartermaster-General, who fell gallantly in the action, observed on the day preceding it that the only weapon he should require was a good horsewhip. The progress of the British army was regarded in the light of a military promenade. The Governor-General and the ladies of the chief officers accompanied it on elephants. There was no reconnaissance in the morning, and the enemy's change of position was unknown to Sir Hugh. The cavalcade advanced gaily to Maharajpore where it was intended to breakfast, when a sudden discharge from the masked batteries of the Mahrattas, gave the first intimation of the proximity of Sindia's army. One of the balls struck the ear of the elephant on which the wife of a General was mounted. The Commander-in-chief was required to alter his dispositions in haste, and the battle which ensued was justly characterized as one in which everybody and everything was out of place. The British force numbered about 12,000; that of the enemy amounted to 14,000, but there was no General-in-chief to direct their movements. Each brigade marched out of Gwalior and took up its own position, which it maintained with extraordinary courage and resolution. After the surrender of the Dada, our siege train had been sent back, the heavy guns which accompanied our force were unaccountably left in the rear, and the light field pieces were soon upset by the heavy ordnance of the enemy. Our troops were therefore at once launched on their batteries, which were served with a frantic desperation, as long as there was a gunner left. Even after the capture of the guns the infantry

continued to maintain its ground with great determination. Victory was at length secured, not by any professional skill, but simply by the irresistible gallantry of our soldiers, of whom a thousand fell killed and wounded. Lord Ellenborough won his spurs on the field, and was seen moving about with the greatest intrepidity amidst a shower of bullets, distributing money and oranges among the wounded. On the same day,

Battle of Pun-
niar, December
29th, 1843.

another battle was fought with another portion of the Gwalior force at Punniar, by the troops under the command of General Grey, who had been directed to advance against the capital from the south, while Sir Hugh Gough advanced from the north. It ended in a complete victory.

New treaty
and settlement,
1844.

These victories placed the kingdom of Sindia at the feet of the Governor-General, but he left it entire, and simply suppressed its independence. Two days after the engagement, the young ranee and raja proceeded to the British encampment together with the principal chiefs and the officers of the court. The boy was in a state of great perturbation throughout the interview. The litter of the ranee, closely veiled, was conveyed to a private tent, and Lord Ellenborough seated himself beside it, while the two Mahratta ministers squatted on the carpet and explained his address to her as it was interpreted by Colonel Sleeman, the Resident. Considering that she was not thirteen, she behaved with remarkable self-possession. After alluding to her extreme youth and inexperience, she said she had come out with her adopted son to implore forgiveness for what had occurred, which she attributed to the arrogance of her licentious soldiery. The Governor-General replied that measures must be taken to restore order, and to establish an efficient Government, and he held out a hope of her being permitted to take a share in it; but when the treaty came to be settled she found herself deposed from the office of regent, and consigned to oblivion on a pension of three lacs of rupees a-year. The majority of the raja was fixed at eighteen, and the

administration was in the meanwhile committed to a council of regency, consisting of six sirdars, who were required to act implicitly on the advice of the Resident whenever he might think fit to offer it. The turbulent army of the state was reduced to 9,000 men, with thirty-two guns, and so completely had the two battles broken its spirit that it was disbanded in ten days without any appearance of tumult. Many of the soldiers enlisted in the British contingent, which was increased to the number of 10,000, and became, in fact, a compact little army of all arms, with an admirable artillery. In the splendour of its uniform and the superiority of its discipline and efficiency, it eclipsed every other corps, and was called the model force of India. The sepoys were high caste brahmins and rajpoots from the Dooab and Oude, men of athletic forms and lofty carriage, and boundless assumption, and the European officers, selected for their merits, took a pride in maintaining the high standard of their regiments. During the mutiny of 1857, the men butchered their officers, crossed the Jumna, and proceeded to join their rebellious relatives of the Bengal army; and it was this body of troops which boldly encountered General Windham at Cawnpore in November, 1857, and inflicted a severe reverse on our arms; while Sindia and his illustrious minister, the raja Dinkur Rao, remained faithful in their allegiance to the British Government. The policy of breaking up this insubordinate force at Gwalior was abundantly vindicated two years after, when the 70,000 Sikh soldiers alluded to in the Minute of Lord Ellenborough, poured down upon the British territories and shook our power to its foundation. If at that crisis, when our military resources were taxed to their utmost strength to stem the tide of invasion on the Sutlege, the Gwalior army had been in existence, both anxious and ready to co-operate with the Sikhs, the empire of India could scarcely have been saved without a miracle.

Recall of Lord
Ellenborough,
15th June, 1844.

Lord Ellenborough returned to Calcutta in March, and, on the 15th June, India was astounded

by the intelligence that the Court of Directors had revoked his appointment. The causes of displeasure and anxiety he had given them were not few. His correspondence with the India House had been marked by the absence of that deference which was due to the high position assigned to them in the government of the empire, and his proceedings had often exhibited a contumelious disdain of their authority. He had twice been their superior at the Board of Control in England, and he scarcely realized the fact that in India he was their subordinate, and that it was his duty to obey and not to dictate. He had concentrated his sympathies on the army and treated the civil service, the favourites of Leadenhall Street, with undisguised contempt. The vagary of the Gate Proclamation had exposed the Government of India to the derision of England and Europe, and destroyed all confidence in the sobriety and soundness of Lord Ellenborough's judgment. Since his arrival in India he had dismissed that solicitude for the pursuits of peace in which he once took a pride, and contracted an extreme fondness for warlike exploits and military glory. His administration had presented only a succession of wars and battles. He appeared to the Directors to be without any fixity of purpose, or any definite principles of action, and they were in constant dread of the new embarrassments in which his eccentricities might involve them. They ceased to consider the empire safe in his hands, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends in the Ministry, determined to exercise the power they had refused to part with during the recent Charter discussions, and to recall him. His removal was regarded by the army he had caressed with feelings of deep regret, amounting almost to indignation. The community in general, while duly appreciating his many noble qualities, the total absence of nepotism, the patriotic distribution of his patronage, his indefatigable industry, his indomitable resolution, and his great energy and talent, still regarded his removal as an act of unquestionable wisdom. The feelings of the native princes were facetiously,

but accurately, described by Sir Henry Lawrence, when he remarked that after hearing of his recall, they ceased, on waking in the morning, to feel their necks to be sure that their heads were still on their shoulders. He embarked for England on the 1st August, and the Sikh war was postponed for a twelvemonth.

Improvements in Lord Ellenborough's attention was so completely absorbed in war and politics as to leave Lord Ellenborough's time, 1842—44.

him little leisure or inclination for the moral, intellectual, or material improvement of the country. But there is a vital principle of progression in the British Government in India which the caprice or indifference of those in authority, either there or in England, can interrupt only for a season. It was during the Government of Lord Ellenborough that the police of the lower provinces was rendered efficient, and two important measures of social improvement, the extinction of slavery, and the abolition of state lotteries, were achieved, chiefly through the exertions of the Vice-President in Council, Mr. Wilberforce Bird. The department of police had long been the opprobrium of the administration. It was a just subject of complaint that while the collectorate, which guarded the pecuniary interests of the state, received every attention from Government, the magistracy and the police, which concerned the interests of the people, were disgracefully neglected and inadequately remunerated. One Magistrate was considered sufficient for a population of a million, and the largest scope was thus afforded for the venality and oppression of the native police officers, whose allowances for half a century had been barely sufficient to cover their travelling expenses. Mr. Bird, following up the liberal views of Lord William Bentinck, established the office of Deputy Magistrate, to which men of every class, caste, and creed were made eligible, and thus indefinitely increased the strength and efficiency of the department. He was likewise successful in his efforts to establish four grades of police *darogas*, the highest of which was endowed with 100 rupees a-month—a wretched pittance at

the best—but it was all that could be obtained at the time. State lotteries had been established in the Presidency towns after the example of England, but they were continued long after they had been abandoned at home. The proceeds were appropriated to the material improvement of the towns, though at the expense of their morals. In Calcutta, the profits of the lottery had been hypothecated for many years to the state in payment of the very large advances made to the municipal body for various improvements. Happily, the debt was liquidated, and the money reverted to the treasury during Mr. Bird's tenure of office. It was the province of the local government of Bengal to sanction the half-yearly scheme of the lotteries; and in 1843 Mr. Bird availed himself of his position to suspend the usual order, pending a reference to the Court of Directors, well knowing that when a noxious system of this character, long since condemned in England, had once been intermitted in India, it would be impossible to revive it. He also drafted an Act which, after describing lotteries as detrimental to the interests of society, abolished them throughout India, except where they might be authorized by the Government; but this condemnation rendered any state lottery impossible. Lord Ellenborough was busy with the Ferozepore pageantry when the draft reached him, and, though the enactment was not exactly in accordance with his own opinion, gave his immediate consent to it, and the country was at once relieved from this prolific source of evil. The question of slavery had been referred to the Law Commission appointed by the Charter Act of 1833, who drew up an elaborate report, to which were attached the Minutes of the individual members, all of whom were opposed to its immediate abolition. When the question was brought before the Supreme Council, Mr. Bird stood up for its entire and peremptory prohibition, but was not supported by his colleagues. In the able Minute which he drew up on the subject, he said, "It is proposed to postpone this grand measure to some future period, when it can be carried into effect with greater safety. This is exactly

the course which was pursued with regard to suttees; certain detailed rules and regulations were passed with a view to restrict within the narrowest possible bounds the performance of that rite, but which were found on trial to be attended with the exact contrary effect; and we were obliged to do at last what might have been done twenty years sooner with equal facility." Some time after, having been appointed Vice-President in Council, and seeing the tide of official opinion turning against the toleration of the evil, he ventured to introduce the draft of an Act for the total and immediate abolition of it throughout India, to which Lord Ellenborough, then in the north-west, gave his hearty concurrence, and soon after extended it to the province of Sind upon its annexation.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION, 1844—1848.

Lord Hardinge
Governor-
General—His
Antecedents,
1844.

ON the recall of Lord Ellenborough, the Ministry proposed his kinsman and friend, Sir Henry Hardinge as his successor, and the Court of Directors heartily concurred in the nomination. Sir Henry had entered the army at an early age, and went through the campaigns in the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington, in which he received four wounds, had four horses shot under him, and earned nine medals. His brightest wreath was won at the battle of Albuera, the success of which was attributed chiefly to his gallantry and skill, and he was described by a great historical authority "as the young soldier of twenty-five with the eye of a general and the soul of a hero." He was present at the battle of Waterloo and was disabled by a severe wound. On the return of peace he entered Parliament, and,

having joined the Tory Ministry, filled, on two occasions, the post of Secretary at War, and was twice, for brief periods, Secretary for Ireland. In the management of these departments he exhibited a clear and sound judgment, great decision of character, and a kind and generous disposition, while he acquired a large store of official experience. These qualifications, but more especially his high reputation as a soldier, recommended him for the Government of India, at a time when the right bank of the Sutlege was bristling with hostile bayonets, and the army of the Punjab was beyond the control of the state. He entered on the duties of his office at the same age as Lord Hastings, in his sixtieth year. At the valedictory dinner at the London Tavern, the Chairman expounded to him the various duties of a Governor-General, among the most important of which he pointed out the maintenance of respect for the authority of the Court; "and we are persuaded," he said, "that you will impress this feeling on our servants abroad, not merely by precept, but by your example." With this lecture over the body of his contumacious and immolated predecessor, he was dismissed to his post. He went out with the most pacific intentions, anxious to establish his fame in connection with the Indian empire, not by means of conquest or the exhibition of military skill, but as the friend of peace, by efforts to promote the social interests and welfare of the people. But, like his two predecessors, he was destined to an early disappointment, and the most memorable events of his administration are the four battles fought in fifty-four days, which were more vigorously contested and more sanguinary than any we had previously fought in India.

Sir H. Hardinge
in Calcutta,
1844.

Sir Henry Hardinge reached Calcutta on the 23rd July. Before leaving England he paid a visit to Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone to seek his advice.

The veteran statesman warned him against meddling with civil details. On his arrival he took the earliest opportunity of calling up and stating to the Secretaries to Government that he was not accustomed to civil affairs, and least of all to

Indian questions, but as they were selected and paid for their experience in such matters, he expected in every case that they would suggest in writing what they considered best to be done, and if he placed his initials under the suggestions they were to be carried into effect. "I do not think," he said, "you will try to mislead me, but if you do, it will be the worse for you sooner or later." Occasionally, he took steps to assure himself that he was properly advised, and was jealous and inquisitive if he suspected anything wrong in the opinions offered to him. He never allowed the Secretaries to forget their responsibility, and they felt that he was not to be trifled with. Under this system, business is said to have been promptly and satisfactorily performed. Within three months after his arrival he passed the memorable resolution, which held out the encouragement of office and promotion in the public service to the successful students of the Government colleges, as well as of private institutions; and thus gave the state the benefit of the talent which it had assisted to develop. For some time, this liberal measure was but slenderly carried into effect; because in India, as in England, the cause of education has been the sport of party prejudices and individual caprices. It was not fully carried out till after the establishment of the University of Calcutta, to which the various educational institutions in the country were affiliated, and which was impartial in the distribution of honours, but the merit of it belongs to Sir Henry Hardinge's administration, and he was recompensed by an address of thanks signed by five hundred of the most influential native gentlemen in Calcutta. The important and difficult question of corporal punishment in the native army was forced upon his attention at an early period, by a large body of experienced officers, who considered the abolition of it by Lord William Bentinck a great error. To that measure there had always been the cardinal objection that the retention of flogging in the European army after it had been abolished in the sepoy regiments created an invidious distinction, which lowered the character of the English soldier in the

estimation, not only of his own native comrades, but also of natives of all ranks. It was also asserted, by a reference to the increase of acts of insubordination, that the abolition had failed as an experiment of discipline. Under the old system, the average number of cases of corporal punishment had not exceeded 700 in the year, while under the new rule, the number sentenced for rebellious conduct to work on the roads with thieves and felons—which inflicted indelible disgrace on their families—amounted in the aggregate to 10,000. It was a question beset with difficulties. More than one regiment was known to be in a state of disaffection, and it was affirmed that only a spark was required to kindle the flame of mutiny throughout the army. Sir Henry listened calmly to all that was advanced on both sides of the question, and after a most anxious and careful deliberation, drew up a masterly Minute which embodied the arguments on which he came to the conclusion of repealing Lord William Bentinck's order. Greatly as it is to be desired that the humiliating practice of corporal punishment, which cannot fail to lower the morale of an army, should be extinguished under the flag of England in all parts of the world, still, the re-establishment of it in the then existing condition of the Bengal army, from a paramount consideration of duty, was an act of moral courage which reflects the highest credit on Sir Henry Hardinge. It is grateful to record that the punishment was so rarely inflicted that the order became a dead letter.

Revolutions in
the Punjab,
1839-40.

During the years 1844 and 1845 the attention of Sir Henry Hardinge was anxiously fixed on the storm gathering in the Punjab; and we now turn to the progress of events in that country, where the death of Runjeet Sing was followed by six years of anarchy and bloodshed. He was succeeded in July, 1839, by his imbecile son, Khurruk Sing, but all real power was vested in Khurruk's son, the young and gallant Nao Nihal, who, if he had not been prematurely cut off, would probably have emulated the ambition of his grandfather, whose talent and energy he inherited. This

power, however, he was obliged to share with Dhyān Sing, the minister, one of the three brothers of the Jummoo, or Dogra family, which at this period played a most important part in Punjab politics. Golab Sing, the head of the house, was originally a running footman, who happened to attract the attention of Runjeet Sing, and rapidly rose in favour; he was promoted to high office, and enriched with the territory of Jummoo, lying between Lahore and Cashmere. The Jummoo rajas were Rajpoots and not Sikhs, and this circumstance, combined with the extraordinary power they had attained, rendered them objects of envy and aversion. It was the great object of Nao Nihal Sing to reduce the authority of this family which overshadowed the throne, but his career was too brief to accomplish it. Khurruk Sing died, prematurely, on the 5th November, 1840, of the excesses in which he had long indulged, and his son, after the performance of his funeral obsequies, was passing under a covered gateway on his return to the palace when a portion of the structure fell and injured him so seriously that he expired in the course of the evening.

Shere Sing and
the British Go-
vernment, 1842.

Chand Kowur, the widow of Khurruk Sing, seized the sovereignty, as regent, on behalf of the offspring to which the widow of Nao Nihal Sing was expecting to give birth, and she was assisted in the management of the state by Shere Sing, the reputed son of Runjeet Sing, and by the minister, Dhyān Sing. Shere Sing, who himself aspired to the sovereign power, and was supported by British influence, as well as by the minister, succeeded in gaining over some divisions of the army, and marched down upon Lahore on the 14th January, 1841. The chiefs interfered and insisted on a compromise. Chand Kowur was induced to retire from the court to a large jagheer which was assigned to her, and Shere Sing became the ruler of the Punjab. He was shrewd, bold and frank, but the slave of sensuality, and the vassal of the Jummoo rajas, whom he was unable either to shake off, or to control. The soldiers had been the chief instruments

of his elevation, and he rewarded them with an increase of pay to the extent of a rupee a-month, which, as might have been expected, only served to sharpen their avarice and to increase their arrogance. They proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the officers who were obnoxious to them. General Court was obliged to fly for his life; General Avitabile was constrained to abandon Peshawur and seek shelter at Jellalabad, and the governor of Cashmere was put to death. The merchants of Umritsir began to tremble for their warehouses and money bags, and became clamorous for British protection. Shere Sing, unable to restrain his troops, made overtures to Lord Auckland in the spring of 1841, for the assistance of a British force. Sir William Macnaghten at Cabul was at the same time urging him to "crush the Sings, macadamize the Punjab, and annex the province of Peshawur to the dominions of Shah Soojah." A force of 10,000 men was accordingly held in readiness to enter the Punjab, and so little was the real strength of the Khalsa army appreciated that the Resident at Loodiana actually proposed to march with this force to Lahore and disperse it. For this aid Shere Sing was to pay a subsidy of four lacs of rupees and to cede the Cis-Sutlege province to the Company. On receiving the mention of this proposal, he is said to have replied to it by simply drawing his finger across his throat, to signify the fate to which it would consign him.. There can be no doubt that if this insane project had been persisted in, the whole Khalsa army would have risen to a man, and hurled back the invasion. With the exception of some Mahomedan corps, that army consisted of a compact body of martial Sikhs, united by strong national and religious sympathies, proud of the victories they had gained and the conquests they had achieved, and fully conscious of their strength. When the iron sceptre of Runjeet Sing was removed, these Prætorian bands became the masters of the Punjab. The soldiers in each regiment were generally obedient to their own officers, but, as a body, their policy was regulated by the will, not of the sovereign or his minister, but of the army committees called *punches*,

the council or jury of five, who made every movement subservient to the interests of the army, and not of the state. The adherence of the troops was consequently given to those who were most liberal in subsidizing them.

**Movement in
Tibet, 1841.**

While the capital was a prey to anarchy, Golab Sing, the Jummoo raja was pushing his ambitious projects in the north beyond the Himalaya range. His Lieutenant, Zorawur Sing, marched up to the sources of the Sutlege and the Indus, and established a military position in Chinese Tibet. The Governor-General considered it impolitic to allow Sikh influence to be extended to the confines of China, with the Government of which we had been at war, and were now negotiating a peace, and Shere Sing was required to recall the lieutenant of his feudatory. A day was fixed for restoring the town of Garo to the Grand Lama, and a British officer was deputed to witness the surrender; but before the order could reach Zorawur Sing, he was surrounded by the enemy on the banks of the classic lake of Manosuwur, 15,000 feet above the level of the sea. The Sikh soldiers, unaccustomed to the severity of such a climate, were frozen with the cold; their leader was slain; some of the principal officers were retained as prisoners, and the men were then left to perish of cold and starvation at a distance from their homes, which it was impossible for them ever to regain. In the spring of 1842, the victorious Chinese advanced along the upper Indus and expelled the Sikhs from all the positions they had occupied. Golab Sing poured fresh troops across the Himalaya, but, at the request of the British Government, a convention was at length concluded between the Government of Lahore and that of Lassa which replaced matters on the former basis.

**Murder of Shere
Sing, 1843.**

Dhyan Sing the minister, finding his influence in the durbar on the decline, induced Shere Sing, in the year 1843, to recall Ajeet Sing, the head of one of the most powerful clans in the Punjab, who had been banished from the court. Ajeet Sing, who himself aspired to the office of minister,

became the boon companion of the prince, but Dhyān Sing, with profound craft, endeavoured to persuade him that he had been inveigled to Lahore, only to ensure his destruction, and he resolved to put his sovereign to death to preserve his own life. On the 15th September, he invited Shere Sing to inspect some new levies he had raised, and shot him dead on the parade; at the same hour his uncle despatched the raja's youthful son Pertab Sing. The assassins then proceeded to the citadel to proclaim a new king in company with Dhyān Sing, who was insidiously separated from his escort and assassinated by Ajeet Sing. The young son of the murdered minister, Heera Sing, who had been the great favourite of Runjeet Sing, immediately called upon the soldiers to avenge these foul murders, and stimulated them to action by the promise of large rewards. They responded to his call, captured the citadel, and put both Ajeet Sing and his uncle to death. Duleep Sing, then five years of age, the son of Runjeet Sing by the ranee Jhindun, was brought forth from the zenana, and proclaimed Maharaja, while Heera Sing appropriated to himself the perilous post of minister. To strengthen his position he attached the troops to his interest, by immediately adding two rupees and a-half to the monthly pay of each soldier. From this time forward the army may be considered the absolute masters of the state. It was to these convulsions at Lahore that Lord Ellenborough made allusion in his Minute of the 1st November, when he dwelt on the necessity of making our rear secure by reducing the strength of the equally insubordinate army of Gwalior.

**Murder of Heera Sing and the Pun-
dit Julla, 1844.** The position of Heera Sing was both difficult and unstable. Two other sons of Runjeet Sing started up and endeavoured to supplant Duleep Sing, but, though they were joined by a portion of the troops, their efforts proved abortive. In March, 1844, Soochet Sing, one of the Jummoo rajas, anxious to supplant his nephew, and secure the office of minister, appeared at Lahore with a large body of followers and made an appeal to the army; but Heera Sing had been lavish in his gifts and promises, and his rival

was defeated and slain. The Khalsa army, which had now assumed a position of entire independence, was the great object of anxiety to Heera Sing, and he endeavoured to curtail its power by dispersing the regiments, and by raising levies in the highlands, but his purpose was effectually thwarted by the *punches*, who would not permit a single regiment to leave the capital without their concurrence. The success which had hitherto attended his administration was due, not so much to his own abilities, as to the genius of his tutor, the Pundit Julla, the priest of the Jummoo family, who regulated all his movements, and was considered a man of such transcendent talent, that, if he had been able to control the army, he might have succeeded in establishing a dynasty of Peshwas at Lahore. But before his authority was consolidated, he imprudently endeavoured to reduce the power of Golab Sing, who retaliated on him by exciting revolts in various directions. He likewise sequestered the estates of many of the chiefs and treated them with disdain; but, above all, he incurred the wrath of the vindictive ranee and her brother, by his supercilious deportment. They appealed to the army, and Heera Sing and the pundit were obliged to fly, but, although they endeavoured to retard the pursuers by dropping their costly jewels one by one in their path, they were overtaken and put to death, and their heads carried in triumph to Lahore. The death of Heera Sing involved the immolation of twenty-four women, his wives and slaves, on the funeral pile. The Sikhs, though reformed Hindoos, retained with more than ordinary tenacity a passion for suttees, and the veneration of the cow. Indeed, a woman who had devoted herself to death was considered in the light of a sacred character, and men of the first distinction in the state prostrated themselves before her as before an incarnate deity.

Approach of the
crisis in the Pun-
jab, 1845.

On the dissolution of the government of Heera Sing, the management of affairs fell into the hands of Juwahir Sing, the brother of the ranee, Jhindun, and of a handsome brahmin of the name of Lall Sing, her favourite paramour. It was not without reason that

Sir Henry Hardinge designated her the Messalina of the north. The soldiers received another augmentation of pay, and became so clamorous for fresh gratuities, and so insubordinate, that it was deemed necessary to find some employment for them, to prevent the overthrow of the Government. They were accordingly instigated to march against Golab Sing, who was odious to the Sikhs, and reputed to be very wealthy. The raja could not but feel that his highland regiments would be no match for the well-disciplined Khalsa troops, and he brought into practice all those arts of cozenage of which he was so complete a master. He flattered the army committees; he made a liberal distribution of money among the men, and succeeded at length in prevailing upon them to let him off with a mulct of thirty-five lacs of rupees, and the cession of a portion of his territory. When, however, the money came to be removed, a dispute arose between his own officers and those of the army which led to a collision; two chiefs were killed, and the passions of the soldiers were inflamed to such a degree that he was constrained to accompany them to Lahore to prevent the plunder of his capital. At Lahore, the troops and the ministers extorted no less than sixty-eight lacs of rupees from him, and left him but a very slender portion of the family domains. He returned to his own principality, after having assisted at the installation of Juwahir Sing as prime minister, and the betrothal of Duleep Sing to the daughter of Chutter Sing. To keep the troops in active employ, the durbar further determined to let them loose on Moolraj, who had been permitted to succeed to the office of dewan, or viceroy of Mooltan, on the assassination of his father in 1844, but had refused to increase his annual remittances, or to pay the fine of a crore of rupees which was demanded of him on his succession to the Government. Moolraj felt, as Golab Sing had done, that it would be impossible for him to cope with the Sikh army now marching against him, and in September, 1845, rescued himself from danger by a compromise of eighteen lacs of rupees. Soon after, Peshora Sing, another of the sons of Runjeet, raised the standard of revolt

at Attock, but was defeated and ruthlessly put to death by Juwahir Sing. That unfortunate prince had always enjoyed a degree of popularity with the people and the army from his relationship to Runjeet, and the contempt which had been generally felt for the low debauchee who occupied the post of minister, was turned into resentment by this atrocious murder. Lall Sing, who aspired to the office of vizier, made every effort to inflame this animosity. The *punches* met and determined that Juwahir Sing should die the death of a traitor, and he was led out into the plain of Meean Meer, in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and deliberately executed. After the loss of her brother, the ranee sat daily in durbar, transacting business, and in the beginning of November, 1855, appointed Lall Sing minister, and Tej Sing general-in-chief; but the army which had within the year humbled the two great feudatories of Jummoo and Mooltan, exacted eighty-six laes of rupees from them, defeated Peshora Sing, and pronounced death on the minister, was now the only real power in the state.

Preparations
on the frontier,
1845.

Nothing can more fully demonstrate the feeling of mutual respect and confidence which subsisted between the Government of India and Runjeet Sing than the fact that for thirty years after the Metcalfe treaty, the outpost at Loodiana, within a few marches of Lahore, and a hundred and fifty miles from any support, was left with a garrison of only two or three regiments. The anarchy which supervened on the death of Runjeet constrained the Government of India to make better provision for the protection of the frontier. Lord Auckland established a new cantonment at Ferozepore, which, however, was inadequately garrisoned. Lord Ellenborough, who considered a Sikh war all but unavoidable, increased the force on the frontier to 17,600 men with sixty-six guns. Sir H. Hardinge, immediately on his arrival, investigated the state of affairs on the Sutlege with the eye of a soldier, and found that it was one of extreme peril, and that the force collected there was not sufficient for the purpose of defence, still less for extensive

operations, if war should be forced upon us. His attention was steadily given to the augmentation of the army on the frontier, and he accomplished it so gradually and quietly, that it attracted no notice even in our own provinces. By these arrangements the number of troops massed on the Sutlege and at the stations immediately below it, was increased to 40,500, with ninety-four guns. Sir Henry Hardinge likewise brought up from Sind to Ferozepore fifty-six large boats, which Lord Ellenborough had, with great forethought, ordered to be constructed there to serve as a pontoon. It has been surmised that it was this large assemblage of troops in front of the Punjab, which raised the suspicions of the Khalsa army and led to the invasion of our territories, in order to anticipate our designs. But, considering the distracted condition of the Punjab, a prey to political convulsions, the Government of India would have been without excuse if the most ample preparations had not been made to meet an impending crisis, which might arrive at any day. The Khalsa army was the most efficient and the most formidable which had ever been assembled under native banners. It possessed all the vigour of a young creed, and of a recent organization. It was flushed with its past successes, and panted for future triumphs. Unmindful of its defeat at Jumrood, it considered itself more than a match for the Afghans, and, consequently, superior to the British, whom the Afghans had once defeated and chased from their territory. In 1843, and again in 1844, a large Sikh force had marched down towards the Sutlege with a view to the invasion of the Company's territories. During the year 1845 the army had completely overpowered the state, and the durbar at Lahore felt that the only chance of maintaining its own existence was to commit it to a conflict with the British power. No effort was therefore spared by those in authority to inflame the minds of the soldiers against our Government, and they met at the tomb of Runjeet Sing to renew their vows of fidelity to the Khalsa, and to devote themselves to the promotion of its greatness. It was not the precautionary measures

of the British Government, or the proceedings of its agents on the frontier, which brought on the collision. It was the ranee and Lall Sing and Tej Sing who launched the Sikh battalions on our territories, from the selfish motive of providing for their own security, and endeavoured to avert the plunder of Lahore by sending them to sack Delhi and Benares. If any blame is to be attached to Sir Henry Hardinge, it is that, in the presence of such imminent danger, he exceeded in moderation the bounds of prudence, and that, from the laudable desire of avoiding the charge of having provoked hostilities by the extent of his military preparations, he delayed to move the troops which he had collected, to the banks of the Sutlege, to be on the spot for immediate action whenever the emergency should arrive. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the military virtues of the Sikh army had always been underrated by the political officers connected with the Punjab, and that even to the latest period it was designated by some in high position "a rabble demoralized by the absence of every principle of subordination, and by its unchecked violence." Neither the Government nor its officers had any adequate conception of the profound feeling of national ambition and arrogant confidence, and unexampled courage with which it was animated. They thought it possible that British districts might be insulted by the desultory inroads of marauding horsemen, or by loose bands of fanatic Akalis, but they never dreamt that 60,000 soldiers, with a large and admirably served artillery, would cross the Sutlege and burst as suddenly on our dominions as Hyder Ali had burst on the Carnatic sixty-five years before.

The Sikh army
cross the Sutlege,
1845.

On the evening of the 17th November a general order was issued by the durbar for the invasion of the British dominions, but the astrologers declared that there would not be an auspicious day before the 28th. The troops were impatient to advance, and the ranee endeavoured to hasten their departure; but her eagerness tended to rouse their suspicions, and they remained in a state

of hesitation for nearly three weeks. On the 23rd November the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief received intimation of the marching orders the Sikh army had received, and Major Broadfoot, the political agent on the frontier, urged the most prompt and energetic measures of defence, but Sir Henry Hardinge, still clinging to the hope of peace, directed him to send another remonstrance to the Lahore durbar, the only response vouchsafed to which, was an order to the troops to commence their march without any further delay. Animated by a feeling of national and religious enthusiasm, 60,000 Khalsa soldiers with 40,000 armed followers and a hundred and fifty guns of large calibre crossed the Sutlege in the brief space of four days, each soldier turning his hand with great alacrity to the transport of the guns, the driving of the bullocks, or to any other labour which offered itself; and by the 16th the whole force was encamped within a short distance of Ferozepore. That fort was held by Sir John Littler, one of the oldest and best officers in the service, with 10,000 troops and thirty-one guns. Both he and his officers considered this force sufficient to dispute the passage of the river; the reason why this was not attempted, is one of the many enigmas of the two Sikh campaigns which are bequeathed to the researches of the future historian. On the 11th December, preparations had been made for a grand ball in the Commander-in-chief's state tents at Umbala, when information was unexpectedly received that the Sikh army had marched down to the fords of the Sutlege, and was on the eve of crossing it. The ball was abandoned by common consent, and the night was spent in hasty preparations for the march. The next day the Commander-in-chief started with the troops assembled in haste, for the relief of Sir John Littler, who was enveloped by an army six times the strength of his own, accompanied with artillery greatly superior in number and power. Hours were now invaluable. The troops, heavily accoutred, performed a march which had never before been attempted in India, moving a hundred and fifty miles

in six days, through heavy sand, with little time to prepare their food, even when they were able to obtain any, and with scarcely an hour for repose.

Confiscation of
the Cis-Sutlege
districts, 1845.

On the 13th, the Governor-General published a Declaration of War, and confiscated all the districts belonging to the Sikh crown south of the Sutlege. Major Broadfoot had with incredible labour provisioned the stations on the line of march, and collected large stores at Bussean, which was within easy distance of the ford at which the Sikhs had crossed, and open to their attacks. Sir Henry, who had preceded the Commander-in-chief, on reaching that dépôt, perceived the necessity of protecting it from the assault of the Sikhs, and lost no time in ordering a force of 5,000 men from Loodiana to render it secure. The importance of this movement cannot be overrated, as the capture of Bussean by the enemy, with all its stock of provisions, would have delayed the operations of the army for more than ten days, and indefinitely augmented the difficulties of Sir John Littler's position. His duties were rendered the more arduous from the charge of the women and children at Ferozepore. It might have been expected that after the warning received at Cabul, where the operations of the force were fatally hampered by the presence of ladies, so egregious a blunder would not have been repeated, and that those who were residing at Ferozepore would have been placed beyond the reach of danger, as soon as it was known that the Sikh army had received orders to cross the river; but they were permitted to continue there as if no enemy were at hand, and it was not till the place was actually invested that they were sent even into the fort. On the arrival of the Sikh force before Ferozepore, Sir John Littler marched out and offered the enemy battle, but they declined it. The day after, a large portion of the Khalsa army pushed forward ten miles to Ferozeshuhur, and constructed entrenchments of the most formidable character, leaving Tej Sing behind to watch the movements of General Littler. It is still a mystery why the

Sikh army, 60,000 strong, did not make a vigorous effort to dispose of his force before he could receive any assistance. It has been said that they had no skill in sieges, and shrunk from an assault on his fortifications. It has, again, been affirmed that if the Sikh generals had been as sincerely bent on exterminating British power as their soldiers were, nothing could have saved General Littler. But Tej Sing and Lall Sing stood as much in awe of their own troops as of their enemies, and dreaded the chance of their triumph more perhaps than their defeat. To what extent the assertion which has been made that both these generals had touched English gold is to be believed, depends on documents not before the public.

Moodkee, 1845. Lall Sing's scouts had brought him information that the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief were advancing to the attack of the Sikh army with only a slender force, and he pushed forward to the village of Moodkee with about 20,000 men and twenty-two guns, where under cover of the jungle he awaited the arrival of the British commander. On the 18th December the army had made a fatiguing march of twenty-one miles, over an arid plain, and at the sight of a pool of water on its arrival at the encamping ground, men, horses, and camels, rushed down impetuously, to appease a thirst which appeared to be unquenchable. The troops had not broken their fast since the preceding night, and were just preparing to cook a meal when a cloud of dust rose up before them. Major Broadfoot, who galloped off to reconnoitre, returned in haste to announce that it was raised by the Sikh army, and the thunder of its cannon soon corroborated his report. In this, as in numerous other instances, the intelligence department of the army was deplorably inefficient, and Sir Hugh Gough was as completely taken by surprise as he had been at Maharajpore. It was nearly four in the afternoon and little more than an hour of daylight remained. The enemy's horse endeavoured to outflank our force, but were gallantly repulsed. Then came the first conflict between the native sepoy and the Khalsa battalions of Runjeet Sing, trained and

disciplined by Allard and Ventura, and the superiority of the Sikhs became at once apparent. One native regiment turned suddenly round and sought the rear, and it was with no ordinary difficulty that the Commander-in-chief and his staff succeeded in bringing it back to the struggle. Even a European corps was for a few moments staggered by the rapidity and precision of the Sikh practice, and in the confusion of the hour one of our regiments fired into another. Lall Sing was the first to fly from the field with his cavalry, and he was at length followed by the infantry, who withdrew under cover of the night, leaving seventeen guns in the hands of the victors, the loss on whose part amounted to 872 in killed and wounded. For sixty years it had been usual to unite the office of Commander-in-chief with that of the Governor-General when he happened, as in the case of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Hastings, and Lord William Bentinck to be of the military profession. This precedent was for the first time neglected on the occasion of Sir Henry Hardinge's appointment, and he was understood to have brought out with him only a dormant commission of Commander-in-chief, to be acted upon if the occasion should arise. After the battle of Moodkee, he placed his services at the disposal of the Commander-in-chief, and magnanimously took the post of second in command, an act well calculated to restore the confidence of our army which had been rudely shaken by the skill and valour displayed by the Sikhs, and the manifest deficiency of our tactics.

Battle of
Ferozeshuhur,
Dec. 21, 1845.

The army halted for two days at Moodkee to take repose and bury the dead, and was reinforced with two European and two native regiments, brought up by forced marches through the untiring energy of the Governor-General. He resolved that the army should advance to the attack of the entrenched camp of the Sikhs without the encumbrance of baggage, and it was left, together with the sick and wounded and the camp equipage, in the fort of Moodkee, guarded by a regiment and a-half. The force started

on the morning of the 21st for Ferozeshuhur, without provisions or tents. General Littler, who was duly advised of this movement by Sir Henry, was directed to join the army at the period of its arrival. He accordingly moved out early in the morning, leaving his camp pitched, his bazaar flags flying, his cavalry pickets standing, and a sufficient force to guard the fort, the entrenchment, and his female charge. He eluded the observation of Tej Sing, and reached the main force with 5,500 men and twenty-two guns a little before noon. The Sikh entrenchment was in the form of a parrallelogram, around the village of Ferozeshuhur, about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth; the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlege and Moodkee; the longer towards Ferozepore and the plain on the east. The number of Sikh troops in the camp under the command of Lall Sing was estimated at 35,000, with 100 guns and 250 camel swivels. The batteries were mounted, not with ordinary field artillery, but with siege guns of heavy calibre, placed in position. The day was the shortest in the year, and with such a foe as the Sikhs had proved themselves to be, every moment was of inestimable value; but, after the junction of Sir John Littler, more than three hours and a-half were frittered away, and it was four in the afternoon before the first shot was fired. This delay, which entailed the most disastrous results, has never been accounted for, except by a reference to the general muddle which was visible in almost all the Sikh engagements. Sir Charles Napier, in his comments on the strategy of the day, maintained that the attack should have been made on the two sides which were not protected by the tremendous guns immoveably planted in their position, but Sir Hugh Gough resolved to follow his usual practice of charging at once right up to the muzzle of the guns, and carrying the batteries by cold steel. He himself held the command on the right; Sir Henry Hardinge in the centre, and Sir John Littler on the left. It fell to the lot of Sir John to attack the strongest section of the enemy's positions, the western face, where they had gathered the iron strength of their heaviest

guns. He had brought twenty-two guns out of Ferozepore, but he derived no aid, or next to none, from them, and his troops advanced with the utmost gallantry up to the batteries, where they were arrested by an overwhelming fire. The 62nd foot, mowed down by grape and round shot, was checked and retired—beaten, but not in the eye of candour, disgraced,—leaving seventy-six of its brave men and seven of its gallant officers within fifty paces of the entrenchments. The other divisions encountered an equally terrific and unexpected resistance. To borrow the language of the historian of the Sikhs: “Guns were dismounted and the ammunition was blown into the air; squadrons were checked in mid career; battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks, and it was not until after sunset that portions of the enemy’s position were finally carried. Darkness, and the obstinacy of the contest, threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and arms were mixed together; generals were doubtful of the fact or of the extent of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded, or of the army of which they formed part.” General Littler’s repulsed division fell back to a village two miles to the west. Sir Harry Smith’s division penetrated to the heart of the camp and occupied the village of Ferozeshuhur, but the enemy brought so heavy a fire to bear on his battalions, that they were obliged at two in the morning to withdraw to a village two miles distant. The feat performed by the 3rd dragoons was both the most daring and the most useless of the engagement. Without any orders from the Commander-in-chief, they charged across the ditch while the battery in front mowed them down, till the yawning trench was choked up with their numbers, and those who followed crossed on a bridge of their own dead and dying comrades. This gallant band, after having silenced the battery in its front, faced the Khalsa army within the entrenchments, swept through the camp with loud huzzas over tents, ropes, pegs, guns, fires and magazines, and never paused till it emerged on the opposite side and

rejoined their companions. General Gilbert's division, which was the strongest, after having captured the guns in position, was met by a storm of musketry, and obliged to retire as darkness set in, and bivouac on the edge of the Sikh encampment. With this division were the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief. During the night, which has justly been styled the "night of horrors," the enemy's expense magazines were ever and anon exploding; their camp was on fire in several places, but they did not cease to keep up a continuous discharge upon our soldiers. The Governor-General passed the night in moving from regiment to regiment, endeavouring to sustain the spirits and revive the ardour of the men; but, within three hundred yards of his position the great Sikh gun was dealing destruction on the recumbent and exhausted ranks, and it became indispensable to silence it. Soon after midnight he called up the 80th foot and the 1st Europeans lying around him on the frozen ground, and placing himself at their head, charged the gun and spiked it. It was with great truth that Sir Henry Hardinge remarked that another such engagement would shake the empire to its foundation.

Second engagement, December 22nd, 1848.

It was suggested that the army should retire to Ferozepore, but Sir Henry strenuously opposed the movement. He felt that our political safety required the utter overthrow of the Sikh army, and he determined to renew the engagement the next morning, although there was but one weak division left for the work which had baffled the whole army the previous day. But in the Sikh encampment, though unknown to the English commanders, there had been stormy counsels and bitter recrimination, mutiny and desertion, and Lall Sing's military chest had been plundered by his own troops. As day dawned, the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief collected the scattered soldiers of General Gilbert's division, and advanced to assault the entrenchments. The opposition was feeble; the batteries were attacked in reverse and captured, and our troops swept down the whole length and rear of the enemy's position with

little opposition. The legions which had defended this Roman encampment with Roman courage, were in full flight to the Sutlege through the cowardice, or the treachery, of Lall Sing. The British line, as soon as it had cleared the works, halted on the northern face, and the two commanders were received with grateful acclamations as they rode along the ranks. The cheers had scarcely subsided when a cloud of dust announced the approach of a new enemy. This was Tej Sing, who, on finding that Sir John Littler had eluded his vigilance, marched down towards Ferozeshuhur, on the morning of the 22nd, with 20,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 70 guns. He found that the entrenched camp at Ferozeshuhur had been lost, that its powerful batteries, with all the munitions of war and the standards, were in the hands of the British, and that the Sikh army was in full retreat to the river. But he did not know that the British troops were drooping from hunger, having tasted no food for thirty-six hours, that their ammunition was completely exhausted, and that if vigorously attacked by his fresh battalions and his splendid artillery, no exhibition of the most brilliant courage could have saved them from destruction. After a brief cannonade, which at once dismounted our artillery, he withdrew with his whole force to the Sutlege; and the British empire in India was again saved by a miracle.

Remarks on
Ferozeshuhur,
1845.

The battle of Ferozeshuhur was the most severe and critical we had ever fought in India. Never before had we encountered so resolute or skilful an enemy, and if our ranks had been composed only of sepoy, the empire might have passed away. The casualties on our side amounted to 2,415, including a hundred and three officers, and, although an effort was made to extenuate this loss by a reference to engagements in Europe even more sanguinary, it was impossible to evade the conclusion, that with more skilful strategy, no small portion of it might have been avoided. It was the defect of our tactics, and the deficiency of our ammunition, quite as much as the military ardour and courage of the Sikhs, which for a time gave a character of equality to the

struggle. As second in command the Governor-General could not, without going to extremities, issue or enforce orders, he could only suggest his wishes. He had five aides-de-camp killed and five wounded, and the only officer on his staff who escaped was his youngest son, Arthur, who fought by his side throughout the action. In this melancholy engagement fell the noble Broadfoot, and the chivalrous Somerset, who had been severely wounded at Maharajpore, and, after fighting at Ferozeshuhur with the hereditary gallantry of his race, fell covered with wounds. There, too, perished the amiable Major D'Arcy Todd, the former minister at Herat, who went into action with a mournful presentiment that he should not survive it, and Colonel Taylor, who had fought in America and Burmah, had assisted in forcing the Khyber, and won fresh laurels at Istaliff. Prince Waldemar of Prussia, who had been making the tour of the Himalayas, joined the Governor-General's camp with his medical attendant, Dr. Hoffmeister, who was killed, and Counts Greuber and Oriolo; and the grandson of Frederick the Second, at the distance of half the globe from his native land, took an active share in a battle as fiercely contested as that of Rosbach. The extraordinary carnage of the day has led to the enquiry, why the action was not deferred till the morrow, but it has been recorded by officers of the soundest judgment, that, considering the plan of the campaign, it could not have been safely postponed on military grounds. It was of the first importance to bring on an engagement before the junction of the two Sikh forces. The condition of the British army, moreover, would not have been improved by a bivouac during a night of bitter cold, without food, water, or shelter. Besides, it is by no means certain that, even if the battle had been delayed till the morrow, the same strategy would not have been adopted of throwing the battalions on entrenchments bristling with cannon, and served by the best native artillerymen in India, and the increase of the enemy's force would, in that case, only have served to increase the slaughter.

Necessity of
reinforcements,
1846.

The tide of invasion had thus been stemmed. Of the 60,000 Khalsa soldiers who had poured down on our territories twelve days before, not one remained in arms on the left bank of the Sutlege; but in the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur, our army had lost a fifth of its number, and exhausted its ammunition. Hence it became necessary to order up a full supply of military stores of every description, and a large armament of siege guns from the nearest dépôt, which unfortunately happened to be more than two hundred miles distant, at Delhi. While this heavy convoy was slowly wending its way up to the banks of the Sutlege, the British army was condemned to a period of inactivity, between the fords of Ferozepore and Hurreekee. This delay in following up the success of the army, was naturally attributed by the Sikhs to fear. Towards the end of January Runjoor Sing crossed the river in force, and threatened the station of Loodiana, from which Sir Henry Hardinge had withdrawn the division for the protection of Bussean, and Sir Harry Smith was sent with four regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and eighteen guns, to cover that station. On the night of the 20th January, he received information that Runjoor Sing had suddenly broken up his camp on the river, and marched down to Buddowal, a village lying between Loodiana and the force advancing to relieve it. Sir Harry made no change in the order of his march, because he mistrusted the intelligence, and also, because he expected the garrison of Loodiana to advance and meet him on the route he had fixed upon. If he had listened to the earnest advice of his experienced officers, he would have avoided the disaster which befel him. Runjoor Sing, though described by the most shrewd observer of the Lahore chiefs as "an ass of that order of mind which experience could not improve," still contrived to envelope and completely to outflank the whole British force by the numerical superiority of his battalions and his artillery; and it was only through the admirable handling of the cavalry by Brigadier Cureton, that the division was saved from a fatal reverse.

The greater portion of the baggage, however, fell into the hands of the Sikhs, and some prisoners, and artillery store carts, were conveyed in triumph to Loodiana.

Battle of Aliwall,
28th Jan., 1846. This disaster gave fresh confidence to the enemy, and it was deemed necessary to clear the left bank of the Sutlege of their troops, and prevent an attack by Runjoor Sing on the long convoy coming up from Delhi. He was reinforced by 4,000 regular troops and twelve guns, and fell back to a position at Aliwall on the Sutlege. General Smith's force was likewise augmented to 11,000 men, and he was urged by the Governor-General to lose no time in attacking the enemy. The village was feebly defended by some battalions of hill men, who took to flight, with Runjoor Sing at their head, after firing a few rounds. But the British troops met with a stern resistance from the Khalsa soldiers posted on their right, men of true Sikh blood and metal, who stood their ground with unflinching courage, and it was not till their ranks had been thrice pierced by Cureton's cavalry that they became disorganized, and retreated to the river, in which no small number of them met a watery grave, leaving sixty-seven guns as trophies in the hands of the victors. The renown which Sir Harry Smith had lost at Buddowal was recovered and heightened by this decisive victory at Aliwall. This reverse disheartened the Sikh ministers and induced them to commence negotiations. The utter incapacity of Lall Sing had become obvious throughout the campaign, and Golab Sing was invited from Jummoo, to take a share in the public councils, and to accept the office of minister. He immediately opened communications with the Governor-General, who informed him that he was prepared to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty at Lahore, but not till the Khalsa army had been disbanded. Golab Sing replied with great truth that it was beyond his power to control the movements of the troops, who still continued to domineer over the public authorities of the state. It has been asserted that these communications resulted in an understanding that, for a suitable consideration, the Sikh

army, when attacked by the English battalions, should be deserted by its own chiefs, and that the way to the capital should thus be left open. The truth of this assertion, which was an article of faith in the camp, has never been distinctly substantiated, but it was strongly corroborated by the conduct of the Sikh generals in the subsequent engagement, and it was strengthened in no small degree by the harsh measure of removing from his political employment the accomplished historian of the Sikhs, who was the first to announce it in print.

Sobraon,
10th Feb. 1846.

While the British army was awaiting the arrival of the train from Delhi, and watching the operations of the Sikhs at the ford of Hureekkee, they were diligently employed in transporting their force across the Sutlege at that point. With the natural ingenuity of a military people, and, as it was affirmed, with the aid of a Spanish and a French officer, they erected one of the strongest works against which troops had ever been led in India. It consisted of a series of semicircular entrenchments, with the river for their base and the outer line of which, two miles and a-half in circumference from the eastern to the western point, was surrounded with a deep ditch. The ramparts were defended by sixty-seven pieces of heavy ordnance, and 35,000 Khalsa soldiers. A bridge of boats united this encampment with another across the river, where heavy guns had also been planted which completely swept the left bank. These formidable bulwarks were erected in the presence of an inactive British force, burning with impatience to be led against the enemy, who continued from day to day to bid them defiance, by appearing on the plain and exhibiting the evolutions of their splendid horse artillery. At length, after a delay of seven weeks, the long and imposing train of heavy ordnance drawn by stately elephants, together with the munitions of war, marched into the camp on the 8th February, and raised the drooping spirits of the men, European and native. The brigade which had been detached under General Smith to

Loodiana rejoined the camp, and made up the British force to 15,000 men, of whom 5,000 were Europeans. The following day was employed in making arrangements for the assault. It was at once perceived that if an entrance could be effected into either end of the entrenchment where it rested on the river, the whole of the guns along the outer line would be taken in reverse and rendered useless. It was affirmed that Lall Sing treacherously informed the Governor-General that the western corner was the weakest of the Sikh entrenchments, and it was in consequence of this disclosure that the main attack was directed to this point by the division under General Dick. The centre division, under General Gilbert, and the right division, under General Sir Harry Smith, were directed to make feint attacks to divert the attention of the enemy from the real assault. Brigadier Cureton with his cavalry was appointed to watch the Sikh horse under Lall Sing. The whole of the heavy ordnance was planted in masses on some of the more commanding points opposite the Sikh entrenchments. A dense fog at dawn of the 10th enabled the Commander-in-chief to make his dispositions unnoticed by the enemy. The fog rolled up like a curtain at seven in the morning, and the great guns opened on the encampment, which was under the command of Tej Sing. The Sikhs, nothing daunted, answered flash for flash from their powerful ordnance, and the rays of the sun scarcely pierced the sulphurous smoke which filled the atmosphere. At nine, before the cannonade had made any impression on the enemy's position, the British ammunition began to run short, and Sir Hugh Gough discovered that it was visionary to expect that his guns could, within any limited time, silence the fire of seventy pieces, behind well-constructed batteries of earth, planks, and fascines, or dislodge troops covered by redoubts, or epaulments, or within a treble line of trenches. After having waited for these guns for seven weeks, it was found that they were of little avail for the success of the day, and it became evident that the issue of the struggle must be

left to the arbitrament of musketry and the bayonet. Accordingly Colonel Lane's horse artillery galloped up and delivered their fire within 300 yards of the batteries, and Sir Robert Dick's division moved up to the attack in admirable order, charged home with the bayonet, leaped the ditch, and mounted the rampart. The Sikhs instantly perceived that this was to be the principal point of attack, and, slackening the defence of the entrenchments opposed to the other divisions, concentrated their attention on this contest. More guns in the interior of the Sikh encampment were turned on the assailants, who were also met by a hand to hand fight, and repeatedly staggered. Fresh regiments were sent up by the British commanders to their aid, but they recoiled in confusion from the deadly fire of the Sikhs, and it became necessary to order the two other divisions to make a simultaneous assault on the batteries before them. This was no sooner perceived by the enemy than they returned tumultuously to the posts they had quitted, and from every foot of the entrenchments poured on both divisions a withering fire of grape, round shot, and musketry. The gallant charge made by General Gilbert's division on the centre batteries was one of the most memorable feats in the campaign. His men, of whom 689 were killed and wounded in the course of half an hour, were more than once driven back, but their indomitable courage at length mastered the enemy's ramparts. Scarcely less sanguinary were the charges repeatedly made by General Smith's division. The Sikh entrenchment was at length pierced in three directions, and the soldiers, when they could no longer fire, drew their swords and were bayoneted by the side of the guns they had so nobly served. Tej Sing, instead of endeavouring to rally his troops, was among the first to fly, and, either by accident or by design, broke the bridge; but the veteran chief Sham Sing had resolved not to survive a defeat, and, clothing himself in the garments of martyrdom, called on all around him to fight manfully for the Gooroo, rallied his shattered ranks, and rushed on the British bayonets,

where he found the death he sought, over a heap of his slain countrymen. The Sikh troops, pressed on three sides into a confused mass, still continued to contest every inch of ground till they were forced to the bridge, which they found broken, and, preferring death to surrender, plunged into the stream. Unfortunately for them it had risen during the night, and flooded the ford, and they perished by hundreds in the attempt to cross. By the forethought of the Governor-General the horse artillery had been brought up during the action and planted along the river, and its cannonade completed the destruction of the enemy. The confusion, dismay, and carnage were such as had not been seen in India since the field of Paniput. The loss on the side of the Sikhs was estimated at 8,000, and the whole of their encampment, with all their artillery, their standards, and vast munitions of war fell to the victors. The loss on our side was 2,383, but the victory was complete. By eleven in the morning not an unwounded Sikh was left on the British bank of the Sutlege. The conquerors, as they beheld the trenches filled with the bodies of their iron-hearted defenders, and the fords of the Sutlege choked up with thousands of corpses, and the river itself exhibiting in every direction the wreck of a great army, did not fail to pay a tribute of admiration to the gallantry and the devotedness of the noble Khalsa army.

The Army enters
the Punjab,
Feb. 1846.

Major Abbott, a distinguished officer of engineers, had been employed night and day in constructing a bridge with the boats which Lord Ellenborough had built in Sinde, and Sir Henry Hardinge had brought up to Ferozepore, and it was completed the night before the battle. Sir Henry Hardinge, though suffering from a serious injury occasioned by a fall from his horse, had been actively engaged on the field. He quitted it immediately after the victory was complete, and rode twenty-six miles to Ferozepore, to hasten the passage of the troops, and that same night six regiments bivouacked in the Punjab. Three days after the action, the whole army, which, including camp

followers, counted 100,000 men and 68,000 animals and forty pieces of artillery, was enabled, through the admirable arrangements of Major Abbott, to cross the river without a single casualty. Two days before the engagement several vakeels arrived from Lahore, and solicited an audience of the Governor-General, but were informed that they would not be received till it had been fought. They made their appearance again on the 11th, bringing with them as a peace offering the European prisoners and a gig captured at Buddowal. They were dismissed with a friendly message to the durbar, which brought raja Golab Sing and two of the ministers to the encampment on the 15th, empowered on the part of the Maharaja Duleep Sing to agree to any terms the Governor-General might think fit to dictate. They were received as the representatives of an offending Government, without the usual forms and ceremonies, and their complimentary offerings were refused. On the 17th, Duleep Sing himself came into the camp, and having made his submission, was dismissed with honour. During these negotiations, the army continued to advance to the capital, and on the 20th was encamped on the plain of Meean Meer. The conquerors were now in possession of the metropolis of those who had wantonly invaded their territories, but Sir Henry Hardinge was determined to repress every outrage, and issued an order strictly forbidding any soldier to enter the city, even from motives of curiosity. The only humiliation to which the Sikhs were subjected was the occupation of the citadel of their pride by a garrison of British troops.

Settlement of
the Punjab,
1846.

The future destiny of the Punjab then came up for consideration. The issue of the war had placed it unequivocally at the disposal of the British Government, and Sir Henry Hardinge might have incorporated it with the Company's dominions upon every principle of justice and equity, and with the full concurrence of all the princes of India. But he had neither the means nor the desire of annexation. Sir Charles Napier was, indeed, at the time prepared to march up from Sindh with 16,000 men and fifty guns, but

Sir Hugh Gough's army was essentially weak. Our strength in India consists in the number and efficiency of the European troops we are able to bring into the field, and the four battles had reduced this European force to barely 3,000 men. The morale of the army was low; the season of heat and prostration was approaching, and it was not easy to see how the army with its endless followers could have been sheltered and fed during the period when the climate reduced it to a state of inaction. After the battle of Sobraon, the Sikh army still mustered 14,000 strong, with forty pieces of cannon. Upon a careful consideration of all circumstances, Sir Henry Hardinge resolved, and not unwisely, to avoid encumbering his administration with the government of the Punjab. He considered it necessary to punish the Sikh nation for past offences and to prevent the recurrence of aggression, but he was anxious to perform these duties without suppressing its political existence. Immediately after the Sikh army invaded our territory he had issued a proclamation confiscating the Cis-Sutlege possessions of the Lahore crown, and he now annexed the Jullunder dooab, or district lying between the Sutlege and the Beas, to the Company's dominions, by which he obtained security for our hill stations, and a position which gave us the control of the Sikh capital. The expenses of the campaign were computed at a crore and a-half of rupees, which the Lahore state was required to make good, but the profligacy of the ministers and the rapacity of the soldiery had exhausted the treasury, and of the twelve crores which Runjeet Sing left in it, there remained scarcely fifty lacs of rupees to meet the demand. Sir Henry determined, therefore, to take over the province of Cashmere and the highlands of Jummoo in lieu of the remaining crore. Since the death of Runjeet Sing, the powerful raja of Jummoo, Golab Sing, had always cherished the hope of being able, by some happy turn of circumstances, to convert his principality into an independent sovereignty. During the recent contest he had played the part of an interested neutral, watching the issue of the con-

test and prepared to side with the strongest. When called to assume the office of minister at Lahore he negotiated with the Governor-General as much for his own interests, as for those of the state. There could be little doubt that a clear understanding regarding his possessions existed between him and the British Government, and hence it created no surprise when he stepped forward and offered to pay down the crore of rupees on condition of being constituted the independent raja of Cashmere and Jummoo. The sovereignty of those provinces was accordingly sold to him, but it must not be forgotten that he received only an indefeasible title to that which he actually possessed at the time. By this stroke of policy, Sir Henry Hardinge obtained funds to cover the expenses of the war, and planted on the northern division of the Punjab an independent Rajpoot chief between whom and the Sikhs there was a feeling of irreconcilable discord. Tej Sing on hearing of the disposal of Cashmere, offered twenty-five lacs of rupees for another province and princely crown, but was sharply rebuked for his presumption.

Treaty of the 9th
March, 1846.

The treaty of the 9th March, in which the settlement of the Punjab was embodied, also provided that the troops of the Lahore state should be paid up and disbanded, and that the regular Sikh army should be completely reorganized, and limited in future to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry and that all the guns, thirty-six in number, which had been pointed against the British force should be surrendered. The troops who had so nobly confronted us in four actions were drawn up and discharged, and their manly deportment gave additional lustre to their valour. They alluded to their discomfiture as the chance of war, and dwelt with unabated confidence on the future destiny of the Khalsa. Within forty-eight hours of the signature of the treaty, the durbar importuned the Governor-General to lend a British force for the security of the Maharaja and his capital until the reconstruction of the Government was complete, and he consented, at length, to leave a sufficient force until the close of the year, but

with the positive assurance that it would not be permitted to remain longer. The first Sikh war thus terminated in the dissolution of the Khalsa army and the dismemberment of the Punjab; but India doubted our success. After the independence of every other kingdom had been successively extinguished, the natives still fixed their eyes with a feeling of hope on the new and powerful state which Runjeet Sing had built up in the Punjab, and cherished the belief that a native monarchy had at length been erected on the banks of the Sutlege, the cradle of Hindoo power, destined to re-establish Hindoo supremacy throughout India. The indecisive character of the actions at Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur, combined with the subsequent inactivity of the army, served to strengthen this opinion, and the report of our decisive success at Aliwall and Sobraon was received with feelings of mistrust. Sir Henry Hardinge deemed it important to remove this impression from the native mind, and to demonstrate that the power of Runjeet Sing's kingdom was completely broken, and the last hope of a Hindoo sovereignty dissipated.

Procession of the captured guns, 1946. A grand procession was accordingly formed of two hundred and fifty of the cannon captured from the Sikhs, which marched from Lahore to Calcutta with every demonstration of military pomp. It was received at every station and cantonment on the route with great distinction by all the public functionaries. Its arrival in Calcutta was celebrated by a magnificent ceremonial in which the Deputy-Governor, Sir Herbert Maddock, and the whole staff of Government, and all the battalions within reach, took a part, and the report of it was transmitted to every durbar in Hindostan and the Deccan. The announcement of four battles fought in fifty-four days to repel an unprovoked assault on our territories, produced an extraordinary sensation in England. Even those who invariably professed a virtuous indignation on every recurrence of war or conquest in India, and attributed it to the ambition and rapacity of our countrymen, were constrained to admit that on this occasion, the question of peace or war

did not depend on the will of Government. The thanks of Parliament were moved to Sir Henry Hardinge, to Sir Hugh Gough, and to their brave companions, by Sir Robert Peel in the Commons, and by the Duke of Wellington in the Lords, in speeches which enhanced the value of the honour. The Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief were elevated to the peerage, and a baronetcy was conferred on the victor of Aliwall. To all the troops engaged in the campaign, Sir Henry Hardinge granted twelve months full batta, without waiting for permission from home.

New arrangements in the Punjab, Dec., 1846.

Major Lawrence was selected by Lord Hardinge as the British representative at Lahore, and raja Lall Sing, the paramour of the ranee, the Orloff of the Punjab, was appointed prime minister. He was a man of low extraction, and handsome appearance, but without talent either for civil or military affairs, and his administration, which was very venal and oppressive, made him obnoxious to the people, and more especially to the chiefs. Towards the British Government he acted with singular treachery. Soon after the raja Golab Sing had taken possession of his new kingdom of Cashmere, a formidable opposition was organized against his authority by Imam-ood-deen. Major Lawrence felt the importance of extinguishing the first spark of resistance with the utmost promptitude, before it burst into a flame, and he proceeded in haste towards Cashmere with a large force, notwithstanding the risk of being blocked up by the snows of the approaching winter. "It was an extraordinary spectacle," as remarked at the time, "to witness half a dozen European foreigners taking up a lately subdued mutinous soldiery, through one of the most difficult countries in the world, to put the chief, formerly their commander, now in their minds a rebel, in possession of the brightest gem of their land." The energy and promptitude of this movement ensured its success. The refractory Imam-ood-deen made his submission, and then produced the written orders of Lall Sing for his contumacious proceedings. Lord Hardinge immediately directed a commis-

sion of European officers to investigate the conduct of the minister, in the presence of sixty-five Sikh chiefs. The charge of treachery was fully substantiated; he was deposed from his office, and in spite of the remonstrances and tears of the ranee, conveyed to the British territories, and consigned to oblivion on a pension of 2,000 rupees a-month. As the period which Lord Hardinge had fixed for the retirement of the British garrison from the Punjab approached, the durbar and the most influential chiefs assured him that without this support, it would be impossible to carry on the government, or prevent the restoration of Khalsa supremacy. Lord Hardinge yielded with great reluctance to their importunity. Fifty-two chiefs assembled at the durbar tent of the Resident and discussed the articles of agreement which they themselves had assisted in drawing up, in conjunction with Mr. Currie, and on the 16th December, 1846, affixed their signatures and seals to the new treaty. It provided that a council of regency, composed of eight of the leading chiefs should be appointed to act under the control and guidance of the British Resident, who was to exercise unlimited influence in all matters of internal administration and external policy. A British force was to be stationed in the various forts and stations throughout the country, for the maintenance of which the sum of twenty-two lacs of rupees a-year was to be appropriated from the revenues of the state. The arrangement was to continue for eight years, till the Maharaja Duleep Sing attained his majority. By this treaty a much larger share of authority was conferred on the Resident than had been assumed in any of the states to which the British Government had extended its protection, and Major Lawrence, an officer of the Company's artillery, became, in effect, the successor of Runjeet Sing.

Reduction of the Army, 1846. In the course of thirty-six months, the three independent armies of Sinde, Gwalior and Lahore, numbering 120,000 soldiers, had been extinguished, and all their artillery, which formed their chief strength, captured. The time appeared now to have arrived when the strength of

our own army could be regulated without any reference to the hostility of the native powers. For eight years we had been incessantly engaged in war, or in preparations for it, and the armies of the three Presidencies had been augmented since October, 1838, to the extent of 120,000 men. The pressure on the finances of the empire had been proportionately severe, and the expenditure at this time exceeded the income by a crore and a-half of rupees a-year. Lord Hardinge had been obliged to open a new loan in October, 1846, but, after the satisfactory settlement of the Punjab in December, he considered himself justified in reducing the military force and, with it, the public expenditure. Happily, his long military experience, both in the field and as Secretary at War in the cabinet, enabled him to carry out the principle of reduction with great boldness, and at the same time with the least possible detriment to the efficiency of the public service. The police battalions were, accordingly, disbanded, and the rank and file of the army reduced to the extent of 50,000 men, leaving the number of officers, European and native, undiminished. In the recent actions on the Sutlege it was found that we had not more than 4,500 sabres opposed to more than 20,000 of the enemy, and Lord Hardinge rectified this deficiency by augmenting the irregular branch of the cavalry. These reductions resulted in a saving of a crore and a hundred and fifty lacs of rupees a-year. The revenue of the Sikh provinces on both sides the Sutlege which he had annexed was calculated at some forty lacs of rupees a-year, and, combined with the subsidy of twenty-two lacs from the Lahore state, restored the equilibrium of the finances. Nor should it be forgotten that in all Lord Hardinge's efforts to bring the expenditure within the income, there was no curtailment of individual salaries. Notwithstanding these reductions, the security of the north-west frontier was fully provided for by the allotment of 54,000 men and 120 guns to Meerut and the stations above it. The precautionary measures adopted by Lord Hardinge for the safety of the Punjab, manifested equal foresight and vigour.

He did not expect that a country teeming with disbanded soldiers, the bravest and most haughty in India, who had been nurtured in victory and conquest, and pampered with seven years of military licence, would be as free from disturbance, as a district in Bengal. To provide for the prompt suppression of any insurrectionary movements which might arise, he organized three moveable brigades, complete in carriage and equipment, each of which consisted of one European corps, three regiments of native infantry and one of cavalry, with twelve guns, chiefly of European horse artillery. They were held in readiness at Lahore, Jullunder and Ferozepore, to take the field at the shortest notice.

Canals,
1819-1847.

The magnificent canals constructed by the Mogul emperors in the north-west provinces were among the most important of their undertakings, but they became practically extinct with the decay of the empire, and by the middle of the last century had ceased to be of any utility. The efforts made by the British Government to restore these invaluable works originated with Lord Hastings, and the zeal and earnestness with which they were carried on, formed one of the most distinctive features of his administration. Before he resigned his office he had the satisfaction of learning that, through the scientific exertions of Lieutenant Blane, to whom he had entrusted the undertaking, one of the most important of the canals had re-entered the city of Delhi, after an intermission of more than half a century. These labours were continued without relaxation under his successors, and a sum exceeding half a crore of rupees was devoted to the restoration and maintenance of the ancient canals. Such works have always been found remunerative in India, and the whole of this amount, with a trifling exception, was returned to the treasury in the augmented revenue derived from the irrigation of 300,000 acres, the annual produce of which was estimated at two crores and a-half of rupees. The superintendence of the canals at length devolved on Colonel Colvin, one of the most distinguished officers of one of the most renowned corps of the Company's service, the Bengal engineers.

Down to this period the labours of the British Government has been directed to the restoration of the decayed canals of the preceding dynasty; but it was now determined to undertake the construction of an original work, far exceeding in magnitude and utility any enterprize of the kind which had ever been contemplated in India. This was the Ganges canal, designed to fertilize the fields of the Doab lying between that stream and the Jumna. Lord Auckland was traversing this province in 1837, on his way to Simlah, when it was desolated by the great famine, which was estimated to have swept away a million of the inhabitants, and to have cost the state half a million sterling. The smiling aspect, during this calamity, of the districts which had enjoyed the benefit of irrigation from the restored Mogul canals gave great weight to the proposal of Captain Cautley, who had succeeded Colonel Colvin, to construct a canal, and at an interview with Lord Auckland in the following year he was authorized to undertake a thorough examination of the low tract of country lying near the Ganges. The duty was entrusted entirely to his agency. He commenced his labours in December, 1839, and completed the whole of the survey, with the designs of the project, the plans, the estimates, and calculations, with no other aid than that of a young infantry officer, who joined him at the close of the final survey in 1844. His first report was submitted in May 1840, and transmitted to the Court of Directors, who, in a spirit of liberality worthy the greatness of their trust, adopted the plan, extended it beyond the limits which the Indian authorities had ventured to propose, and on the recommendation of Lord Auckland presented Captain Cautley with the sum of 6000 rupees, "in consideration of the great importance of the work which he had projected, and the zeal and ability displayed by him in his plans and report." With this encouragement from home, Lord Auckland prosecuted the work with the utmost vigour, but Lord Ellenborough on his arrival suspended all operations, and one uncovenanted assistant was alone left on the works. The original design was at the same time materially modified, and it was proposed to make

the canal primarily a channel of navigation—though there was a river on each side of it—and only, in the second instance, a work of irrigation. A report was called for on the subject; this preposterous plan was rejected, and the canal was restored to its original object. The consideration of this question fell to the lot of Lord Hardinge, and in March, 1847, he visited the head of the canal, and examined its most important feature, the Solani aqueduct, after which he directed that the work should be pushed forward with the utmost activity, and that funds should be supplied without reserve.

Close of Lord
Hardinge's Ad-
ministration,
1848. The attention of Lord Hardinge during his tenure of office was chiefly occupied in the reduction of the great Khalsa armament, in the construction of a new system of government in the Punjab, in the reorganization of our own army, and the restoration of the finances. These important duties were sufficient to absorb the time of an administration which was limited to forty-two months; but, like Lord Hastings, Lord Hardinge was accustomed to be at his desk an hour or two before dawn, and he was enabled to create leisure for other labours connected with the material and social improvement of the country. He gave a great impulse at an important crisis to the project of Indian railways, then in the struggles of infancy. In October, 1846, he prohibited Sunday labour on all the Government establishments, and gave our Hindoo and Mahomedan subjects a proof of our respect for the principles of our creed. Lord William Bentinck had abolished suttees throughout the British dominions, but they were still perpetrated in the native states, and on the death of the raja of Mundee, a petty independent chief in the neighbourhood of the Governor-General's residence at Simla, no fewer than twelve women were burnt alive on his funeral pile. Lord Hardinge employed the influence of our paramount authority, to induce the independent native princes to abolish, not only female immolation, but female infanticide, and slavery, within their territories, and, before his departure from India, he had the satisfaction of

receiving written assurances from twenty-four of the princes and princesses of India, including the raja Golab Sing, of Cashmere, that they had made the most strenuous and successful efforts to meet his wishes, and would not relax them; and a suttee in any native state is now considered as incredible as a duel in England. The distribution of his patronage was regulated by an exclusive regard to the public interests, and he was as free from the suspicion of nepotism as Lord Ellenborough himself. The selection he made for important offices did no little credit to his discernment. Among the most eminent of the public servants whom he was instrumental in bringing forward, may be mentioned Mr.—afterwards Sir Henry—Elliott, a highly distinguished oriental scholar, and an able secretary, who was cut off before he had reached the maturity of his fame; Colonel Grant, whom he selected for the Adjutant-Generalship, and who has won his way to the Governorship of Malta; and the present Governor-General, whose merits he was the first to discover. Lord Hardinge secured the confidence of society in India, as he had done in England, by his sterling sense, and by the rare combination of a kind and conciliatory disposition with decision of character and vigour of discipline. It was felt on both sides the Cape, that in his hands the empire was safe, and that a spirit of improvement pervaded all his purposes. He left Calcutta on the 15th March, 1848, with the conviction that it would not be necessary to fire another shot in India for seven years. The prospect of continued tranquillity appeared equally certain to all the public writers of the day; yet, so impossible is it to forecast the future in India, that before the end of a twelvemonth, the Punjab had revolted and been reconquered, and had become a British province.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—SECOND SIKH WAR,
1848-49.

Lord Dalhousie, 1848. ON the 19th January, Lord Dalhousie landed at

Chandpal ghaut, in Calcutta, and took the oaths and his seat in Council, fifty years after Lord Wellesley, whose magnificent reign he was destined to rival, landed at the same stairs. He was in his thirty-sixth year, the youngest man who had ever assumed the government of India. He may be considered as the last of the proconsuls whom the Directors of the East India Company had for eighty-four years been accustomed to address as "our Governor-General;" his successor, though for some time under their control, became the viceroy of the Crown. Lord Dalhousie had sat in the House of Commons for several years before he succeeded to the family title. He had been President of the Board of Trade in Sir Robert Peel's last cabinet, at a period when that department was inundated by a flood of railway projects, which taxed its energies beyond all former example; and, it was the extraordinary talent, industry, and aptitude for business which he exhibited under that pressure which recommended him to the highest post in the British empire—except the premiership. He assumed the management of India without any of that knowledge of the policy and the institutions of Government, the position of the native princes, or the character of the people, which Lord Wellesley, Lord Minto, Lord William Bentinck, and Lord Ellenborough had brought out with them, but his natural genius soon caught the spirit, and mastered the details of the Indian administration. The period of his rule, which extended to eight years, was filled with transactions of the most momentous character, which will long continue to affect the happiness

of the vast population of India. To present a clear and comprehensive retrospect of his administration, it may be useful to waive the chronological order of events, and to distribute them under the three divisions of, the military operations which were forced upon him, his procedure regarding the native princes, and his various plans for the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country.

Moolraj, 1844-
1848.

Within four months of his arrival, all those sanguine expectations which Lord Hardinge had bequeathed to him of a long reign of peace were rudely dissipated, and the note of war was again sounded across the Sutlege. Major—afterwards Sir Henry—Lawrence, a soldier and a statesman, to whom the task of sustaining British authority in the conquered, but unsubdued, kingdom of the Punjab had been committed, was constrained to visit England for his health, and he was succeeded, temporarily, by his brother, and then by Sir Frederick Currie, a member of the Supreme Council. Those who remembered the catastrophe of Cabul, saw, not without some misgivings, a civilian again placed in a position which required the experience and the influential counsels of a military man. He found no velvet cushion at Lahore. Scarcely had he entered upon his office than a small cloud no bigger than a man's hand appeared on the horizon over Mooltan, which, in the course of six months, overspread the Punjab and brought on a conflict as arduous as that of 1845. Sawun Mull, who had been appointed *dewan*, or governor of Mooltan, by Runjeet Sing, was assassinated in 1844, after twenty years of power, and the administration passed into the hands of his son, Moolraj, whose subordination to the central authority of Lahore, was little more than nominal. But Lall Sing, the minister, knowing that a large treasure had been accumulated by Sawun Mull, at Mooltan, demanded a crore of rupees as a *nuzzur*, or succession fine, from his son, who was enabled eventually to effect a compromise for eighteen lacs. He took advantage, however, of the confusion which reigned in the Punjab, to withhold payment; but, on the establishment of a strong

government under British auspices, an army was sent to coerce him, but he contrived to baffle it. He then applied for the interposition of Mr. Lawrence, and, under his safe conduct, proceeded to Lahore. After adjusting the fine, he offered to resign the government, on the double ground of family dissensions, and the new fiscal arrangements which were about to be introduced into the province, and which he affirmed would damage his income. On the arrival of Sir Frederick Currie at Lahore, Moolraj renewed his offer of resignation, without any other stipulation than that of saving his honour in the eyes of his people. It is difficult to believe that a native chieftain in the position of Moolraj, enjoying all but independent authority, seriously contemplated the surrender of his power, although he may have made the offer under a feeling of temporary irritation; and it would have been an act of wisdom and prudence not to put his professions to the proof. The durbar, however, chose to take him at his word, and in March directed Khan Sing to proceed to Mooltan, on a salary of 30,000 rupees a-year, and take over the government. Sir Frederick Currie selected Mr. Agnew, a civilian and a good oriental scholar, to accompany him, nominally, as the political agent, but in reality to assume the entire management of the country, and to introduce a new system of finance and revenue. For this proceeding he has been severely criticised, and it has been justly remarked that if he was not prepared at the time to support it by an overwhelming force against all the opposition it was certain to encounter, he should have postponed the mission until the usual season of operations in the cold weather. Mr. Agnew, in company with his assistant Lieutenant Anderson, and Khan Sing, with an escort of 350 Sikh troops and a few guns, reached Mooltan on the 18th April, and encamped at the Edgah, a fortified temple in the vicinity of the town.

Murder of the
British officers,
1848.

On the morning of the 19th, Moolraj waited on the British officers, to discuss the terms on which the fort and the government were to be given up. He asked for a regular deed of acquittance on the pro-

duction of the papers of the previous year, but Mr. Agnew insisted on all the accounts of the previous six years. Moolraj naturally hesitated to produce documents which might compromise him by disclosing the secrets of his administration; and, though he yielded at length to the demand, he left the encampment with a scowl on his brow which boded no good. He felt that he had been injured and dishonoured before his own people. On the morning of the 20th, Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson proceeded with him to inspect the various establishments which he was about to resign; but, as they entered the fort, he requested them to dismiss a portion of their guard, to which they injudiciously acceded, although he refused, on some frivolous pretence, to diminish his own retinue. As they were returning from the fort and crossing the drawbridge, Mr. Agnew received a spear thrust under his arm, was thrown off his horse, and wounded in three places with a sword as he lay struggling with his assailant. Lieutenant Anderson was likewise suddenly surrounded and felled to the ground by assassins. Moolraj, who was riding side by side with Mr. Agnew at the time, immediately set spurs to his horse and rode off at full speed to his country residence, while the wounded officers were conveyed by their attendants to the Edgah. On the morning of the 20th, a brisk fire was opened upon it from the guns of the citadel, which was maintained throughout the day, and answered by the guns which had accompanied the party from Lahore. Mr. Agnew then despatched a letter appealing to the compassion of Moolraj, but he stated in reply that, although anxious to come to his assistance, he was restrained by the violence of his soldiery. He did not, however, refuse to allow them to fasten a war bracelet on his arm, and there could be no doubt of his complicity in this atrocious attempt to assassinate the British officers. Mr. Agnew and his companion were in hopes of being able to maintain their position until relief should arrive from Bunnoo or Bhawulpore, but their Sikh escort, which consisted of Goorkha soldiers, proved treacherous, and went

over in a body to the enemy, leaving them at the mercy of a crew of howling savages, who entered the mosque and completed the work of death. A misshapen monster of the name of Goojur Sing, rushed upon Mr. Agnew, loaded him with the foulest abuse, and severed his head from his body at the third stroke, while the ruffians hacked Lieutenant Anderson to pieces. Their bodies were dragged out amid brutish yells; their heads were presented to Moolraj, and then tossed among the mob, filled with gunpowder, and blown to atoms. The morning after the assassination, Moolraj transferred his family and his treasure to the fort, and, having placed himself at the head of the insurrectionary movement, issued a proclamation summoning all the inhabitants of the province, of every creed, to rise and wage a religious war with the Feringees.

Movements
at Lahore,
1848.

The emergency for which the foresight of Lord Hardinge had made provision by his moveable brigades had now arisen; but there was no longer Sir Henry Lawrence at the head of affairs in the Punjab, or Lord Hardinge at the head of the Government. The Resident at Lahore was an amiable and intelligent civilian, the Governor-General was an able statesman, but young in years and new in authority. He was as yet but partially acquainted with those who held posts of importance in the Government, and was, moreover, without any of that military experience which enabled his predecessor to maintain, without presumption, a powerful control of our military movements. Had Sir Henry Lawrence been at Lahore, he would have moved the brigade upon Mooltan, with the same promptitude which he had exhibited in his march to Cashmere at the beginning of the winter, to crush Imam-ood-deen, and doubtless with the same success. Had Lord Hardinge been at the head of the Government, he would have taken upon himself to despatch the large force he had massed on the north-west frontier and collected at Bukkur, and invested Mooltan before Moolraj could make any adequate preparations for resistance. A march through Sinde and from Lahore in the month of May would doubtless have occasioned

many casualties, but our empire in India had been acquired and maintained, not by fair weather campaigns, but by taking the field on every emergency, and at any season. On the first news of the assault at Mooltan, Sir Frederick Currie ordered a large force of horse, foot, and artillery to prepare for a march; but on hearing, a day or two after, that the officers had been murdered and that their escort had deserted to the enemy, he countermanded the movement of the troops, and resolved to await the decision of the Commander-in-chief, on whom he pressed the necessity of prompt and energetic action. Lord Gough, however, considered the season of the year unfavourable for military operations, and determined to postpone them to the cold weather, when he should be prepared to take the field in person. Lord Dalhousie gave his concurrence to this decision. Sir Henry Lawrence aptly described this procrastination as "a resolution to have a grand *shikar*—hunt—in the cold season under his own lead."

Lieutenant
Edwarde,
1848.

The Resident and the Commander-in-chief had scarcely ceased to bandy arguments, when Lieutenant—now Sir Herbert—Edwarde, a young officer employed in the revenue settlement of Bunnoo across the Indus, who was at the time known only by the productions of his pen which had recommended him to the notice of his superiors, brought the question of a military movement to an immediate issue. With the energy and military enterprise of Clive, but with greater moral courage, inasmuch as he assumed a heavier responsibility, he determined to take the initiative in crushing the revolt. Without waiting for orders from Lahore, he crossed the Indus with 1,200 infantry, 350 horsemen, and two guns, and took up a position at the town of Leiah; but a letter which he intercepted informed him that his men had agreed to sell his head for 12,000 rupees, and their own services for a similar sum; no dependence could therefore be placed on them. Moolraj was moving down to attack him, and he found it necessary to recross the river. His associate in this enterprise, Colonel Cortland, an officer in the

service of the durbar, had under his command a regiment of trustworthy Mahomedans and six guns, and the two officers made the most strenuous exertions to raise troops free from the infection of treachery—"bold villains ready to risk their own throats and to cut those of any one else." Colonel Cortland had been ordered by the Resident to move southward to aid in the collection of revenue, and he quitted Lieutenant Edwardes with 2,000 men. Moolraj immediately despatched a force of 6,000 men to attack him, when Lieutenant Edwardes moved down to his assistance, by land and by water, executing a march of fifty miles in twenty-four hours. The combined force was successful in repelling the assault, in occupying the whole of the Trans-Indus district, and in obtaining possession of all the boats on the river. Meanwhile, the Nabob of Bhawulpore, forty miles south of Mooltan, who had faithfully maintained his alliance with the Company since the visit of Captain Burnes in 1832, was requested by the Resident, at the instance of Lieutenant Edwardes, to advance with his army to the attack of Moolraj. Lieutenant Edwardes formed a junction with his troops on the 18th June at Kineyree, but found them in a state of complete disorganization, their helpless commander sitting under a tree counting his beads and muttering his prayers. With great difficulty he established something like order in their

Battle of
Kineyree, 18th
June, 1848.

ranks before they were attacked by Moolraj, who came down upon them with a body of 8,000 Sikhs and two guns. The action was fiercely contested for many hours, and the result was for a time doubtful, but at three in the afternoon the timely arrival of Colonel Cortland's regiments with his guns decided the fortune of the day, and the Mooltan army fled in confusion from the field. After the victory, Lieutenant Edwardes importuned the Resident to reinforce him, and preparations were made for the despatch of an adequate force, but the Commander-in-chief again interposed his authority, because the season was not yet favourable, and the siege train to be drawn by bullocks had not as yet moved from Cawnpore. On the 28th June, Lieutenant

Edwardes was strengthened by the accession of 4,000 men, brought by Imam-ood-deen, who had returned to his allegiance, which raised his force, including the Bhawulpore contingent, to 18,000. Moolraj, alarmed at the growing power of his opponents, advanced against them with his whole force, which had been in the meantime augmented by deserters to 11,000,

Battle of
Sudoosain,
1st July, 1848.

supported by eleven guns, and met them at Sudoosain, in the neighbourhood of his capital. After a cannonade of several hours, a brilliant charge of one of Colonel Cortland's regiments, led by an office clerk of the name of Quin, decided the action. The Mooltan troops recoiled from the assault, and fled. Moolraj was thrown from his elephant by a cannon ball, and, mounting a horse, joined the fugitives, and sought shelter within the walls of the city. The spirited efforts of the young lieutenant had thus, in the space of a few weeks, recovered the province and shut up the rebel in his citadel. "Now," he wrote to the Resident, "is the time to strike; it is painful to see that I have got to the end of my tether." He represented in strong terms the impolicy of condemning his raw levies to a state of inactivity for three or four months, exposed to the intrigues and allurements of Moolraj's emissaries, while the fermentation in the Punjab was daily becoming more intense.

Despatch of
General Whish,
1848.

Sir Frederick Currie determined to lose no time in following up the successful exertions of Lieutenant Edwardes, and took upon himself the responsibility of ordering General Whish to prepare the moveable brigade for an immediate march to Mooltan. Lord Gough refrained from offering any opposition to the movement of this force, but wisely determined to double its strength and raise it to 7,000 men, of whom a third were Europeans, and to send thirty-four guns with it. Lord Dalhousie said that although his opinion of the proper period for action had undergone no change, he was anxious to maintain the authority of the Resident, and directed him, at all hazards, to carry out the policy he had resolved upon with vigour. Meanwhile,

Lieutenant Edwardes was joined by a Sikh force which the Lahore durbar had been permitted to despatch to Mooltan under Shere Sing, one of the most influential chiefs in the Punjab, ostensibly to co-operate against Moolraj, but in reality, as it subsequently appeared, to embrace every opportunity of supporting his rebellion. It was no secret at Lahore that both he and his troops were thoroughly disaffected, and the great object of the Resident, after they had proceeded on their march, was to prevent their being brought in contact with Moolraj and his bands. Shere Sing's army was accordingly directed to halt within fifty miles of Mooltan, but, after the victory of the 1st July, he was permitted to continue his progress to that town. This was the cardinal error of the first period of the campaign, and it entailed the most disastrous results. Shere Sing did not hesitate to avow that his soldiers were incessantly urging him to join the revolt, and that if Lieutenant Edwardes had not been victorious at Sudoosain they would have gone over to Moolraj to a man. During the time they were encamped before Mooltan not a day passed without some desertions to the enemy, and the peril of the British commander was seriously augmented by the presence of these worse than doubtful allies.

The intrigues of
the Maharanee,
1848.

The events which transpired at Lahore during these proceedings exposed the mine upon which

we had been for some time sitting in the Punjab.

The Maharanee, a woman of insatiable ambition and indefatigable intrigue, and animated with a spirit of bitter hostility to British ascendancy, had been placed under restraint at a place called Shakoopoor, a few miles from Lahore, and her annual allowance of a lac and a-half of rupees had been reduced to 4,000. In May, 1848, a conspiracy to corrupt the troops at Lahore was discovered and traced to her machinations, and two of her agents were convicted and executed. The investigation conducted on this occasion disclosed the startling fact that she had been engaged for some time in a conspiracy against us, and that all the chiefs of the Lahore

darbar, with the exception of two, had agreed to co-operate with her for our expulsion. It was likewise asserted that Khan Sing, who accompanied Mr. Agnew to Mooltan, was himself deeply implicated in the plot, and had engaged to raise the province as soon as he had obtained possession of the citadel. She had extended her intrigues to Cabul, to Candahar, to Cashmere, to the Sikh protected states, and even to the princes of Rajpootana; and had endeavoured to organize a confederacy against British authority as ramified as that which Bajee Rao had projected thirty years before. The whole body of Sikh troops in the darbar army was ripe for revolt. There did not exist a chief or an officer who was not eager to shake off the yoke of the foreigners, and again to enshrine the national idol of Khalsa supremacy. There was not an inch of firm ground under our feet throughout the country of the five rivers. Sir Frederick considered that in these circumstances there could be no peace or security while the Maharanee continued in the Punjab, fomenting disaffection; and, by an unexpected and adroit movement, which anticipated all opposition, he caused her to be conveyed across the Sutlege and transferred to the care of the Resident at Benares, the warder of the dethroned princes and princesses of India.

Chutter Sing,
1848.

The spirit of revolt now began openly to develop itself. Chutter Sing, the father of Shere Sing, who had been intrusted with the government of the province of Hazara, lying on the left bank of the Indus, exhibited unequivocal signs of disaffection, and caused Colonel Canora, one of Runjeet Sing's old officers, to be put to death, because he refused to move his guns without the orders of the political agent. The Resident was slow to credit his treachery, and Jhunda Sing, who was supposed to possess more influence over him than any other man, was sent to endeavour to keep him to his allegiance. Jhunda, however, turned traitor himself, and joined the standard of Chutter Sing, who threw off the mask, and proceeded to attack Captain Nicholson, whom Major Lawrence had promptly sent down to hold Attok, the key

of the Indus. Throughout the month of August, Chutter Sing adjured his son Shere Sing to join the national revolt, but he continued to assure Lieutenant Edwardes of his unalterable fidelity, professed to show all the communications he had received from his father, and offered to take an oath of allegiance on the holy book.

General Whish's
operations,
1848.

General Whish's brigades, consisting of about 7,000 men, with a battering train, started for Mooltan at the latter end of July, but, though the distance was only two hundred and twenty miles, and he enjoyed the unrivalled convenience of water carriage down the stream, the force was thirty-nine days in reaching its destination. This procrastination, combined with the open defection of Chutter Sing, enabled Moolraj to augment the strength of his army, and to improve the defences of the town and the fort, while it also inspired him with increased confidence. Strange to say, it was found that General Whish's troops were more healthy during their progress to Mooltan than they had been in cantonments, and it was manifest that the unsuitableness of the season, which was urged as the ground of objection to an early and prompt movement, was a mere bugbear. The battering train at length reached Mooltan on the 3rd September, and the garrison was summoned to an unconditional surrender, not, however, in the name of the Maharajah, the actual sovereign of the Punjab, but in that of Her Majesty the Queen of England; and the Sikhs were thus led to the conclusion that we had already determined to confiscate the country. Mooltan, from its position on the Chenab and on the highway of commerce between Central Asia and Hindostan, was one of the most important towns in the Punjab. The fort was one of the strongest in India, erected on elevated ground, with walls substantially built of brick, about forty feet high, strengthened by thirty towers, and protected by a ditch twenty feet wide. It was garrisoned by about 2,000 men, and the town, which was likewise strongly fortified, by some 10,000 more. Moolraj had fifty-two guns at his

command. The first assault was made on the suburban out-works, which were defended with great resolution, and were not carried without the loss of 272 killed and wounded, of whom seventeen were officers. A good position was thus obtained for bombarding the town; but within eight days after the batteries had opened, all operations were at once brought to a close. Shere Sing yielded at length to the importunity of his father and the eagerness of his troops, and on the 14th September broke up his camp, ordered the "drum of religion" to strike up, and passed over to the enemy with 5,000 troops, two mortars and ten guns. After this defection, General Whish found it impossible to continue the siege, and accordingly abandoned the trenches the next day, and retired to a position in the vicinity of the town, well adapted for the reception of provisions by water. There he threw up entrenchments, waiting the arrival of reinforcements, and was, in fact, besieged in his turn. Shere Sing immediately issued a proclamation "by direction of the holy Gooroo," under the seals of nine of the chiefs in his army, announcing a religious war against the "cruel Feringees," and calling upon all who eat the salt of the sovereign of the Khalsa, Duleep Sing, to join the standard of the raja Shere Sing and the dewan Moolraj, to cut off the posts, and to put every European to death.

General revolt in the Punjab, 1848.

The whole of the Punjab was now in a state of revolt, with the exception of the two Sikh forces at Peshawur and Bunnoo across the Indus, and they only waited for a fit opportunity to join their fellow countrymen. The chiefs who had received especial distinction and advantage from the British authorities were among the leaders of the rebellion. The veterans of Runjeet Sing's army, scattered through the country, burned with impatience to meet the British battalions in the field, recover their lost honour, and restore the religious supremacy and the military glories of the Khalsa. The paltry outbreak of Moolraj, fostered by the folly of delay, had grown into a portentous war. Lord Dalhousie found that he had a great crisis to face, and the bravest soldiers in India, animated

by a patriotic enthusiasm, to encounter. The work which had taxed the utmost powers of his experienced and military predecessor was now to be done over again, and he showed himself fully equal to the emergency. In writing to the Secret Committee he stated that no other course was now open to us but to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our troops. Preparations were accordingly made to take the field in earnest. An army was called up from Bombay to reinforce General Whish, and the Governor, Sir George Clerk, who had foreboded no good from the premature deputation of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson to Mooltan, organized a force of 7,000 men to move into the Punjab. An addition of 17,000 men was made to the strength of the Bengal regiments, and the army destined for operations in the Punjab was ordered to assemble at Ferozepore. On the 10th October Lord Dalhousie proceeded towards the scene of operations; and, at a farewell entertainment given to him at Barrackpore, took occasion to say in the course of his speech, "Unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word, Sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance."

Movements of
Shere Sing, 1848.

Shere Sing was received with great coldness and mistrust by Moolraj, who wished him to desert the English, but not to encumber Mooltan with his presence. His troops were not permitted to enter the town till they had taken an oath of fidelity to the rebel cause on the holy book, and even then were required to encamp under the guns of the fort, the gates of which were closed against them. Moolraj was especially apprehensive that Shere Sing would make a large demand of money, and hit upon the expedient of promising pay to his troops, on condition that he should go forth and engage in one good fight with General Whish; but this he thought fit to decline. He had objects of ambition of his own. His father had directed him to advance to Guzerat, which he selected as the rendezvous of the Sikh troops, little dreaming that it was destined soon after to be the grave of

their independence. He accordingly quitted Mooltan twenty-five days after his revolt, and on the 9th October marched towards the Ravee with an army of 5,000 men, swelled at every stage by the old soldiers of the Khalsa army, who daily flocked to his standard. He advanced up to Jung on the left bank of the Chenab, laying waste the country as he proceeded, and announcing his intention to attack the city of Lahore. He pushed one of his divisions up to a position only twenty miles distant from the capital, and had the audacity to burn a bridge of boats on the Ravee, the flames of which were visible from the battlements of the citadel. The spirit of enterprise which these movements exhibited astounded the Resident, and he became importunate with the Commander-in-chief for immediate reinforcements. The capital, he said, was hemmed in and menaced by the rebels, who were raising the country within twelve miles of it, and if an attack were made on the cantonments, it would be supported by a simultaneous rising in the city, which contained 30,000 swordsmen, and a population universally disaffected; the Government would thus be placed in a very critical and disgraceful position. Happily, Shere Sing was ignorant of the defenceless situation in which the capital had been unaccountably left for many weeks after he and his father were known to be in open rebellion with 15,000 gallant and enthusiastic Sikhs under their banners. Two regiments of infantry, together with one of cavalry, and some artillery were despatched from Ferozepore for the defence of Lahore, but they marched leisurely at the rate of eight miles a-day. Shere Sing, however, instead of attacking the city, marched westward to meet the Bunnoo troops, consisting of four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, six troops of horse artillery and four guns, who had at length mutinied and murdered their officers. The Resident was relieved from his anxieties by the arrival of the Ferozepore brigade under Colonel Cureton, to whom the Commander-in-chief issued a positive and unqualified injunction to undertake no active measure whatever till he himself came up with the main army.

Alliance with
Dost Mahomed,
1848.

Chutter Sing, having raised the standard of rebellion, and, as he said, "devoted his head to God and his arms to the Khalsa," opened negotiations with Cabul, and made Dost Mahomed the offer of the province of Peshawur, on condition of his joining the crusade against the English. The alliance, which was speedily completed, was one of the most singular compacts even in oriental history. The Dost had always considered the Sikhs the most inveterate enemies of his nation and his creed. Runjeet Sing had for twenty years been engaged in dismembering the Afghan monarchy, from which he had wrested the provinces of Cashmere, Mooltan, and Peshawur, as well as other territories on both sides the Indus. He had joined the British Government in the expedition to Cabul, which resulted in sending the Dost a houseless wanderer to Bokhara, and eventually a captive to Calcutta. The Dost had seen the mosques at Peshawur desecrated by the infidel Sikhs, and the Mahomedan population of the Punjab trampled under foot by religious intolerance. It was a strong indication of the hopes which our procrastination had excited, that he who had beheld with his own eyes the magnitude of our resources, and witnessed the extinction of Runjeet Sing's power, should bury in oblivion his animosity to the Sikhs, and join an incipient revolt directed against our supremacy. So elated was he with the prospect of revenge, that he not only promised to join the insurgents with his contingent, but addressed an impertinent letter to the British authorities, exulting in the acquisition of Peshawur, and offering his good offices to mediate between them and the Sikhs.

Major Lawrence
at Peshawur,
1848.

The province of Peshawur which Chutter Sing sold to the Afghans, was under the political charge of Sir George—then Major—Lawrence, one of the Lawrence brothers, and was garrisoned by a body of 8,000 Sikh troops, upon whose fidelity little reliance could be placed, now that the whole atmosphere was charged with treason. Chutter Sing never ceased to press them to join his standard, and it required all the tact of the Major, and the

great influence which he had acquired over them, to maintain his post in these desperate circumstances. He had repeatedly entreated that a brigade might be sent up to hold the province, but though a column was at one time warned for that service, it was speedily countermanded. The troops continued to resist the offers of Chutter Sing so steadily, that, in despair of success, he was about to march from the Indus to join his son, when his object was accomplished through the agency of Sultan Mahomed, the brother of Dost Mahomed, and the personification of Afghan perfidy. He was under peculiar obligations to Sir Henry Lawrence, who found him a prisoner at Lahore, and not only restored him to liberty, but reinstated him in his jageers at Peshawur. His gratitude was manifested by seducing the troops from their allegiance, and pressing them to assault the brother of his benefactor. Under his instigation they marched down to the Residency on the evening of the 24th October and attacked it with shot, shrapnell and grape. The Major and Lieutenant Bowie, with Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, quitted it under the escort of fifty Afghan horse, and the soldiers immediately rushed in and sacked it. On the morning of the attack, Sultan Mahomed had given the most solemn assurances of protection to the Major and his party, and offered to lead them in safety to his own town of Kohat. Soon after their arrival there, however, he sold them to Chutter Sing, who conducted them back as prisoners to Peshawur, where they were strictly guarded, but otherwise treated with great respect.

The grand
army, 1848.

The grand army was at length assembled in the month of October at Ferozepore. It was weak in infantry, but strong in artillery. An entire division was waiting at Mooltan for the junction of the Bombay column to renew the siege; Brigadier Wheeler was engaged in operations in the Jullunder; a considerable garrison was required for Lahore, and there was a reserve force under Sir Dudley Hill. Lord Gough had under his command four British and eleven native infantry regiments. Upwards of sixty field

guns were attached to the divisions of cavalry and infantry, and eight howitzers and ten eighteen pounders had been equipped with good forethought to be drawn by elephants and bullocks, and manœuvred with the readiness of field artillery. The cavalry consisted of three noble regiments of British horse, backed by five regiments of light cavalry, and five complete corps of irregular horse under the command of the veteran Hearsey, the adjutant of Fitzgerald at the battle of Seeta-buldee, thirty-one years before. Lord Gough took the command of the army early in November, and crossed the Ravee on the morning of the 16th, when the actual operations of the army may be said to have commenced—seven months after the murder of the two officers at Mooltan. Shere Sing, by moving to the northward, had compelled the British to operate on two lines. While they were combining their forces before Mooltan, they had at the same time to confront the insurrection in the superior delta of the five rivers, and for this double operation the force of infantry was manifestly feeble. Shere Sing, with about 15,000 Sikhs, had taken up a position at Ramnugur, on the Chenab, of which he occupied both banks. His main force was encamped on the right bank, protected by batteries mounting twenty-eight guns, and sufficiently covered from any fire that could be opened from the opposite bank. He had boats on the river and the command of a ford, and had ventured without much risk to push a detachment across. Lord Gough opened the campaign on the morning of the 22nd November by marching down to Ramnugur, while his heavy guns, his pontoon, and his engineer establishment were far in the rear. According to some of the best military authorities his movements should have been confined to a *reconnaissance en force*, and a feint attack, while his infantry and cavalry advanced to Wuzeerabad, thirty miles higher up on the great high road of the Punjab. There he might have established a bridge and awaited the arrival of his guns, and encountered Shere Sing to advantage, if, abandoning his entrenchments, he advanced against him. He resolved, however, to attack

at once the Sikh force on the left bank at Ramnugur, and drive it across the river. After a slight skirmish, the fire of the light artillery, consisting of twelve guns, drove back the Sikhs, when Shere Sing opened an irresistible fire of shot and shell on the British force from his batteries planted upon the high ground on the other side of the river. The order was given to limber up and retire, but one gun and two waggons could not be extricated from the sand. Instead of spiking the gun and blowing up the waggons, valuable time was lost in endeavouring to extricate them. A formidable body of the enemy rushed over, but Captain Ouvry gallantly charged among them to cover the retreat of the artillery, though not without loss, as the broken ground had by this time been occupied by the enemy's musketeers. The infantry was then marched down to the ridge which marked the height of the river during the rains, and from that elevation the strength of the Sikh position became fully visible. As the British cavalry and infantry retired, several thousand of the enemy's horse crossed the ford towards the deserted gun, and their marksmen crowded over, while the battery of twenty-eight guns played incessantly on our receding force. Here the operations of the day should have terminated, as any further movement against such fearful odds would have been an act of infatuation; but it was committed. Colonel William Havelock, in command of the 14th Dragoons, one of the most gallant officers in the Queen's service, who had earned laurels in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, rashly solicited permission to charge the Sikhs, and in an evil hour it would appear to have been granted by the Commander-in-chief. Supported by the 5th cavalry, he rushed forward and at once cleared the bank of the enemy; and then pursued them down into the sands. The guns from the opposite bank, as well as those which had been brought over in haste, to the number of eight, opened on the dragoons; their horses became exhausted and sunk deeper and deeper in the sand. Colonel Havelock was surrounded by the enemy and killed, but not

Action of
Ramnugur,
1848.

Death of Colonel Havelock and Colonel Cureton, 1848.

before he had felled three or four of his assailants. In this attack the gallant and experienced Colonel Cureton, who had raised himself to distinction from the ranks in which he had enlisted as a runaway lad, was lost to the army. The death of two such men would have been sufficient to mar congratulations on a victory, but that their lives should have been sacrificed in this idle and bootless skirmish, served to deepen the regrets of the army. The dry sandy bed of a large stream swept by the fire of twenty-eight guns was not the field for a cavalry action. It may here be incidentally noticed, that two days after the fight at Ramnugur, a paper was transmitted to Lord Dalhousie from Shere Sing's camp, containing the Sikh justification of the revolt, which they rested on the elevation of the raja Golab Sing, a Rajpoot, the banishment of the Maharanee, the disregard of Sikh prejudices, the advancement of Mahomedans, and, above all, the slaughter of the cow.

Lord Gough, having withdrawn his troops after the action on the 22nd beyond the reach of Shere Sing's batteries, awaited for a week the arrival of his heavy guns and his pontoon. Any attempt to assail the strong position of the Sikhs on the Chenab in front could only be the dictate of the wildest folly, and it was wisely determined to throw a strong division across the river higher up, and move down upon the left flank of their entrenchments, while the Commander-in-chief occupied their attention by a cannonade in front. Sir Joseph Thackwell, an officer who had acquired celebrity in the Peninsula, was nominated to the command of the turning force, which consisted of 8,000 horse, foot, and artillery, with thirty field pieces and two heavy guns. He marched an hour after midnight on the 1st December, and reached Wuzeerabad, twenty-four miles up the river, where, with the aid of boats collected by the activity of Captain Nicholson, a distinguished political officer, he crossed the Chenab by midday of the 2nd, and thus transferred the mastery of the river from the Sikhs to the British. After a

hasty meal his force marched down twelve miles towards the enemy's position. At midnight he received instructions from Lord Gough to make an attack on the flank of Shere Sing's encampment in the morning, while the main army crossed over at Ramnugur to cooperate with his movements ; but he had not proceeded more than six miles when another communication from head-quarters informed him that the army could not cross for want of boats, but that General Godby had been despatched with a brigade to cross the stream six miles higher up and unite with him. He was instructed to aid the movements of that brigade, but to suspend any attack on the Sikhs till it had joined him ; and he accordingly despatched a native regiment to secure the ford. At two in the afternoon his men, who had tasted little food for forty-eight hours, were partaking of a light refreshment, when the rushing sound of round shot made them start to their feet and take to their arms. Shere Sing, on hearing of Sir Joseph's movement, withdrew his army from its position at Ramnugur, and marched down to meet him, leaving Lord Gough to expend his powder and shot upon an empty encampment. Sir Joseph, who had proceeded to the ford in search of Brigadier Godby, hastened back on hearing of the attack of the Sikhs, and rectified his position by withdrawing his troops two hundred yards from fields of lofty sugar cane into clear ground. The Sikhs perceiving this movement, rushed forward with loud shouts of "the Feringees are flying." The action took place at the village of Sadoolapore, where for two hours the British force sustained the incessant fire of the enemy without returning a shot till they were fully within range, when the artillery opened with deadly effect. During the engagement Sir Joseph received orders from Lord Gough to act according to his own discretion as to attacking the Sikhs without waiting for General Godby ; but there remained only one short hour of daylight. By half past four the hostile cannon began to slacken, and it was evident that the Sikhs had failed in their attack, but Sir Joseph did not deem it prudent to

advance upon them. His force consisted of only two brigades; a regiment was at the ford, and General Godby's brigade had not joined him. The enemy were supposed to number 30,000, with forty pieces of cannon; they were strongly posted in a line of three villages, and if driven from them, might have retired on their camp, which could only have been stormed in darkness. With the example of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur before him, Sir Joseph wisely determined not to precipitate his brave troops, broken down and wearied as they were, into a labyrinth of tents, waggons, and tumbrils, among exploding mines and expense magazines. At midnight the barking of dogs betrayed the movement of the Sikh army, and when the General put his army in motion to pursue them in the morning, he found that they were already beyond his reach. Under cover of the night, Shere Sing had removed all his guns and ammunition towards the Jhelum, "leaving not a goat behind." The advantage of the action doubtless rested with him, for he had marched away at his own will and leisure to a better position, but Lord Gough thought fit to claim the victory, and in a magniloquent despatch announced that "it had pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe to the British arms the most successful issue to the extensive combinations rendered necessary to effect the passage of the Chenab and the defeat and dispersion of the Sikh force." The community in India, spoiled by marvellously good fortune, impugned the military strategy which enabled the Sikh general to escape with all his cannon and with his army unscathed; men of sanguine temperament denounced his over caution, but this crude condemnation has been rectified by the cool judgment of professional criticism, and Sir Joseph's merits have been fully appreciated, not less for saving his troops on the night of the 3rd December from unprofitable loss, and the British arms from the hazard of serious disaster, than for his successful passage of the river.

Noble efforts of
the Political
Officers, 1848.

While the elements of rebellion were reeking
throughout the Punjab and the Commander-in-

chief was waiting for the arrival of the cold weather, British interests in the various districts of the Punjab were maintained by the political officers with a degree of skill and energy which reflected the highest credit on the Company's service. Mr. John Lawrence had been entrusted with the charge of the Jullunder dooab, the Sikh province beyond the Sutlege which Lord Hardinge had annexed to the British territories. A detachment of rebel Sikhs crossed the Ravee and laid siege to an important fortress. One raja broke out in the upper range of hills, and another followed his example in the lower range, and the whole province was on the point of being enveloped in the flames of revolt. Mr. Lawrence had now the first opportunity of exhibiting that spirit of enterprise, energy, and resolution which was developed on a larger scale in the Punjab nine years later during the Sepoy mutiny, and which eventually led him up to the highest seat in the empire. By the absence of the General, he and his assistants were left to act on their own discretion. He collected a force of hill men and of Sikhs, and boldly led them against their own countrymen, captured or dispersed the insurgents, and in the short period of thirteen days extinguished all opposition, and restored peace and order to the province. On the western frontier, along the line of the Indus, Captain Abbott, of Khiva celebrity, Captain Nicholson, Lieutenant Lumsden, and Lieutenant Taylor continued for many months to maintain their isolated and perilous positions with a chivalrous bearing in the midst of universal treachery. On the first suspicion of Chutter Sing's disloyalty, Major Lawrence had wisely despatched Captain Nicholson to secure Attok; and that important post was subsequently held by Captain Herbert with a small body of Mahomedan troops. The fort was in so dilapidated a state that it could not have withstood a scientific and vigorous attack for six hours, but with a spirit of heroism which carries the mind back to the defence of Arcot, he maintained his post against the utmost efforts of the Sikhs for six weeks. Dost Mahomed at length made his appearance

on the Indus, and summoned all true believers to join his standard and take the field against the infidels. To ascertain the feelings of the garrison, Captain Herbert held a durbar, when his native officers and men frankly avowed that their families were in the power of the Dost, and that it would be dangerous for them to resist his commands. He found it necessary therefore to abandon the fort, and quitted it at midnight on a raft, but was seized as he passed down the river, and sent to join Major Lawrence in captivity at Peshawur. The reward which Captain Herbert received for his gallantry was what all officers most coveted, the commendation of Lord Dalhousie, who announced to India that he had maintained his position "with a settled firmness and a high-minded constancy."

Movements of
the Sikh and
British Forces,
1848-49.

The Sikhs retired from Sadoolapore on the night of the 3rd December with their artillery, the chief ground of their confidence, still entire, the spirit of the troops still unbroken, and the audacity of the chieftains still buoyant. With that skill which distinguished the general officers among the Sikhs, Shere Sing took up a position of great strength on the Jhelum, with his rear resting on that river, his main body posted in ravines strengthened by field works, and his front covered by a broad and dense belt of jungle. Throughout the month of December and the first half of January, the British army remained inactive between the Jhelum and the Chenab. This policy, which has been the subject of much censure, was in some measure owing to the restrictions imposed on the movements of the force by Lord Dalhousie, who had requested Lord Gough, after the battle of Sadoolapore, "on no consideration to advance beyond the Chenab except for the purpose of attacking Shere Sing in the position he then held, without further communication with him." He had, in fact, injudiciously interfered with the military dispositions of the Commander-in-chief, on whom the responsibility of the campaign rested. To what extent Lord Hardinge had regulated and controlled the movements of the

army in the first Sikh war was well known, but he was a soldier, and a general of a far higher standard than the Commander-in-chief, whereas Lord Dalhousie was a young civilian with no military experience. It appears that he was not long perceiving the false position in which he had thus placed himself, and before the 22nd December informed Lord Gough that "if he could satisfy his own judgment regarding the state of his supplies, his supports and communications, and that the enemy might be attacked with such force as he may have safely disposable, and without heavy loss, he should be happy to see a blow struck that would destroy him, add honour to the British arms, and avert the prospect of a protracted and costly war." Whatever responsibility may be attached to the inactivity of the force for three weeks after this date, rests with the military authorities. But, however injudicious may have been this act of interference on the part of the Governor-General, subsequent events gave reason to regret that it was not prolonged. Indeed, the whole plan of the campaign has been condemned by the judgment of the highest military authorities. In their opinion, Lord Gough would have exercised a wise discretion if he had remained in observation, on the left bank of the Chenab, regarding himself as covering the siege of Mooltan on the one hand, and Lahore on the other, holding Shere Sing in check, cutting off his supplies, watching his movements northward and southward, and preventing the despatch of a single soldier to the aid of Moolraj; and then,—as was ultimately done,—throwing the united British force with irresistible power on the Sikh army. This plan would have involved the inactivity of three months, and incurred the denunciations of the press, but it would have saved us the disasters of Ramnugur and Chillianwalla.

Advance to
Chillianwalla,
1849.

The army was reviewed at Lassooree by Lord Gough on the 11th January, and advanced the next day to Dingee, a distance of twelve miles. The task before it was arduous. In conflicts with other races in India it had been the boast of the British troops that they

never cared to count their enemies, and were only anxious to prevent their escape. But the Sikhs were the boldest and most resolute foes who had ever tried the metal of the British soldier in the east, and on this occasion two weak infantry divisions were about to attack a Sikh force of 30,000 men, with a battery of sixty guns, in one of the strongest positions they had ever taken up, and on ground where our powerful cavalry had no room for manœuvring. On the 13th, the army advanced with the intention of turning the enemy's left at Russool, but a nearer approach shewed it covered with so dense a jungle that Lord Gough wisely resolved to take up a position for the day, and reconnoitre it more perfectly on the morrow. In 1845, before a sword had been drawn, the British commanders had been warned by those best acquainted with the tactics of the Sikhs, that they were not to be dreaded as assailants, but that an entrenched position was defended by them with a degree of obstinacy hardly to be overcome by human efforts. The correctness of this observation was grievously exemplified at Ferozeshuhur and Sobraon. Hence it was always desirable so to manœuvre as to oblige them to take the initiative, and on the present occasion this advantage had been fortuitously gained. On approaching Chillianwalla, it became evident that they had quitted their strong entrenchments on the heights of Russool, and marched down into the plain. A picket of Sikhs was driven in from a low bare hill, and the staff, on ascending it, obtained a distinct view of their line, covered indeed by a thick jungle, but ready to combat without the usual support of their bulwarks. Lord Gough had intended to defer the attack till a more careful reconnaissance had been effected, and had issued orders to mark out the ground for the encampment. This duty had already commenced, when a few shots from some field pieces the Sikhs had pushed forward, dropped near him. The spirit of defiance and antagonism at once overcame his better judgment, and, rejecting all advice and trampling on every remonstrance, he gave orders to prepare for immediate action. The Sikhs opened a continuous roar of fire from

a jungle so thick that nothing was offered as a mark for the British artillery but the flash and smoke of the hostile guns. This cannonade lasted an hour, or an hour and a half, according to different reports, and at three in the afternoon in the month of January, with only an hour or two of daylight left, undeterred by the example of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur, where success was lost in the darkness, the divisions were ordered to advance.

Chillianwalla—
the two Infantry
Divisions, 1849.

The division of General Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde, was the first to push forward. Of its two brigades, that commanded by Brigadier Hoggan, under the General's personal superintendence, though fiercely opposed by heavy odds, won the ground in its front; but the brigade of Brigadier Pennycuik was destined to a fearful repulse. The 24th Foot, which formed a portion of it, advanced with an ardour that seemed to promise victory, but while yet at a distance from the enemy, broke into too rapid a pace, outstripped the native regiments, and rushed breathless and confused upon the enemy's guns. It received a deadly shower of grape, and while shattered by its fatal effects, was torn to pieces by a musketry fire from Sikh troops, masked by a screen of jungle. The native regiments, when they came up, were unable to restore the battle. The whole brigade was thrown into confusion, and the most desperate efforts of the officers were of no avail to establish order. Brigadier Pennycuik was slain in the fore front of the fight; Colonel Brookes, commanding the 24th, fell among the guns. The Sikhs rushed forward with fury, sword in hand, and soon converted the rude repulse into incurable rout. The colours of the regiment fell into their hands, but not until twenty-three officers and 459 non-commissioned officers and men had been killed or wounded. Lord Gough, on receiving a report of this sanguinary check, ordered up the reserve under Brigadier Penny, but it took a wrong direction and missed its way in the forest. General Campbell, who had been victorious in his own front, observing the disaster, spiked the guns he had captured, and advancing

rapidly to the rescue, snatched the victory from the enemy, and captured the guns which had poured this deadly fire on the brigade. Sir Walter Gilbert's division on the right was not checkered by disaster, but its advantages were not gained without heroic efforts and serious loss. His left brigade, led with rare gallantry, by Brigadier Mountain, carried the enemy's position, and captured several pieces of ordnance. But the 56th Native Infantry lost its colours, and its gallant commander, Major Bamfield, received a mortal wound, and lay dying, side by side in the same hospital tent with his brave son, who had also been struck down. The other brigade consisting of the 2nd Europeans and two native regiments, and led by Brigadier Godby, was severely tested. The Europeans, attacked on numerous points, succeeded in putting the Sikhs to flight, but pursuit in a forest where they could not see twenty yards before them, was vain, and they halted to collect their wounded, when a sudden fire was opened on them by a body of Sikhs who had turned their flank unperceived, and they would have been inevitably overwhelmed but for the field battery of Major Dawes, of Jellalabad renown, who poured in a shower of grape on the enemy, as coolly as if he had been on parade. The struggle was terrific, and, to use the language of an eye-witness, it seemed as if the very air teemed with balls and bullets. The Sikhs fought like demons, but the Europeans succeeded in sweeping them from the ground and remained masters of the field.

Movements of
the Cavalry,
1848

The adventures of the cavalry were painful and humiliating. The attack on the Sikh position, which had never been reconnoitered, was in a parallel line. The several brigades of foot opposed to the enemy in front were outflanked by their more extended line. To protect the extreme flanks of the infantry, Lord Gough brought his cavalry into first line, and it was thus opposed to an unapproachable artillery fire and to entanglement in the recesses of the forest; but the actual mischief even exceeded what might have been anticipated from such defective

tactics. On the right flank, in prolongation of the infantry, were posted the 14th Dragoons, the 9th Lancers, and two native cavalry regiments. The troops of artillery attached to the brigade were planted in the rear and could not therefore open fire from a single gun. This strong cavalry brigade was entrusted to Brigadier Pope, who had been an active officer in his youth, but was now unable to mount his horse without assistance. He was, moreover, of a fanciful and irritable temper, and obstinately wedded to his old fashioned notions of cavalry manœuvre. He advanced his four regiments formed in a single line and though the forest was dense, not a skirmisher was sent forward to explore the way, and no reserve or supporting column was provided against temporary reverse. As the line advanced, first at a walk and then at a trot, it was broken up by trees and clumps of brushwood into numerous series of small sections, doubled behind each other. In this state of things a small body of Sikh horse, intoxicated with drugs, rushed in a mass upon the centre, wounded the brigadier, and caused a sensation of terror among the native cavalry which it was found impossible to counteract. Just at this crisis, some one in the ranks of the 14th Dragoons, whose name has never been ascertained, uttered the words, "threes about." The regiment at once turned to the rear and moved off in confusion, and, as the Sikh horse pressed on its track, galloped headlong in disgraceful panic through the cannon and waggons posted in its rear, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of its commander, Colonel King, and of the chaplain of the force, the Rev. Mr. Whiting, to rally the fugitives. The Sikh horse entered the ranks of the artillery along with the flying dragoons, and captured four guns; the disgrace of the brigade was irreparable. The success of the cavalry division on the left, commanded by Sir Joseph Thackwell, was marked by great gallantry. After a cannonade, in which the eighteen guns under Colonel Brind took an active share, a party of Sikh horse wound round its left and menaced the rear. Sir Joseph directed three squadrons

of the 5th native cavalry and a squadron of Greys under Captain Unett to charge the assailants, while he kept the rest of his brigade in reserve. The Sikh horse opened a heavy match-lock fire, and the native cavalry turned and fled; but Captain Unett with his dragoons forced his way through the Sikh ranks, nor halted in his impetuous career till he had reached the rear of the enemy, when, though severely wounded, he cut his way back to the brigade, and rejoined his applauding comrades, with the loss of forty-eight killed and wounded. The shades of evening put an end to the conflict. It was desirable to keep the ground which had been so hardly won, but it was hazardous to hold a position of which nothing was known. It was impossible to post pickets and guards in the darkness of the night. The troops were half dead with the fatigue of previous marching and manœuvring, and an arduous combat. They were parched with thirst and called loudly for water, but none could be procured except from the distant wells of Chillianwalla. A night of heavy rain was impending, which would have inundated the field and completed the disorganization of the force. With great reluctance, but with a sense of imperious necessity, Lord Gough withdrew the force to Chillianwalla, where the troops snatched a broken and fitful repose. Meanwhile, parties of Sikh troops and of the armed peasantry of the surrounding villages, traversed the forest in which the combat had taken place, stripped, plundered, and mutilated the slain, and with atrocious barbarity murdered the wounded. On the following morning, when the cavalry moved over the field, they found that every gun captured in the fight had been carried off, with the exception of twelve, which had been brought into camp the night before.

Results of the
battle, 1849.

Such was the battle of Chillianwalla, the most sanguinary, and the nearest approximation to a defeat, of any of the great conflicts of the British power in India. The Sikhs were driven from their position, but their army was not overthrown, and retired without interruption to another position, three miles from the field. Twelve of their guns

remained in our possession, but four guns of the Horse Artillery were captured by them. The colours of three regiments were lost in the battle, and the price paid by us for our doubtful victory was the loss of 2,357 fighting men and 89 officers killed and wounded. The moral results of the action were dismal; the character of the Sikhs for prowess was greatly elevated, the reputation of British cavalry was deplorably tarnished. The highest authority in India was constrained to pronounce it a victory, which was announced by salutes from every battery throughout the three Presidencies. But in this note of triumph we were anticipated by Shere Sing, who fired a salute the same evening in honour of what he considered his triumph, and another three days after to celebrate the arrival of his father with large reinforcements.

Public opinion
on the battle,
1849.

While Chillianwalla was officially registered as a victory, it was regarded by the community in India of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, as a great calamity. The public did not cease to admire the private virtues, the quick perception, the indomitable energy, and the chivalrous valour of the Commander-in-chief, which rendered him the idol of the soldiery; but there was, nevertheless, a painful conviction that nature had not designed, or education and experience fitted him, for extensive and independent command. In England, the intelligence of this combat excited feelings of alarm and indignation. British cannon had been captured; British standards had been lost; British cavalry had fled before the enemy; a British regiment had been nearly annihilated; and the confidence of the native troops in our skill and good fortune had been rudely shaken. These disasters were traced to the defect of our military tactics. The India House was filled with alarms, which were shared by the Duke of Wellington. It was well known that while he had applauded the gallantry of the troops engaged at Maharajpore, he had freely criticised the manoeuvres of the General. The Court of Directors and the Ministry were now of one mind as to the necessity of an immediate change in

the command. Sir Charles Napier was accordingly solicited by the Duke to proceed to India as Commander-in-chief, and he left England within three days. The supercession which had previously impended was now inflicted on Lord Gough, and he was made to taste the bitterness of recall; but before the arrival of his successor, the brilliant victory of Guzerat had turned the Punjab into a British province.

CHAPTER XL.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—THE SECOND SIKH WAR—
THE SECOND BURMESE WAR—THE SANTAL OUTBREAK,
1849—1855.

The second siege
of Mooltan,
1848—1849

THE conflict at Chillianwalla had so seriously crippled the British infantry as to constrain the Commander-in-chief to wait for the capture of Mooltan, and the accession of General Whish's force, and the army was withdrawn to an entrenched camp at a little distance from the position of the enemy at Russool. It was by no means a pleasing reflection that this course, if it had been adopted at an early stage of the war, would have saved the army the loss and the disgrace attending that engagement. To the second siege of Mooltan we now turn. On the defection of Shere Sing on the 15th September, General Whish retired to a fortified position at Sooruj-koond, which possessed the advantage of being safe from all the attempts of the Sikhs, and open to the reception of supplies by water. By the unfortunate turn affairs had taken, all the advantages gained by the spirited exertions of Lieutenant Edwardes were lost, and Moolraj regained possession of the province and its resources, and laid in so abundant a store of provisions as to be under no necessity during the siege of indenting on his original stock for a single bag of rice. He was also enabled to

strengthen the fortifications so effectually as to render the second siege of the town and the citadel, notwithstanding the unexampled appliances commanded by the besiegers, more arduous than any in which a British army had ever been engaged in the plains of India. General Whish was doomed to more than three months of inaction, owing to the dilatoriness of the Bombay authorities, which has never been explained. Their troops did not reach Roree on the Indus before the 18th December, but no time was lost in marching them up to Mooltan, and it was accomplished within a week. The accession of the Bombay column, consisting of 9,000 men, raised General Whish's force to 17,000, with sixty-four heavy guns. The siege was reopened on the 27th December, and pushed on from day to day with uninterrupted vigour. To obtain a position for breaching the walls of the town, it was necessary to clear the suburbs, which was not, however, effected without the loss of 300 men and seventeen officers. The British batteries were then advanced against the town, and the discharge from cannon, howitzers, and mortars never ceased, day or night, for five days. A bold sally of 2,000 of the finest Sikh soldiers was driven back by Lieutenant Edwardes's levies, after a long and arduous conflict, in which Sir Henry Lawrence, who had just returned from England, bore a prominent part. On the third day, after a fierce cannonade from the batteries, to which Moolraj returned shot for shot, the fury of the combatants was suddenly arrested by a terrific convulsion. A shell from a mortar struck a mosque in the city which had been turned into a magazine and stored with 400,000 lbs. of gunpowder. It blew up with a tremendous explosion which shook the earth for many miles round, and darkened the air with smoke and fragments. After a pause of a minute or two, however, the firing recommenced with redoubled earnestness, the Bombay and Bengal artillery vieing with each other, and the enemy vieing with both. The breach was at length pronounced practicable, and the city, which had been defended with extraordinary resolution,

was stormed on the 2nd January. It presented a melancholy picture of desolation; the buildings had crumbled under the storm of shot and shell which had never ceased for a hundred and twenty hours. Of the wretched inhabitants, numbering 80,000 at the beginning of the siege, no small portion had been swept away by our cannon, or cut down by the cavalry as they endeavoured to escape destruction, and the streets were covered with dead and dying Sikhs. Notwithstanding the strictest injunctions of the generals, the capture was tarnished by the excesses of the troops, and by disgraceful plunder. After the fall of the town, no time was lost in pushing on the siege of the citadel, which Moolraj continued to defend with about 3,000 men. The howitzers played on it for several days with such fearful effect, tearing up the earth and brickwork of its massive walls, that on the 5th January Moolraj endeavoured to open a negotiation with General Whish, but was informed that no terms would be granted short of unconditional surrender. He resolved, therefore, to defend his stronghold to the last extremity, and for another fortnight he and his brave soldiers sustained the most awful fire of ordnance, direct and vertical, ever discharged in India within the same narrow compass. At length, when not a roof was left standing in the fort except in one bomb-proof gateway, and the incessant volleys from our batteries became insupportable to the troops, they demanded that he should either put himself at their head and cut his way through the ranks of the besiegers, or give up the fortress. The garrison

surrendered at discretion on the 22nd January, and
Capture of the fort, 1849.

Moolraj rode out into the English camp, his soldiers and chiefs prostrating themselves before him in passionate devotion as he passed along. Mooltan was placed in charge of Lieutenant Edwardes, and the army moved up to join the Commander-in-chief.

Movements of the British and Sikh forces, 1849.

The English and Sikh forces lay encamped within a few miles of each other for twenty-five days, the one at Chillianwalla and the other at

Russool. On the 6th February it was reported in the British camp that the whole of the Sikh army had marched unperceived round the British entrenchments, and was moving down upon Lahore. Lord Gough immediately despatched General Gilbert to ascertain the truth of the rumour, and he found the formidable encampment at Russool, the attempt to storm which, it was evident to him, would have entailed no ordinary sacrifice of human life, deserted by the enemy. This manoeuvre of the Sikh generals has been variously attributed to the increasing deficiency of their supplies, to the exhaustion of their military chest, and to the eagerness of their troops for the excitement of action. It may have been dictated by the hope of fulfilling their boast of "cooking their food at Lahore," and then crossing the Sutlege, and, in combination with the protected Sikh states, rushing down on the British territories. Lord Gough, finding that the Sikhs had completely circumvented him, marched back to Lassoorie, and sent peremptory orders for the prompt advance of General Whish's force. Shere Sing, having thus turned Lord Gough's right, established his head-quarters at Guzerat on the 14th February, and the next day despatched a portion of his troops across the Chenab at Wuzeerabad. It was the opinion of a high military authority, that if he had kept his forces well together, and advanced rapidly across the Chenab, and fallen upon the troops marching up from Mooltan, he might have gained such advantages, in succession, over one or two of General Whish's brigades, as altogether to change the fate of the campaign; but he lacked the skill and energy for so masterly a strategy. To counteract the movement of Shere Sing, a European and a native regiment, with a corps of irregular cavalry and Colonel Brind's battery were pushed forward towards Wuzeerabad, but it was found that in consequence of some indication of danger, he had recalled the troops sent across the Chenab. Colonel Brind obtained the command of all the fords, and the advantage Shere Sing had gained by turning the flank of the British army was lost through hesitation and delay. On the appear-

ance of the British column, he retired to Guzerat, which, in the palmy days of the Khalsa, was considered a place of good omen, and there awaited the attack of the Commander-in-chief. The last brigade of General Whish's division joined the headquarters on the 20th February, and Lord Gough moved up to the enemy's encampment with 20,000 men and a hundred pieces of cannon.

Arrangement of
the Battle of
Guzerat, 1849.

Brigadier Cheape, of the Bengal Engineers, who had conducted the siege of Mooltan with that professional talent and personal energy which ensured its success, joined the camp of Lord Gough a week before the battle of Guzerat, and assumed charge of the engineering department. With unwearied industry he applied himself to the task of obtaining the most accurate information of the position of the enemy, and the British army thus enjoyed the inestimable advantage,—the want of which produced the most lamentable effects at Maharajpore, at Moodkee, and at Chillianwalla,—of a thorough knowledge of the ground on which it was to deliver battle. The army of Shere Sing, estimated at 50,000 men with sixty pieces of cannon, was planted in front of the walled town of Guzerat, in the form of a crescent. The deep dry bed of the Dwara, which protected the right of the Sikh force, encircled the northern and western faces of the town, and then, taking a southern direction, bisected the British camp. The left of the Sikh force was supported on a streamlet, narrow and deep, flowing southward into the Chenab. Between the dry water course and the rivulet was a space of about three miles, with two villages, near Guzerat, denominated the greater and the less Habra, which were loopholed and filled with troops. On this ground were ranged the Sikh regiments, the remnant of Runjeet's disciplined battalions, now reorganized under the rebel leaders. Major Lawrence, who had been brought down a prisoner from Peshawur in the train of Chutter Sing, was treated with much consideration, and enjoyed great freedom of intercourse with the Sikh leaders. In the course of conversation they had

repeatedly expressed their surprise that the British commander should persist in neglecting to use his artillery, which the Sikhs considered formidable, and in thrusting his infantry, of which they made comparatively little account, up to the muzzle of their guns. He was permitted to visit his brother, Sir Henry Lawrence, on parole at Lahore, and communicated the remark to him. It was immediately transmitted to Lord Dalhousie, then encamped on the banks of the Sutlege, who is supposed to have urged it on the attention of the Commander-in-chief. The same valuable advice was earnestly and emphatically pressed on him by the able engineer officers of the force, and, under their guidance, it was laid down as the order of battle, that the artillery, in which no British army in India had ever been so strong, should be brought into full play, until the consistency of the Sikh ranks had been broken, and that no attempt should be made to charge with cold steel before this result had been secured. It was the inexorable persistence in this novel strategy to which the great victory is to be attributed.

The battle of
Guzerat, 22nd
February, 1849.

The infantry divisions and brigades advanced in parallel lines, with the cavalry on the flank and the guns in front. Eighty-four cannon, of which eighteen were of heavy calibre, were formed in two divisions in the centre, and opposed to the cannonade of sixty Sikh guns. The army, fresh from rest, and invigorated by food, advanced to the combat in the most complete order, at half-past seven. The morning was clear and cloudless, and the sun shone brightly on the extended line of bayonets and sabres. The Sikhs, ever ready with their batteries, opened them at a long range. The British infantry was halted beyond their reach, and the artillery, protected by skirmishers, pushed boldly to the front, and commenced a cannonade, of which the oldest and most experienced soldiers in the army had never witnessed a parallel for magnificence and effect, and the results of which exceeded the most sanguine expectations of those who had advocated the movement. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the Sikhs fired, it was

manifest that neither human fortitude, nor the best materials could withstand the storm which for two hours and a half beat on their devoted artillery. Many of their guns were dismounted, and before a single musket had been discharged, the fire of their formidable line had slackened. The British infantry then deployed, and commenced a steady advance, supported by their field batteries. Right in the path of Sir Walter Gilbert's division lay the larger village, the key of the Sikh position, flanked by two batteries, and crowded with Sikh soldiers. The brigade, which under Brigadier Godby had played so conspicuous a part at Chillianwalla, now under General Penny, rushed among the houses with resistless energy. The enemy fought with desperation, seizing the soldiers' bayonets with the left hand, while they dealt sabre cuts with the right; but they were eventually overpowered. The smaller village was carried chiefly through the gallantry of Colonel Franks, and the ardent courage of his brave 10th. When the villages were won, which was not effected without serious loss to the assailants, the whole Sikh line gave way, and was pursued round the town by the four divisions of infantry. Later in the day a body of the splendid Sikh horse, together with 1,500 Afghan cavalry under Akram Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, advanced against the flank and rear of General Thackwell, in command of the cavalry, who put in array against them that regiment of Sind horse which had been disciplined under the eye of Sir Charles Napier, and had long and ably contributed to the defence of the province. It was now under the command of Captain Malcolm, and, with the aid of the 9th Lancers, bore back with a noble ardour, the Afghan and Sikh horse. While the Sikh army was thus pursued by the infantry battalions, the cavalry, which had been restrained at first, was let loose. Onward they rushed, dispersing, riding over, and trampling down in their resistless career, the flying and scattered infantry of the Sikhs, capturing guns and waggons, and converting the discomfited enemy into a shapeless mass of fugitives. It was not till half-

past four, when they had advanced fifteen miles beyond Guzerat, that they drew rein, by which time the army of Shere Sing was a wreck, deprived of its camp, its standards, and fifty-three pieces of cannon.

Remarks on the battle, 1849.

Among the noblest achievements of our Indian generals, the battle of Guzerat stands out in bold relief, not only in reference to the magnitude of the forces engaged, and the confidence with which previous events had inspired the enemy, but, also, to the importance of its result, the utter extinction of the formidable power and spirit of Runjeet Sing's great armament, terrific in the death throes of its expiring wrath. Throughout this campaign the Sikhs fought better than in the campaign of the Sutlege. Their cavalry had greatly improved in daring and combination, and an inferior artillery was as rapidly and effectually served. In the former struggle, their leaders were intriguing with the British authorities, and all but traitors to the national cause; in the second war, they were all in earnest in setting their lives and fortunes on the cast of the die. The battle of Guzerat, of which the occult history has not yet appeared in print, was won by the judicious use of the arm in which the British army had a preponderating power, and has justly been described as the "battle of the guns." The stress of the action fell on the two brigades which assaulted the villages; the other portion of the force had no struggle to maintain, and one brigade neither fired a shot nor lost a man. The cavalry had only one exploit to record, the daring charge of the Sinde horse.

Pursuit of the enemy, 1849.

Sir Joseph Thackwell and his cavalry bivouacked for the night on the ground he occupied, proposing to renew the pursuit the next morning, but he was recalled to the camp, and the enemy was thus enabled to escape across the Jhelum with impunity. Lord Dalhousie had declared that the war must be prosecuted to the entire defeat and dispersion of all who were in arms against us. One column under Sir Colin Campbell was, therefore, sent to sweep the districts in the north, while Sir Walter Gilbert, the first rider in India,

whom Sir Henry Lawrence had particularly recommended to Lord Dalhousie to lead the chase, left the camp the day after the battle with infantry, cavalry, horse artillery, and light field guns, in all about 12,000 men. He pursued the relic of the Sikh army, now reduced to about 16,000, along the great high road of the Indus with such rapidity as to give them no breathing time, and to allow his own men little leisure for cooking. Major Lawrence, who had been permitted to proceed to Lahore on parole, before the battle of Guzerat, returned to the Sikh camp after the victory, where he was received with shouts of admiration of his good faith, and was requested by Shere Sing to negotiate the best terms he could obtain from the British commander. He passed repeatedly between the two camps, but the pursuit was continued without intermission. On the 6th March, the Sikh chiefs restored all their prisoners, and two days after entered into terms with General Gilbert. On the 12th, Shere Sing and Chutter Sing delivered up their swords to him at the celebrated monument of Manikylah, once considered a trophy of Alexander the Great. Thirty-five subordinate chiefs laid down their swords at his feet, and the Khalsa soldiers advanced one by one, and, after clasping their arms for the last time, cast them on the growing pile, with a heavy sigh. Forty-one pieces of artillery were also surrendered, which, with those captured at Mooltan and Guzerat, raised the number to one hundred and sixty, the greater portion of which had been buried after the battle of Sobraon, to be disinterred for a future struggle. It remained only to dispose of the Afghans, and the veteran Gilbert, with the speed and buoyancy of youth, followed on their track, crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats which he was just in time to save, and pursued them in their ignominious flight up to the portals of their barrier range; and, as the natives of India sarcastically remarked, "those who rode down the hills like lions, ran back into them like dogs."

Result of the war

—Incorporation. Punjab, and finally quenched the hopes of the

Khalsa. It was no ordinary distinction for that noble army to have met the conquerors of India at Moodkee, at Ferozeshuhur, at Alliwál, at Sobraon, at Chillianwalla, and at Guzerat, with indomitable courage, and on more than one occasion to have shaken their throne. But, after six such conflicts, they resigned themselves with a feeling of proud humility to the supremacy of the power which had exhibited military qualifications superior to their own. The Punjab was now by the indefeasible right of conquest at the disposal of the British Government. Such a consummation had not been expected in England, and Lord Dalhousie was not in possession of the views of the Court of Directors regarding the disposal of it; but he wisely adopted the vigorous policy of annexing the dominions of Runjeet Sing, on both sides the Indus, to the Company's territories. In communicating this resolution to the India House, he alluded to the sanction which had been given to the annexation of two districts after the last unprovoked war, and he expressed his confidence that the absorption of the remainder of the country, after the unprovoked aggression which had entailed a second war, would be equally approved of. In a brief and forcible proclamation, issued on the 29th March, 1849, he stated that after the death of Runjeet Sing, the Sirdars and the Khalsa army had, without cause or provocation, suddenly invaded the British territory; that their troops had been again and again defeated; that the Maharaja Duleep Sing had tendered his submission to the Governor-General at the gates of Lahore, and solicited his clemency; that the Governor-General had generously spared the kingdom which he had a just right to confiscate, placed the Maharaja on the throne, and concluded a treaty of friendship between the two states. The British Government had scrupulously observed every stipulation contained in it, while the Sikhs had grossly violated the promises by which they were bound. The army of the Lahore state and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars who had signed the treaty, had risen against us and waged a fierce and

bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power. The Government of India had no desire for conquest, but was bound in duty to provide fully for its own security and for the interests of those committed to its charge, and, as the only sure mode of protecting itself from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, was compelled to resolve on the entire subjugation of a people whom their own government had long been unable to control, whom no punishment could deter from violence, and no acts of friendship could conciliate to peace. He, therefore, proclaimed that the kingdom of the Punjab was at an end, and that all the territories of the Maharaja Duleep Sing should henceforth be a portion of the British empire in India. To offer any vindication of a measure which even the most prejudiced of Lord Dalhousie's opponents have not ventured to impugn, would be altogether redundant. The Punjab was the last province within the boundaries of India, which fell to us by the arbitrament of war, and our title to it stands upon the same basis of right as our first acquisitions of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by the same issue, a century before.

End of the Punjab kingdom—honours, 1849.

On the 29th March, the young Maharaja took his seat for the last time on the throne of Runjeet Sing, and in the presence of Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident, and Mr. Elliott, the foreign secretary, and the nobles of his court, heard Lord Dalhousie's proclamation read in English, Persian, and Hindostanee, and then affixed the initials of his name in English characters to the document which transferred the kingdom of the five rivers to the Company, and secured to him an annuity of five lacs of rupees a-year. The British colours were then hoisted upon the ramparts, and a royal salute announced the fulfilment of Runjeet's prediction that the Punjab also would "become red." The Koh-i-noor, which he had destined to the great idol of Orissa, was set apart for the crown of England. The jageers of the leaders of the rebellion were confiscated, and they retired to their native villages on small stipends. Moolraj

was brought to trial before a special court, composed of three European officers, as an accessory to the murder of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, and found guilty, but recommended to mercy in consideration of extenuating circumstances discovered in the course of the inquiry; he was sentenced to imprisonment for life, but died within a short time. Lord Dalhousie was elevated to the dignity of a Marquis, the fourth marquissate bestowed on the Governors-General, who had repudiated the "beautiful theory" of Mr. Dundas, and added provinces to the Company's dominions. The reproach of Chilianwalla was forgotten in the triumph of Guzerat, and Lord Gough also obtained a step in the peerage. Generals Gilbert and Thackwell were rewarded with the Grand Cross of the Bath, and Generals Campbell, Wheeler, and Cheape with Knight-Commanderships; but Brigadier Tennant, who had commanded and worked the artillery which won the field of Guzerat, was passed over, and received only an inferior reward, which reflected discredit on those alone who had withheld the recommendation of his claims. Lieutenant Edwardes obtained a brevet-majority, and Lieutenants Lake, Taylor, and Herbert were duly rewarded for deeds of no ordinary merit, but the gallant Abbott, who had defended the fortress of Nara against fearful odds, down to the close of the campaign, was invidiously refused the honour due to his distinguished efforts and success.

Close of the
period of war,
1849.

The battle of Guzerat closed the period of war, which began with the expedition to Afghanistan in 1838, and continued with little intermission for more than ten years. During this decade the three independent armies of Sind, Gwalior, and Lahore, numbering more than 120,000 brave soldiers, were broken up, and their formidable artillery, consisting of more than 600 pieces of cannon, the object of their adoration as the tutelary guardians of their strength, was transferred to our own arsenals. The importance of these events was not fully perceived till the arrival of the time, a few years later, when the whole of the Bengal

army rose in mutiny and wrested the north-west provinces from our authority. If, at that critical period, these military organizations had existed in full vigour, ready to take advantage of the shock our power had received, we should in all probability, have had the whole continent to reconquer. By the incorporation of the Punjab, the Company's dominions were expanded from Cape Comorin to the Khyber, distant from each other more than two thousand miles. Within this range there still remained more than a hundred and fifty native principalities, of greater or less extent, but they occupied only a subordinate position, and not a shot could be fired on the continent of India without the permission of the Governor-General. The establishment of our permanent authority throughout India, which was affirmed at the beginning of the century by Lord Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington—then General Wellesley—to be the only means by which the peace and tranquillity of the country could be secured, was now consummated. The erection of this magnificent empire, reckoning from the battle of Plassy to the battle of Guzerat, was the work of little less than a century. At every successive stage of its progress it was reprobated as an atrocious crime by one party in England, while another party saw in it only the inevitable result of the contact of civilization with comparative barbarism. To the hundred and twenty millions of people whose interests were affected by it, it was an inestimable blessing, and it was dolorous only to the princes whom it deprived of the power of oppressing their subjects. It was invariably honoured with the thanks of Parliament, and it was rewarded by the Crown with seven new peerages, and eight steps in the peerage.

Government of
the Punjab,
1849—54.

The fortune of war had thus thrown upon the Government of India the task of administering a new kingdom, comprising 50,000 square miles and containing a population of four millions, of which one million consisted of Sikhs. It was a fortunate circumstance for the Punjab that at this juncture the supreme power in India was

lodged in the hands of one who combined great resolution and untiring industry with an extraordinary governing faculty. For the full exercise of that faculty the country of the five rivers afforded an ample field. It was not encumbered with any of the decrepit institutions of the older provinces. There was nothing to demolish, and everything to create. A favourable opportunity was presented of constructing an administration exempt from previous errors, and embodying the experience of half a century. Contrary to his general principle, Lord Dalhousie tried the experiment—which soon failed—of committing the management to a Board consisting of three, who were entrusted with supreme authority in all matters, civil, fiscal, and criminal, even to the power of life and death, as well as with the superintendence of every moral and material improvement. At the head of the Board was Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the great men of the Company's service, and a fit successor of Ochterlony, Munro, and Metcalfe. His name was one of auspicious omen in the Punjab, where, in popular opinion, the rebellion arose on his departure, and was quelled on his return. His only failing, and in a conqueror it was more than half a virtue, was an excess of sympathy with the feelings and prejudices of the native aristocracy, which it was not always easy to reconcile with the general interests of the community. With him were associated his brother, Mr. John Lawrence, now Governor-General of India, and Mr. Mansel, who speedily gave place to Mr.—now Sir Robert—Montgomery. A more efficient Board it would have been impossible to construct, even in India. The subordinate administration was entrusted to fifty-six covenanted officers, one half of the civil and the other of the military branch, who filled the offices of Commissioners, and Deputy and Assistant Commissioners. They were the flower of the service; men of mature talent, or youths of noble aspirations for an honourable career, and there was no little truth in the remark that the other provinces of India had been robbed of administrative skill to enrich the Punjab. The system of govern-

ment was admirably adapted, by its simplicity and vigour, to the wants of a country where, under the Sikh ruler, the only officers of state had been soldiers or tax-gatherers, and the only punishment, fine or mutilation, and where no civil court existed but at the capital. For the voluminous regulations which sat like an incubus on the older provinces, a clear and concise manual suited to the habits of a people who respected justice but dreaded law, was compiled by Mr. Montgomery and comprised in a few sheets of foolscap.

The border;
disarmament;
the Police.
1849—54.

The conquest of the Punjab removed the boundary of the empire from the Sutlege to the mountain ranges beyond the Indus which formed a radius of many hundred miles. They were inhabited

by various tribes of highlanders whose vocation, from time immemorial, had been war and plunder, and who had kept the Mogul emperors in a fever of anxiety even after they were masters of all India. The inhabitants were able to bring down 100,000 bold, brave, and lawless men at arms upon the plains, and Lord Dalhousie considered it his primary duty to protect the frontier from their inroads. A series of fortifications was established along the whole line, provisioned and provided with the munitions of war for three months, and connected with each other by a line of roads. An especial force, consisting of five regiments of infantry and four of cavalry, and composed of all classes, was organized for the protection of the marches. For the security of the Government and the safety of the people, Lord Dalhousie resolved to disarm the Punjab; within six months of its annexation an edict was issued to every town and village between the Beas and the Indus to surrender all arms, and the manufacture, sale, or possession of them in future was prohibited. The weapons thus given up amounted to 120,000 and presented every variety of form and character, many of them being of very costly material and curious workmanship. Permission was however, granted to the inhabitants of Peshawur and to the districts bordering on the robber clans beyond the Indus, as

well as to the people of Hazara, living on the left bank of the river among marauding tribes who had never been subdued by Greek, Mahomedan, or Sikh, to carry arms for their own defence. The effect of this disarmament was speedily visible in the diminution of crimes of violence. The police force was partly civil and partly military. The latter, which furnished guards for treasuries and jails, and orderlies for the civil functionaries, and patrolled the roads, consisted of six regiments of foot, and twenty-seven troops of horse, in number about 7,000. A detective police was likewise introduced. The ancient institution of the village watch was revived and placed on an efficient footing. The watchmen were selected from the community; they were paid by the people, and acted under the salutary influence of the village elders, and the control of the native collectors, as well as of the European magistrates. By these admirable arrangements the Board were enabled within three years to report that no portion of India enjoyed greater peace and security than the Punjab.

The Revenue,
1849-54.

The vital question of the land assessment, on which the happiness, and, to a great extent, the loyalty of the people in the East depends, was dealt with in a spirit of great liberality, and the blunders which had marred the system introduced into the older provinces, were carefully avoided. The settlement was not formed till after a minute and detailed investigation, corresponding with that which Mr. Robert Bird had carried out in the north-west provinces. The land tax which Runjeet Sing had fixed at about one-half the produce, was reduced, on an average, by one-fourth, and leases were granted, at first for short periods, but eventually for ten, and in some cases, for thirty years. The security of the tenure, and the moderation of the state demand, gave no small encouragement to cultivation; of the Khalsa soldiery, more than 30,000 exchanged the sword for the plough, and these circumstances, combined with favourable seasons, gave such exuberant harvests as to reduce the price of grain. The agriculturists, who were required to pay their rents in coin

and not in kind, began to exhibit feelings of discontent, and the Chief Commissioner lost no time in proceeding through every district with his financial assistants, minutely examining every cause of complaint on the spot, after which a further reduction of rent was made to the extent of ten per cent. Lord Dalhousie was anxious to avoid the boundless irritation which had arisen in the Gangetic provinces from dallying with the subject of rent-free tenures, and, under his directions, the Board took up the question with promptitude and earnestness. Every case was assiduously examined with a sincere desire to do justice to the interests, both of individuals and of the state, and a satisfactory adjustment was speedily concluded. The duties on the transit of goods and merchandize from district to district and from town to town had been contrived with great ingenuity by the financiers of Runjeet Sing, and the country was covered with a network of custom houses which stifled commercial enterprise. Within nine months of the incorporation of the province they were entirely swept away, and the trade of the Punjab and of Central Asia was allowed to flow free and unfettered in every direction. The loss of revenue which this liberal policy entailed was more than compensated by the scientific imposition of new taxes, four of which were found to yield as much as forty-eight of the clumsy taxes of the Khalsa government, and with less vexation and inconvenience to the people.

Slavery; dacoity;
thuggee,
1849-54.

The Board of Administration likewise directed their attention with eminent success to the extinction of domestic slavery; the sale of children, which had been openly practised under the old Government, was prohibited, and the market ceased to be supplied by kidnappers. With equal vigour the Board assailed the system of dacoity which was in full vigour, notwithstanding the summary proceedings of Sikh despotism. But the fact was, that while Runjeet Sing seized upon entire provinces, his chiefs, with whose proceedings he rarely interfered while they paid their revenue and maintained their contingents,

were permitted to attack and plunder villages with perfect impunity. Armed bodies of Sikh outlaws, moreover, rendered the roads unsafe for travellers. With that energy for which there is always a larger scope in the non-regulation than in the regulation provinces, the Commissioners took the field against these criminals, inflicted prompt and condign punishment on all those who were captured, and hunted the rest out of the country, with such earnestness that before the Punjab had been five years in our possession, it was more free from the crime of dacoity than Bengal, after it had been eighty years under our management. It was likewise found that the practice of thuggee, from which the efforts of Colonel Sleeman had relieved Hindostan, had found its way into the Punjab, and was still practised. Runjeet Sing executed the man who introduced it, and Shere Sing hung or mutilated every one convicted of it. The increasing disorders of the state, however, and the weakness of the Government gave fresh courage to the thugs, and murders were often perpetrated without any effort to conceal them. The task of eradicating the crime was committed to Mr. Brereton, of the civil service, and he entered upon his duties with all that animation which commonly distinguished the proceedings of the Punjab officials. The cases of assassination which were fully substantiated amounted to 1,300. A roll of the thugs, whose names and residences had been furnished by approvers, was sent to each station; no less than 550 men arrested, the greater number of whom were executed; the gangs were broken up and the practice disappeared.

Infanticide,
1849-54.

Another crime with which it was the mission of the British Government in the Punjab to deal was infanticide, and the vigour of Lord Dalhousie and of the Board was rewarded with more decisive success than had attended the efforts of Government for thirty years in Hindostan. It was most prevalent among the proud and wealthy Bedees, the descendants of the first Sikh prophet, Nanuk. Occupying, as they did, the highest rank in society, they disdained to bestow

their daughters in an unequal alliance; to allow them to remain unmarried was an indelible disgrace; the female infant was therefore consigned to death at the dawn of her existence. Other castes, not excepting even the Mahomedans, had been led to adopt this inhuman custom, in consequence, chiefly, of the insupportable expense of weddings. As soon as the existence of the practice was ascertained, Lord Dalhousie determined to bring the whole weight of Government, by menaces and promises, to bear upon its suppression. He felt that coercion would only tend to defeat its own object, and that to ensure success, it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of the nation. The first step towards the eradication of the crime was justly considered to be a reduction of the cost of weddings. It was swelled, as in Rajpootana, by the clamorous demands of the *bhats* and minstrels, who flocked to them like vultures attracted by the smell of carrion; and it was at once determined to deal with them as vagrants. A large durbar was then convened at Umritsir, at the most popular festival in the Sikh calendar. It was attended by all the aristocracy and hierarchy of the Punjab, by the hill chiefs, by the Mahomedan nobles, by wealthy merchants, and by learned pundits. It was the most august conclave, and for the noblest object, which had ever been held in that holy city, or indeed, in any part of India. The British officers in the Punjab repaired to it almost without exception, and met delegates from every tribe and class. Under a spacious awning erected for the occasion, the Chief Commissioner addressed this large assembly, and entered upon a calm and temperate discussion of the subject. He urged the enormity of the practice, which they readily admitted; he dwelt on the anxiety of the Governor-General to suppress it, and he pointed out the means by which, in the opinion of the British Government, that object could be most effectually secured. All the assembled chiefs, Hindoo, Mahomedan, Rajpoot, and Sikh, entered into a solemn covenant to abide by the propositions of Lord Dalhousie and the Chief Commissioner. Committees were appointed to establish

a scale for the expense of weddings; the sumptuary rules which they drew up were universally accepted and ratified, and one of the principal motives for the murder of infants was removed. Other meetings were held in the chief towns and villages, with the same happy result. The most important aid in this noble cause was rendered by Raja Golab Sing, the ruler of Cashmere, who directed all his nobles and chiefs to meet the Commissioner, and to adopt his proposals regarding the retrenchment of wedding expenses, and he set the example by remitting the tax which native rulers had always levied on them.

Roads and
Canals, 1849—
1854.

The Romans considered the subjugation of no country complete until it was pierced with high-ways. In like manner, Lord Dalhousie did not consider the conquest of the Punjab fully accomplished till it was intersected with military roads. Of these works, the most important was that which united Peshawur with Lahore, and which extended over 275 miles. It presented the most formidable difficulties to the engineer. It passed over more than 100 great bridges, and 450 of smaller dimensions; it penetrated six mountain chains, and was carried by means of embankments over the marshes of two great rivers; but every obstacle was overcome by Colonel—now Sir Robert—Napier, to whose skill and energy the Punjab was indebted for all those great material improvements which gave it the appearance of a Roman province. Other military roads were constructed to connect the most important towns and strategical positions with each other, and to facilitate the transport of troops and munitions of war. Roads were likewise laid down as high-ways of commerce, both domestic and foreign. These great works were happily placed under the direction and the responsibility of a single energetic officer, and in the course of five years the Board were able to report to the Governor-General that the length of road completed, and under construction, amounted to no less than 2,200 miles. The importance of irrigation in developing the agricultural resources of the country had not been overlooked by the former rulers of the Punjab.

There were few districts which did not exhibit tokens of their labours in the construction of canals and waterworks, some of which were still in existence, while others were extinct. The canals of Mooltan, which contributed to the fertility of the province, had been greatly improved by Sawun Mull. The Hulsī canal, constructed under the orders of Shah Jehan, was a work of imperial luxury, designed to convey the waters of the Ravee over more than a hundred miles to the fountains and conservatories of his palace at Lahore. Lord Dalhousie, who considered that "of all works of public improvement which could be applied to an Indian province, works of irrigation were the happiest in their effects on the physical condition of the people," directed all these canals to be repaired. No rate was levied for the water, as the state was considered to be repaid by the increase of cultivation. In some cases, the example of Runjeet Sing was followed, and advances were made for repairing or improving them to the zemindars, who regarded the debt as a debt of honour, and refunded it with strict punctuality. The greatest work of irrigation constructed under the auspices of Lord Dalhousie and the directions of Colonel Napier, was the canal of the Baree dooab, the populous district lying between the Ravee and the Chenab. It tapped the Ravee as it issued from the mountains, and after a course of 247 miles, delivered its waters again to that stream a little above Mooltan. Three branches conveyed a supply of water to Kussoor, Lahore, and Sobraon. This magnificent undertaking, which, with its branches, extended to the length of 465 miles, was equal, if not superior to the noblest canals in Europe, and formed the worthiest monument of British supremacy in the Punjab.

Result of these
Measures, 1854.

The Government established in the Punjab was emphatically Lord Dalhousie's own creation. Rarely has a greater amount of administrative and executive talent been brought to bear upon the improvement of an Indian province, but it was his genius which animated the whole system. He was in constant and direct communication with the

chief authorities, and, by the aid of his counsel and the influence of his position, enabled them to prosecute their labours without embarrassment or delay. Few Governors have ever seen so much of their dominions as Lord Dalhousie saw of the Punjab. From east to west, from north to south, he crossed its rivers, rode over its plains, and threaded its defiles. During this personal inspection, no evil remained without a remedy, no want was unsupplied. Nothing was too minute for his attention; he did not overlook even the conservation of the grass preserves for the cavalry, or the protection of the remaining forests, or the planting of trees on every road and watercourse, or the establishment of nurseries, or the introduction of ninety varieties of exotic plants. The Christian character of the administration of the Lawrences was ever one of its most distinguishing features. Innovations and improvements foreign to the traditions and the prejudices of the chieftains, the priesthood, and the people, were introduced with a bolder hand than the public authorities had ventured to use at the other Presidencies, and in the course of seven years the Punjab presented a more Anglicized cast of government than the north-west provinces. The administration embodied the maturity of our experience in the science of oriental government, and rendered the Punjab the model province of India. It was the greatest triumph achieved under the Company's rule, and did honour to European civilization. By these wise and beneficent measures, the nation which had recently been the great source of political anxiety, became one of the chief elements of our imperial strength. The brave soldiers who had shaken our power at Ferozeshuhur and Chillianwalla, enlisted under our banners, assisted in reconquering Delhi from the rebel sepoys and in restoring our sovereignty, marched up the Irawaddy to fight the Burmese, and, to crown the romance of their history, aided in planting the British colours on the battlements of Peking.

Second Burmese
War, 1852.

There was peace for three years after the conquest of the Punjab, and then came the unex-

pected and unwelcome Burmese war. The treaty of Yandaboo, concluded with the King of Burmah in 1826, stipulated for the residence of a British representative at his court, and the commercial treaty of Mr. Crawford at the close of that year, provided that the Governments of both countries should give "the utmost protection and security to merchants." Colonel Benson and Colonel Burney were sent in succession as Residents to Ava, but they were treated with great contempt. One of them was denied the means of obtaining provisions, and directed to take up his residence on an island in the Irawaddy, which was inundated on the rise of the river, and he was constrained to retire from the country. The British traders at Rangoon were subject to perpetual extortion. In 1851, the master of a vessel was seized, on his arrival at Rangoon, and placed in confinement on the false accusation of having murdered his pilot, who had run the ship ashore, and then jumped overboard. The charge was dismissed as frivolous, but he was nevertheless subjected to a fine. Another commander, thirty days after reaching the port, was charged by a deserter with having put to death one of the crew, who had died at sea. The case was investigated by the Burmese authorities, and the captain acquitted on the unanimous testimony of the ship's company, but he did not escape without a fine, and the detention of his vessel. On the 27th September, the European merchants at Rangoon transmitted a memorial to the Government of India, in which various cases of oppression were enumerated. They asserted that those who refused payment were subjected to torture, that robberies and false charges were of daily occurrence, and that unless protection could be obtained, they must quit the country and sacrifice their property. On the receipt of these representations, the Supreme Council came to the conclusion that British subjects had a right to expect that they should be protected by their own Government from such injustice, oppression, and extortion.

Deputation of

The absence of any accredited British agent at

Commodore the court or in the territories of Ava, rendered Lambert, 1861. it difficult to deal with the case; but the difficulty was diminished by the arrival of Commodore Lambert, in H.M. ship "Fox," and it was resolved to send him to Rangoon with a communication from the Government of India. Lord Dalhousie has been censured for despatching a naval officer on a mission of peace, but it was considered, and with great reason, that in dealing with a Government like that of Burmah, unrivalled in Asia for conceit and arrogance, nothing was more likely to secure attention and to avoid an eventual conflict, than the appearance in Burmese waters of an envoy in command of a vessel of war,—“one of Cromwell's ambassadors which spoke all languages, and never took a refusal.” The instructions of the Commodore were limited to the investigation of the complaints of the merchants, and to the demand of adequate pecuniary compensation, if they were substantiated. If this reasonable request was refused, he was directed to transmit the letter which the President of the Council of India had addressed to the king and entrusted to him. In that communication the two cases of “gross and unjustifiable ill-treatment of British subjects by his Majesty's servants” were enumerated, “in the full conviction that he would at once condemn their conduct, order compensation to the parties aggrieved, and recognize the wisdom of removing the Governor of Rangoon. If these just expectations should be disappointed, the Government of India would feel itself called on to take such immediate steps as should protect the interests of its subjects and vindicate its own honour and power.” The Commodore anchored off Rangoon on the 26th November, and the Governor immediately threatened with death any who should venture to communicate with him. Some of the Europeans at length succeeded in escaping to the frigate, and submitted to the Commodore a long roll of injuries they had sustained. On perusing it, he concluded that it would be more proper to seek redress from the sovereign than from his subordinate, and transmitted the President's letter to Ava,

through the Deputy Governor, who had come on board. It was accompanied with one from himself to the ministers, in which he stated that he should await a reply for five weeks. It was delivered to him on the 1st January, 1852: "The great ministers of state, bearing continually on their heads the two golden feet, resembling the germs of the lotus, of his most glorious and excellent Majesty," complained of the purport and style of the letter, as "not being in accordance with friendship." They promised, however, that the offending Governor should be displaced, and, "in regard to the merchants who have been unjustifiably insulted and ill-treated, that proper and strict inquiry should be instituted, and in accordance with custom it should be decided." The communication appeared to be so friendly and pacific as to lead the Commodore to congratulate the Government of India on the prospect of an early and satisfactory settlement; but he was speedily undeceived. The real intentions of an oriental court are to be gathered, not from glozing despatches, but from the conduct of its officers, and on this occasion they were altogether unfriendly. The old Governor quitted Rangoon, not in disgrace, but in triumph, and with ostentatious parade. His successor did not condescend to notice the British representative, who was obliged to open a communication, and request him to appoint a day to receive a deputation. The Governor replied that any day would suit his convenience. On the morning of

Captain Fish-
bourne insulted,
1852.

the 6th January, Captain Latter, the interpreter of the mission, sent a messenger to him to announce that the officers would arrive at noon, with an official communication. At the appointed time, Captain Fishbourne and other officers, including Mr. Kincaid, proceeded on the ponies they had been able to procure to Government House, but found great difficulty in making their way through the crowd to the courtyard. No officer came forward to receive them, nor were they permitted to enter the house, but were detained in the sun by the menials, who affirmed that the Governor was asleep and must not be disturbed, whereas

he was all the while gazing at them from the window, and enjoying their mortification, while exposed to the jeers and insults of the mob. The patience of Captain Fishbourne was at length exhausted, and he returned to the frigate to report the treatment he had received.

Proceedings of
Commodore
Lambert, 1852.

Commodore Lambert had been instructed by the Government of India, in case the communication from Ava was not satisfactory, to blockade the ports. He considered that the deliberate insult inflicted on the officers who were sent on a diplomatic commission to the Governor expressly appointed by the Court to adjust all differences, was equivalent to an unfavourable reply from the king, and, in conformity with the tenor of his instructions, declared the Burmese ports in a state of blockade. He likewise took possession of a ship lying in the river, which the king had built for trade, and resolved to retain it till the claims of the merchants were satisfied. The Governor of Dalla, who had always been friendly to the British, visited the frigate the day after, on a conciliatory mission, when the Commodore informed him that in addition to the compensation to the merchants, which had been fixed at 10,000 rupees, it was necessary for the Governor of Rangoon to come on board the "Fox," and express his regret for the indignity offered to the gentlemen of the deputation, after which he would restore the king's ship and honour the Burmese flag with a royal salute. The Governor refused to comply with this requisition, but gave the Commodore to understand that any attempt to remove the royal vessel would be resisted. The Commodore then proceeded down the river to establish the blockade at the mouth of it, with the Government vessel in tow, when a heavy fire was opened from the stockades below Rangoon, on both sides the river, which the guns of the "Fox" demolished in a few moments. Instead of offering the apology which the Commodore required, the Governor of Rangoon addressed a letter to the Government of India in reference to these transactions, in which he stated that four subordinate officers, who had been

drinking, came riding into his courtyard with the American missionary Kincaid; that he himself was asleep at the time; and that the officers on their return made a false report to the Commodore, who "unlike a man of the world, carried off the great ship belonging to the all powerful lord of the universe and the master of all white elephants." In his reply to this communication, the President in Council repeated the demands which the Commodore had made, and engaged, after they were complied with, to depute an officer of rank to conclude a final settlement. The Governor rejoined that the officer of rank must be sent in the first instance, before he would attend to any further communications.

Lord Dalhousie's
proceedings,
1852.

During these transactions, Lord Dalhousie was in the north-west provinces, and, apprehending

from the aspect of circumstances, that the Government was drifting into a war, hastened down in the most uncomfortable of vehicles, with only a single servant, and reached Calcutta on the 29th January, intent on preventing hostilities. Those who were in communication with him at the time will bear testimony to the fact, that, so far was the annexation of Pegu from being a foregone conclusion before he reached Calcutta, that no Governor-General ever manifested a greater or more sincere repugnance to a war than Lord Dalhousie did on this occasion. It has again been surmised that he took possession of that province to prevent its falling into the hands of the French or the Americans, and it may be instructive to dispel this misconception by tracing it to its source. The United States frigate, "Susquehana," happened at this time to be in the Hoogly, and it was reported that the Washington Government contemplated the establishment of a consulate at Rangoon for the protection of American subjects, not excluding missionaries, inasmuch as both the French and the American Governments, unlike the English, consider their missionary subjects as much entitled to protection as their commercial agents. One of the leading journals in Bengal, thinking the Government of India dilatory in attending to the memorial of

grievances, remarked that "if John Bull was so slow to redress them, we must invoke the aid of brother Jonathan, and send the 'Susquehana' to Rangoon." But it was not until the third application for redress had been rejected by the Burmese authorities, that Lord Dalhousie came to the conclusion that no alternative was now left to the Government of India but to seek reparation by force of arms. On the 12th February, he recorded his views in a Minute, in which, after a summary statement of previous transactions, he affirmed that to send an envoy of rank, as the Governor requested, to supersede the officers who had been employed in the negotiations, would be to admit the offensive accusations made against them, and that the British Government having thus relinquished the demands it had peremptorily advanced, and abandoned the officers it was bound to uphold, would unquestionably be regarded by the Burmese nation, as well as by every eastern people, as having submitted to humiliation and avowed defeat. "The Government of India cannot," he said, "consistently with its own safety, appear for one day in an attitude of inferiority, or hope to maintain peace and submission among the numberless princes and people embraced within the vast circuit of the empire, if, for one day, it give countenance to a doubt of the absolute superiority of its arms, and of its continued resolution to maintain it." At the same time, he addressed a letter to the king reciting the oppression of British subjects, the demand for compensation, the insult offered to the deputation, and the refusal of any apology, and stating that large preparations were now in progress to enforce the rights and vindicate the power of the British Government, but that the king might yet avert hostilities by acceding to the former demands, and paying down, by the 1st of April, ten lacs of rupees as a compensation for the expenses incurred in preparations.

Efforts of Lord
Dalhousie, 1852.

Finding a war all but inevitable, Lord Dalhousie threw his whole soul into the work, and never since the time, sixty years before, when Lord Wellesley brought five armies into the field with matchless speed, and in

four months crushed the power of Sindia, and of the raja of Nagpore, had such a display of superb energy been witnessed in India. The Commander-in-chief was in Sind, Lord Dalhousie was obliged to become his own minister of war, and he astonished India by the singular genius he exhibited for military organization. The task before him was one of no ordinary difficulty. It was the 10th February before the preparations for the expedition commenced, and it was of the last importance that Rangoon should be occupied before the end of April, when the rains might be expected to set in, and military operations would become perilous. It was necessary that two expeditions should be despatched, one from Calcutta, and the other from Madras, for the latter of which, steamers were to be brought round from Bombay. Neither the telegraph nor the rail, which annihilate time and distance, were then completed, and the orders were transmitted to both Presidencies by the ordinary mail. At Bombay, the steam flotilla was ready for sea within three days, but the expedition was delayed at Madras. The Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who was far more a fortunate than a great man, took offence that his superlative merits in China had been overlooked and that he had not been consulted about the arrangements of the war, and refused to allow a single soldier to embark except under the direct responsibility of the Governor-General. The difficulty was overcome by the resolution of Lord Dalhousie, but the expedition was nevertheless retarded. The 38th Bengal Native Infantry refused to proceed by sea to Burmah with the expedition from Calcutta, when he determined to try the experiment of supplying its place by a regiment of Sikhs. They marched down without hesitation to the port and embarked with their accustomed hilarity. By this expedient, the perplexity which the Government had felt for eighty years through the repugnance of the sepoys to the "black water" was at once and finally removed. The forethought and vigour of Lord Dalhousie left nothing to chance, or to dilatory subordinates. From the day when the preparations for the campaign commenced,

he superintended every arrangement himself, and his aides-de-camp were incessantly employed in moving about from place to place to ensure punctuality and efficiency in every department. The Tenasserim provinces were drained of live stock and provisions; bakehouses were erected on the coast to ensure a constant supply of bread, which was to be conveyed with the meat by steamers to the camp. In the first war, the encampment at Rangoon had become a charnel house after the rains had set in; to prevent the recurrence of this mortality, the framework of houses was constructed at Moulmein, under the eye of the Commissioner, Colonel Bogle, and sent with the expedition, to afford the soldiers shelter when the monsoon set in. A convalescent hospital was established at Amherst, on the sea coast, thirty miles below Moulmein, and steamers appointed to convey invalids thither.

Organization of
the Force, 1852.

The land forces of the expedition amounted to 5,800 men, and comprised three European regiments. The command was entrusted to General Godwin, who held a command in the former war, but had lost little of his military ardour from age. Steam power had been so greatly multiplied in India since the expedition of 1826, in which only one small vessel of sixty horse power was available, that the Government was enabled to employ nineteen steam-vessels carrying 159 guns, and manned by 2,270 sailors and marines. The Bengal column reached the Rangoon river on the 2nd April, and a flag of truce was sent up by the "Proserpine" steamer to receive the reply of the king to the letter of the Governor-General. At the third stockade in the river a fire was opened on her, and the last hope of a peaceful solution of differences was extinguished. While awaiting the arrival of the Madras column, the Commodore employed his vessels in levelling the stockades on the river, and the General sent an expedition against the town of Martaban, lying opposite the British settlement of Moulmein, which was captured in an hour, with the loss of only seventeen men killed and wounded. On the arrival of the Madras force, the whole of this imposing

fleet proceeded up the river, and on the 11th April took up a position in front of Rangoon. A brisk fire was opened simultaneously from the great Pagoda, on one side, and from Dalla on the opposite bank of the river. A party of seamen and marines landed with the Royal Irish at Dalla, and carried all the fortifications. Another detachment proceeded up the river against Kemmendine, where the steamers set the stockade on fire, but the Burmese extinguished the flames eight times, and it was not surrendered without a resolute defence.

Capture of
Rangoon, 1862.

The troops landed on the morning of the 12th to proceed against the great Pagoda, which was the citadel, as well as the pride of Rangoon, and which had been fortified with such skill as to create the belief that the Burmese must have obtained the services of a European engineer. General Godwin's force had not proceeded above a mile when a heavy fire was opened on it from a battery concealed in the jungle, and it was found necessary to bring up the twenty-four pound howitzers. The stockade was carried by storm after a brisk cannonade, but not without serious loss from the weapons of the enemy, and still more from the insupportable heat of the weather, which struck down the bravest. The General now found that the Burmese had made no inconsiderable progress in the art of war since the former campaign; they had become bolder in their operations, more skilful in selecting their ground and covering their movements, and did not hesitate to quit their stockades, and assail our flanks; they had moreover become good shots. His own troops were completely exhausted by fatigue and heat, and he resolved to halt for the day. On the 13th, the troops did not alter their position, but the steamers kept up such a continuous cannonade on the town, that the governor was fain to abandon his palace and cross the river, after which he was no more heard of. At daybreak on the 14th, the whole force was under arms and marched towards the Pagoda. The Burmese, expecting that the General would attack the southern gate, had fortified it with a hundred guns, and collected 10,000 men for its defence,

and were confounded when they discovered that he was proceeding to attack their weakest point on the eastern vestibule. The heavy eight-inch howitzers were dragged with incredible labour through the long grass and brushwood into a position opposite the gateway, and opened a terrific fire upon it, to which the Burmese replied with such effect that Captain Latter observed to the General that we were losing ten men for every one which an assault might cost. A storming party, consisting of 800 men drawn from the 80th Foot, the Royal Irish, and the 40th Native Infantry, was immediately formed, and advanced to the attack under his guidance and under the command of Colonel Coote. As they moved towards the gate they were assailed from the three terraces which rose in succession one above another in the Pagoda, by an incessant discharge of missiles of every variety, links of chain, bags of broken metal, bottles of nails, and boxes of hammered bullets. It was defended with extraordinary gallantry by the élite of the Burmese army, styled the "immortals," but nothing could arrest the fiery valour of the British soldiers, who rushed up the broad stairs which led from one platform to another, and planted the British ensign on the gilded dome of the noble Pagoda.

The co-operation of the Peguans, 1852.

The town of Rangoon was entirely deserted by the inhabitants on the arrival of the expedition in 1824, and Sir Archibald Campbell was totally deprived of the resources of the country, and isolated from communication with the inhabitants. On the present occasion, however, no sooner was the Pagoda captured and the Burmese army dispersed, than the people returned to their houses and shops, and resumed their usual occupations. Provisions poured into the town; carpenters from Pegu hastened to offer their services to erect the wooden houses for the troops which the forethought of Lord Dalhousie had provided. The river was crowded with boats and shipping, and Rangoon became a busy mart of commerce. The municipal regulations laid down and rigidly enforced by the General, established order

and security to such an extent that the women of the country moved freely through the encampment without fear of insult. The natives of the province of Pegu, who had been severely oppressed by their Burmese conquerors, had flocked to the standard of Sir Archibald Campbell, whom they regarded as a deliverer; but they were cruelly abandoned to their fate at the close of the war, and their adherence to the fortunes of the strangers was visited by their former masters with tortures too revolting to be mentioned. With a lively recollection of those barbarities, and a full appreciation of the blessings which the provinces of Aracan and Tenasserim had enjoyed under British rule, they welcomed the arrival of General Godwin, and it was the one hope of their hearts that they should not again be delivered up to the vengeance of their oppressors, but obtain the inestimable blessing of British protection.

Close of the
war, 1823.

Compared with the great battles of the Sutlege and the Punjab, the incidents of the war in Burmah appear tame and uninteresting. On the 17th May, General Godwin and Commodore Lambert captured Bassein, the western port of Burmah, with a trifling loss, though it was garrisoned by 5,000 men. While the force lay at Rangoon the steamers scoured the Irawaddy, and the "Proserpine" proceeded up the river, levelled the various stockades, and seized a large fleet of boats laden with grain. Captain Tarleton soon after started with five steamers for Prome, which was abandoned by the Burmese troops, and, with the aid of the townsmen, he transferred some of the guns to his own vessels, and pitched the remainder into the river. Four days more of easy steaming would have taken him up to Ava, but though the magnificent fleet of steamers had the complete command of the river, General Godwin hesitated to advance to Prome with his limited force, leaving Rangoon open to attack from the Burmese army which was said to be hovering about it. This inactivity was attributed to senility rather than to military discretion, and reprobated by the press. Lord

Dalhousie proceeded to Rangoon in September to examine the state of affairs with his own eyes, and to afford counsel and confidence to the General. He fully concurred with him in the conclusion that it would be injudicious to remove the troops from quarters where they enjoyed comparatively good health, and to expose them to the severities of the climate, without absolute necessity, but he advised the earliest practicable movement on Prome. It was captured on the 9th October with the loss of only one man. Towards the end of November a detachment was sent to the relief of Major Hill, who had been left in charge of the town of Pegu on its first capture in June, with 400 men, and was besieged by 6,000 Burmese. With the succour of this garrison all military operations ceased. The object of the expedition was to exact reparation for injuries inflicted on British subjects, not to break up the kingdom. Lord Dalhousie was confident that if the army were pushed on to the capital, the king would abandon it on our approach and retire to the northern portion of his dominions, where he would be inaccessible among the wild tribes of mountaineers, and eight hundred miles of unprofitable territory would thus be thrown on our hands; he determined therefore to remain content with the occupation of Pegu.

Annexation of Pegu, 1852.

The Government had now to consider the course which was to be taken to "confirm the vindication of our power, to obtain reimbursement of the expenses of the war, and to provide a security against its recurrence." Lord Dalhousie recorded a Minute on the subject, in which he stated: "In the earliest stage of the present dispute I avowed my opinion that conquest in Burmah would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war. That opinion remains unchanged. If any adequate alternative for the confiscation of territory could have been found by me, or had been suggested to me, my mind would most readily have adopted it. If conquest is contemplated by me now, it is not as a positive good, but as the least of those evils before me, from which we must necessarily select one. But, after constant and anxious

reflection through the months during which hostilities have been in progress, I can discover no escape from the necessity. I have been driven most reluctantly to the conclusion that no measure will adequately meet the object which in my judgment it is absolutely necessary to secure,—the establishment of our superiority now, and its maintenance hereafter,—except the seizure and occupation of a portion of the territories of the Burmah kingdom. In like manner as in 1826 it was felt to be necessary to deprive the Burmese of the provinces of Tenasserim, Aracan, and Assam, so now, for stronger reasons, and with better effect, the occupation of the province of Pegu appears to me to be unavoidably demanded by sound views of general policy." He then proceeded to enumerate the political and commercial advantages which might be expected from the annexation. The Court of Directors concurred with him in thinking that extension of territory was not in itself desirable, and that the annexation even of a province possessing so many advantages as Pegu, was to be looked upon rather in the light of a choice of evils than a positive and unmixed good. "We entirely agree with the Governor-General in his estimate of the important bearing which the occupation of this fine province with reference to its position, its climate, and its adaptation in a commercial and maritime point of view to the interests of this country, may have upon the security and advancement of our Indian empire. We therefore convey to you our authority, under the sanction of the Queen's Government, to consider the permanent occupation of Pegu, and its final annexation to the dominions of Her Majesty as the just and necessary result of those military operations which you have been driven to direct against the Burmese empire." A Proclamation was accordingly issued on the 20th December, declaring that in compensation for the past, and better security for the future, the Governor-General in Council had resolved, and hereby proclaims, that the province of Pegu is now and shall be henceforth a portion of the British territories in the East. Lord Dalhousie likewise drafted a treaty of peace and

cession, which was to be conveyed to Ava by General Godwin and Captain Phayre; but before they took their departure, a revolution occurred at the capital, the king was dethroned, and his brother reigned in his stead. By him commissioners were despatched to treat with the British authorities, but they were unable to come to terms. The army was therefore broken up without the conclusion of any treaty, which Lord Dalhousie ceased to regret after he had been assured "that all Burmah would consider it an absurdity to observe a treaty, if it could be disregarded with profit."

Result of the
Conquest, 1862-
1868.

It has been truly observed that the inhabitants of Pegu annexed themselves to the Company's dominions before Lord Dalhousie determined to incorporate the province. For three quarters of a century they had suffered the extremity of oppression from their Burmese conquerors, and they hailed with rapture the prospect of passing under British rule. Their expectations have not been disappointed. Since the first establishment of the Company's authority in the East, no province has ever exhibited so rapid and extraordinary a development of prosperity. The staple produce of the country is rice, the exportation of which was little known under the Burmese Government, but has been steadily on the increase under our flag; the total exports of this article from British Burmah, including the Aracan and Tenasserim provinces, has reached the sum of two crores and a-half of rupees a-year, of which one half comes back in treasure. Its export and import trade has risen from a very insignificant sum, to the almost incredible amount of nine crores of rupees, or nine millions sterling a-year. Rangoon, the Calcutta of the Irawaddy, which contained only a few thousand inhabitants when Lord Dalhousie visited it in 1852 now numbers 66,000. The old town was the grave of the army in 1824; the new town, laid out by our engineer officers, is one of the most healthful in our Asiatic dominions. The great want of the valley of the Irawaddy was population, which had crumbled away under Burmese oppression. It has been

gradually increasing, and the province of Pegu now contains a population little short of a million and a-half, while the fertility of the soil would support ten times that number. The entire population of British Burmah, according to the last census, amounted to two millions and a quarter; and it is a notable fact, that the quantity of British manufactures annually absorbed by it exceeds a crore and a quarter of rupees; one Burmese customer would thus appear to be more valuable to the looms of England than four Bengalees. The system of civil and criminal judicature and of police introduced into the province is exactly adapted to the wants of the people, simple and inexpensive in its character, and prompt and vigorous in its operations. All those improvements, which, though totally unknown in native states, follow as a matter of course on the establishment of British rule—facilities of intercourse by land and water, postal and telegraphic communication, plans of education, sanitary rules and appliances—have been bestowed on the province in profusion, and one-fifth of the revenue is devoted to public works. The people are happy and contented, and have not the least desire for any change in the Government. Indeed, so firmly seated is the British authority in Pegu, that in 1857 it was considered perfectly safe to leave it without European troops, which were withdrawn to quell the mutinies in the older provinces. The revenue has steadily increased without any undue pressure on the people. When Mr. Cobden, soon after the conquest, published a pamphlet to denounce its iniquity, Lord Dalhousie remarked to a friend, “the British nation will one day find that Pegu pays, and the crime of having placed it under British protection will be condoned.” Whether the crime has been condoned or not, is a matter of indifference; but Pegu pays, not only the whole of its civil list, which has been fixed with a view to efficiency rather than economy, but the entire expense of its military establishment. The revenues amount to a crore of rupees, the expenditure to about five per cent less. The happiness which the people enjoy under our institutions

is paid for by themselves, and the province is no burden on the finances of India. It has been singularly fortunate in having, almost from the commencement of our rule, enjoyed the services of Colonel—now Sir Arthur—Phayre, one of the Company's great administrators. It is to his talent and energy that the province owes the system of administration which forms the basis of its prosperity. Equally free from the hauteur of our national character, and from the pride of place, his intercourse with all classes has been unrestrained and genial. The people have come to regard him with the affectionate reverence which is paid to a parent, and long will his name continue fresh and fragrant in their recollections.

*The Santal
émeute, 1855.*

During the last year of Lord Dalhousie's administration, the peace of Bengal was disturbed by an outbreak of the Santals, the tribes inhabiting the hill ranges of Rajmahl. They were the descendants of those among whom Mr. Cleveland had laboured to introduce the blessings of civilization, seventy years before. At a later period, Mr. Pontet, the magistrate, a man of kindred benevolence, endeavoured with indefatigable zeal to implant habits of agricultural industry among them. These half civilized mountaineers were harassed, like the Coles in 1833, by the processes and the bailiffs of the courts, and by the enforced demands of Bengalee money-lenders who had found their way among the villagers. They suddenly rose in rebellion in the month of July, and armed with pickaxes and poisoned arrows, poured down by thousands on the peaceful plains, spreading desolation in all directions. Every European dwelling within their reach was sacked, and seven Europeans were put to death. Their course was marked by the blaze of villages, and the inhabitants fled before them, as they had done a century earlier from the Mahrattas. Nothing was less to have been expected than such an insurrection in a district where for seventy years the presence of a soldier had been unnecessary. The Government was taken completely by surprise; the rains had set in with their usual violence, and

no troops were available except the corps of hill rangers, composed of men of the same tribe. They were driven back by the insurgents, who also derived fresh courage by the slaughter of an officer and twenty sepoys. It was on this occasion that the military utility of the rail was for the first time exhibited, by the conveyance of a body of troops in a few hours, who saved the important station of Raneegunge from pillage, and the surrounding country from devastation. The Governor-General was at Ootacamund, and the Governor of Bengal, Mr. Halliday, was urgent for the proclamation of martial law, but the scruples of the legislative member of Council delayed the passing of the Act till the beginning of November. As the cold season advanced troops were brought up from various directions; the rebels were hemmed in on every side, and hunted through the country with as little tenderness as they had shown to their victims; the cholera likewise made great havoc among them. The rebellion was at length extinguished, and the field force broken up, on the last day of the year. The insurrection was not however without some countervailing advantage. The same boon was conferred on the Santals which had been bestowed on the Coles; the district was converted into a non-regulation province and placed in charge of a Commissioner.

Mutinies in the
Punjab, 1849—
1850.

Under the military division of Lord Dalhousie's administration, it only remains to notice the acts of insubordination manifested in the Punjab, as in Sinde, from the withdrawal of extra allowances to the native troops, when it became a British province. In July, 1849, the men of the 13th and 22nd Native Infantry refused their curtailed pay at first, but subsequently consented to accept it. Courts-martial were held, and one native officer, and four men of the 13th, and an officer and six men of the 22nd were dismissed the service, while seventeen of the delinquents in both regiments were imprisoned for life. The next case of insubordination occurred in the 41st at Delhi, where, after the order of reduction had been read, the men returned to their lines and

piled arms, but refused to take off their accoutrements. The Commander-in-chief happened to be on the spot at the time, and sent to announce to the regiment that insubordination would be punished by dismissal, after which, it marched off to Mooltan, upon the reduced scale of pay. At Wuzeerabad, in the Punjab, the sepoy of the 32nd hesitated to receive their pay; the first four who declined it were seized, tried, sentenced to imprisonment, and marched off in irons in the presence of the brigade, and not a man refused to accept it afterwards. A native officer of this regiment was subsequently brought to a court-martial for having concealed this feeling of insubordination from his superiors, and five men were sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment for having fomented it. Sir Charles Napier ordered their sentence to be revised, when they were condemned to death, but he commuted the punishment to transportation for life. The 66th marched from Lucknow to Govindgur, but the commanding officer, from a feeling of timidity, culpably neglected to explain the retrenchment of pay to the regiment before it started, and contented himself with announcing it to some of the native officers. It was for the first time made known to the men on their arrival at the fort on the 1st February, 1850, when they exhibited symptoms of mutiny. One sepoy endeavoured to close the gate, but he was felled to the ground by a blow from the sword of Lieutenant Macdonald, and a small squadron of cavalry under Colonel Bradford marched in and restored discipline. The men piled arms, and quietly marched out at the command of their Colonel. Their correspondence was seized at the post office, but not a single expression of disaffection could be discovered in it. Sir Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner in the Punjab, denied that there was any attempt to seize the fort, or that a spirit of mutiny pervaded the corps, or the army, although, as he admitted, there was a general feeling of disappointment at being deprived of a high rate of pay, and partial and individual mutiny. Sir Charles Napier took upon himself to disband the regiment and replace it by a Ghoorka corps.

This was the assumption of an authority which belonged only to the Government, but, in the absence of the Governor-General, it was overlooked by the Vice-President in Council, and the order was confirmed. But the interference of the Commander-in-chief with the allowances of the native army, was too grave to be overlooked. On the 15th August, 1845, Lord Hardinge had established the rule that, whenever the price of provisions forming the aggregate of the sepoy's diet exceeded three rupees and a-half a-month, the difference should be made up to him in money. Sir Charles Napier declared the rule to be unjust and impolitic, and ordered a previous scale of compensation, which had been superseded, to be revived. The benefit it gave to the sepoy did not exceed an ana a-month, but it was an infringement of the constitutional prerogative of the Government. Sir Charles endeavoured to justify this act by the assertion that he was surrounded by a hostile population, that the whole army of the Punjab, numbering 40,000 men, was infected with a spirit of mutiny, that the empire was in great peril, and that he was constrained to act with promptitude and decision. Lord Dalhousie maintained that although mutiny did exist, it was partial, inconsiderable in degree, and comprised only a few. He denied the existence of a spirit of mutiny among 40,000 native sepoys in the Punjab, and quoted a letter written by Sir Charles only four days before he penned this sweeping condemnation, in which he affirmed that he had seen most armies in the world, but had never seen a more obedient and orderly army than that of India; and in reference to the mutiny, stated that he "would not allow a few malignant and discontented scoundrels to disgrace their colours and their regiments by an insolent attempt to dictate to the Government what pay that Government should give its soldiers." Lord Dalhousie officially informed him that "the Governor-General in Council would not again permit the Commander-in-chief, under any circumstances, to issue orders which should change the pay and allowances of the troops serving in India." Sir Charles immediately placed his resignation in the

hands of the Ministry. The question was referred by them to the Duke of Wellington, who had selected Sir Charles for the command in India, and he performed what he called "the painful task of reviewing the whole transaction" with a stern impartiality. He came to the conclusion that although there were murmurings and complaints at Wuzeerabad, there was no mutiny. There was no evidence that a general spirit of mutiny pervaded 40,000 troops in the Punjab. The 66th having mutinied at Govindgur, piled its arms under the orders of its officers, was marched out, disbanded, and sent into the Company's provinces in this very month of January, 1850, with the knowledge of the whole army, and there had not been a sign of any movement in favour of the mutinous regiment. There was no sufficient reason for suspending the rule of compensation of the 15th August, 1845. The Governor-General was right, and did no more than his duty in expressing his disapprobation of the act of the Commander-in-chief, and could not with propriety have acted otherwise. This decision of the great Duke settles the historical merits of the question.

CHAPTER XLI.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—TRANSACTIONS WITH NATIVE PRINCES, 1848—1854.

LORD DALHOUSIE had not been four months in India before the question of the succession to the raj of Sattara, a small principality under the Bombay Presidency, with a revenue of about fifteen lacs of rupees a-year, was brought before him. The eventual absorption of this unit in the great Indian empire was not, in itself, a matter of any political significance, but it has acquired a degree of importance from the use which has been made of it to denounce Lord Dalhousie's administration, for what has been designated "his policy of annexa-

tion," of which this was the first instance. It derives still higher importance from the fact that it was on this occasion that the Court of Directors and the Board of Control enunciated, for the guidance of the Government of India, their decision regarding the rights connected with adoption in the families of native princes.

Origin of

Sattara, 1818.

On the deposition of the Bajee Rao in 1817, Lord Hastings resolved to make a suitable provision for the family of Sevajee, the founder of the Maharatta greatness, which had been deprived by the Peshwa of all power, and held in durance upon a small pittance. His chief object was "to conciliate the Maharatta tribes to the new order of things, and to establish among them a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the former brahminical government." In the following year a treaty was concluded with the raja, which recited that, in consideration of the antiquity of his house, the British Government had determined to invest him with a sovereignty sufficient for the maintenance of his family in comfort and dignity. The territory of Sattara was therefore ceded to him, his heirs and successors, in perpetual sovereignty, to be held in subordinate co-operation with the British Government. The restrictions imposed on him were of the most stringent character. He was not only denied all political power, but forbidden to hold any intercourse with foreign potentates, even for the purpose of forming matrimonial alliances, otherwise than through the Resident. The historian of the Mahratta and Pindaree war, who was also the political secretary to Government during this transaction, records that the authority of the raja could never be looked on as independent, and that his court differed little from the pageant courts of Delhi, Moorshedabad, or Arcot. The raja himself considered that he was little better than "the manager and farmer of a district," and, soon after his accession, made efforts to throw off these restrictions, and gradually proceeded from one intrigue and one act of contumacy to another till, in 1839, the Government of India deemed it necessary to depose

him. His brother was raised to the throne and administered the country with great vigour and beneficence for ten years; he died on the 5th of April, 1848. He had repeatedly applied for permission to adopt a son, but the Resident was constrained to reply that it was beyond his province to grant it. Two days before his death he again expressed his fervent hope that the lad he might adopt would be recognized as his heir and successor to the throne. Two hours before he breathed his last, a boy whom he had not previously thought of, was brought to him at hap-hazard; the ceremonies of adoption were performed, and a royal salute was fired. The adoption was complete according to the rules of the Hindoo shasters, and secured to the soul of the deceased prince in the next world all those benefits which it would not otherwise have enjoyed. The adopted son succeeded to all the personal property of the raja, but it rested with the British Government to determine whether he should succeed also to the sovereignty of Sattara. Within a week of the decease of the raja, Sir George Clerk, the Governor of Bombay, recorded a Minute, recommending that he should be acknowledged as the raja. Sir George had long been distinguished in India as the foremost champion of the native chiefs, and was regarded as the most influential member of that school of Indian politics which holds their interests to be of paramount importance; his opinion in the present case, therefore, renders it redundant to notice the Minutes of any inferior pen, either in India or in England. He stated that the treaty was one of perpetual friendship and alliance between the English Government and his Highness, his heirs and successors. Such expressions ordinarily meant a sovereignty which should not lapse for want of heirs so long as there was any one who could succeed, according to the usages of the people to whom the treaty referred. The lad now adopted was such a successor. Sir George admitted that the sanction of the paramount state was by custom required to render an adoption to a principality valid, and that in the

Opinion of Sir
George Clerk,
1848.

time of our predecessors, this was made a source of profit to the treasury. "Can we here," he enquired, "without injustice, exercise that right of sanction, to the extent of prohibiting adoption? The raja engaged, it is true, to hold his territory, in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, but there are many instances of states held subordinate to another in all external relations, the duration of whose sovereignty it was never supposed could be justly terminated by the superior state in default of direct heirs. . . . If it be inconsistent with justice to refuse confirmation to the act of adoption, it was useless to enquire whether it was better for the interests of the people or the empire."

Opinion of Mr. Willoughby, 1848. Sir George Clerk was succeeded in a few weeks by Lord Falkland, who concurred with the other members of Council in taking a directly opposite view of the case. The most important Minute recorded on this occasion was that of Mr. Willoughby, in which all the stores of knowledge he had accumulated during a long period of service in high political appointments were brought to the discussion, and the question of adoption by native princes was examined with great skill and impartiality. Of such importance did Lord Dalhousie consider this dissertation as to pronounce it the text book on adoption. Mr. Willoughby's opinion in this case carries greater weight from the circumstance that, on a subsequent occasion, his views regarding the rights of one of the native princes were diametrically opposed to the decision of the Governor-General. The establishment of the raj of Sattara, he observed, was an act of spontaneous liberality on the part of the British Government, which, in 1818, had as much right to retain the Sattara territory as any of the other districts which belonged to the Peshwa. Whatever right the raja possessed must be looked for in the treaty of 1819, under which the state was created. That treaty conferred the sovereignty on the raja and on his heirs and successors; but, in his judgment, it did not confer the right to create an heir by adoption, on failure of natural heirs. Admitting, however,

the reverse, for the sake of argument, to render the adoption valid for succession to the state in such cases as Sattara, the confirmation of the paramount authority in India was essential, according to immemorial and almost universally admitted custom. The custom was, in fact, so ancient and so universal, as to have all the effect of law. Of this the late raja was fully conscious, and he invariably acknowledged that the adoption could have no political value unless the sanction of the British Government could be obtained. Mr. Willoughby then proceeded to state that he was no advocate for the extinction of the native states by violent or unjust means; but when they fairly lapsed to us, as they would have done to the Government which preceded us, he would not allow them to be perpetuated by adoption, except under special circumstances. The question now before the Council was whether, after the lapse of thirty years, we were likely to obtain the same advantages which were anticipated by Mr. Elphinstone, and whether they were of sufficient moment to render it expedient that the Sattara state should be reconstituted for the benefit of a boy hitherto brought up in poverty and obscurity. Those who regarded the native states as safety-valves for the discontented, and for particular classes, for whom it was difficult to find employment under our rule, would probably decide on recreating the state. Those, on the other hand, who coincided with him in opinion, that British rule should on every fair occasion be extended, under the opinion expressed by Mr. Macaulay, that "no Government exists of which the intentions are purer, or which on the whole has done more to extend civilization and promote the happiness of the human race than the Company," would take an opposite view of the case, and determine, in virtue of our prerogative as lords paramount, not to confirm the adoption.

Lord Dalhousie's
researches,
1848.

The Minutes of Sir George Clerk, in favour of adoption, and of Lord Falkland and the two members of the Bombay Council in opposition to it, were submitted to Lord Dalhousie. The question was alto-

gether new to him, and to assist his judgment, he called for all the information which could be obtained from the public records of the opinions of official functionaries, the instructions received from the Court of Directors, and the precedents which had been established, on the subject of adoption. He found that four years before, on nominating a successor to the vacant throne of Holkar, Lord Hardinge had distinctly informed him that the chiefship should descend to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, in due succession, from generation to generation, to the entire exclusion of heirs by adoption. He found that Sir James Carnac, the Governor of Bombay, who described himself as "a strong and earnest advocate for upholding the native states of India," when employed in placing the late raja on the Sattara throne, had recorded that he was childless and, at his advanced period of life, was not likely to have any children, and that as there was no other party who could claim the succession by hereditary right, the Sattara state would lapse to the British Government, unless, indeed, it should be judged expedient to allow this line of princes to be continued by the Hindoo custom of adoption. He found that Sir John Malcolm had stood alone in advocating the expediency of giving the sanction of Government to adoptions, and that, on the ground of making them a source of profit to the state. His successor in the chair at Bombay had, however, taken a different view of the question, and it was referred to the Court of Directors. They had previously reminded the Government of India that their sanction was requisite, not indeed to the validity of an adoption, or to the enjoyment of the private rights it conferred, but to enable the adopted son to succeed to the chiefship. In reply to the reference they stated: "We are unable to frame any more precise directions for your guidance in such cases than that whenever it is optional with you to give or withhold your consent to adoptions, that indulgence should be the exception, and not the rule; and should never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation." The principle thus laid down by the public autho-

rities in England was subsequently exemplified by refusing to allow the chiefs of Mandave and Colaba the privilege of adoption on the failure of natural heirs, and annexing their territories, while they rewarded the chief of Sanglee for his loyalty and attachment to the British Government, by permitting him to perpetuate his sovereignty by this process.

Lord Dalhousie's
conclusions,
1848.

After a careful examination of these documents and precedents, Lord Dalhousie came to the conclusion that as a general rule, established beyond cavil and doubt, and sanctioned by the supreme authority in the empire, it rested with the sovereign power, on the death of the holder of a fief without issue, to permit its continuance by adoption, or to annex it to the state; that adoption by such a prince of any individual was valid as regarded his private property or possessions, but insufficient to constitute him heir to the principality, until it had been confirmed by the sovereign authority. In the case of Sattara, the British Government possessed this absolute power to grant or to refuse adoption as the creator of the raj in 1819. If the late raja had left an heir of his own body, no question could have been entertained of the perfect right of such an heir to succeed to the throne; but the death of his Highness without heirs natural, having rendered the throne vacant, the territory should be held, according to law and practice, to have lapsed to the paramount state. He agreed with Mr. Willoughby regarding the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presented itself of consolidating the territories that already belonged to us, and of getting rid of those petty intervening principalities, which might be a means of annoyance, but could never be a source of strength. He remarked, that by incorporating Sattara with our own possessions, we should acquire continuity of military communications, increase of the resources of the state, and uniformity of administration in matters of justice and revenue over a large additional tract. He added, "In my conscience, I believe we should ensure to the population of the state a per-

petuity of that just and mild Government they have lately enjoyed, but which they will hold by a poor and uncertain tenure, if we resolve to continue the raj and to deliver it over to the Government of a boy, brought up in obscurity, selected for adoption almost by chance, and of whose character and qualities nothing whatever was known to the raja who adopted him."

General principles of Lord Dalhousie, 1849.

Seven years before the question of Sattara was presented to the Government of India, the Governor-General and his Council in Calcutta recorded their unanimous opinion that "our policy should be to persevere in the one clear and direct course of abandoning no just or honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of right are scrupulously respected." Lord Dalhousie embraced the opportunity of the Sattara Minute to record his entire concurrence in the views of his predecessor. "It was his strong and deliberate opinion that in the exercise of a sound and wise policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate states by the failure of all heirs of every description whatever, or from the failure of heirs natural, when the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption according to Hindoo law. The Government is bound on such occasions to act with the purest integrity and the most scrupulous good faith. Wherever a shadow of doubt can be shown, the claim should be at once abandoned. But when the right to territory by lapse is clear, the Government is bound to take that which is justly and legally its due, and to extend to that territory the benefit of our sovereignty, present and prospective." The most liberal provision was made for the Sattara family. The ranees and the adopted son were allowed to retain property to the extent of sixteen lacs of rupees, and valuable landed estates, and likewise received an annual pension of a lac of rupees.

Decision of the
home authorities,
1849

The whole question was referred to the Court of Directors, together with the Minutes which had been recorded in Calcutta and Bombay. Sir George Clerk had stated in his Minute that it would be convenient to the Governments in India, and acceptable to the people, if the "determination of the present question should lead to the declaration of fixed principles for the regulation, under the authority of the British Government, of successions in default of heirs." The Court, with the concurrence of the Board of Control, accordingly communicated for the guidance of the Government of India, the fixed principle upon which all such questions were to be decided, in the following clear and explicit terms: "By the general law and custom of India, a dependent principality like that of Sattara, cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power; we are under no pledge, direct or constructive, to give such consent; and the general interests committed to our charge are best consulted by withholding it." This memorable despatch was dated the 24th January, 1849.

Berar; death of
the raja, 1853.

Nearly five years elapsed without any occasion for the application of the law of succession thus laid down by the supreme authority of the empire, when the raja of Jhansi died on the 21st November, 1853, and the raja of Nagpore three weeks after. It has been stated in a former chapter that the treachery of the raja Appa Sahib, in 1817, and in the succeeding year, placed the state of Nagpore at the mercy of the British Government. Lord Hastings generously restored it to the royal family and seated a youth on the throne, placing him during his minority under the guardianship of his mother, Baka bye, a woman of great spirit and intelligence, and entrusting the administration to Mr. Jenkins, the Resident. The raja died twenty-seven years after, without any heir or successor, lineal, collateral, or adopted. Mr. Mansell, the Resident at Nagpore, at the time of his decease, had repeatedly pressed the subject of adopting a son on his attention for two years, but he always manifested

the greatest aversion to the subject. Neither had his widow; who, according to the usage peculiar to this state, enjoyed the privilege of adoption without the injunction of her dying husband, expressed any desire to take advantage of it. Mr. Mansell, who was one of the advocates of perpetuating native dynasties, recommended that the British Government should appropriate half the public revenue to its own use, and place the management of the state in the hands of Baka bye, then in her seventy-fifth year. In case the selection of this lady should not be approved by the Governor-General, he mentioned the names of "two other pretenders to the throne," one of whom "had a delicate constitution, but had not suffered from any serious illness for the last three years;" the other was "a violent and dissipated youth." Lord Dalhousie recorded an elaborate Minute on the subject, in which he discussed it on the ground of right, and of expediency. He observed that there existed no person whatever, who, either by virtue of treaty, or by the custom of the Bhonslay family, or according to Hindoo law, or the Mahratta interpretation of that law, could claim to be the heir and successor of the deceased raja. "We have not now to decide any question which turns upon the right of a paramount power to refuse confirmation to an adoption by an inferior. We have before us no question of an inchoate, or incomplete, or irregular adoption, for the raja has died, and has deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. The state of Nagpore, conferred on the raja and his heirs in 1818 by the British Government has reverted to it on the death of the raja without any heir. The case of Nagpore stands wholly without example. Justice and custom and precedent leave the Government wholly unfettered to decide as it thinks best. Policy alone must determine the question whether the sovereignty of the state which was conferred on a Goojur in 1818 shall be conferred on somebody else as a gift a second time." The conclusion to which he came was that the gratuitous alienation of the state of Nagpore in favour of a Mahratta youth, was called for by no obligation of justice or

equity, and was forbidden by every consideration of sound policy.

British and native administrations, 1819-53. On the question of expediency he contrasted the condition of the country for eight years under the administration of Mr. Jenkins with its subsequent condition under the raja. Colonel Sutherland, whose long experience and connection with native states, made his testimony of peculiar value, had left on record that the name of Mr. Jenkins—Dunkin sahib—was never mentioned by the people without affection, and would be handed down to posterity as that of a great benefactor, and that under his administration the country had become a garden. On the other hand, Mr. Mansell described the late raja as “absorbed in the society of low followers, in the sports of wrestling and kite-flying, in cards, singing, and dancing, and in the vulgar conversation and mean pursuits of his dancing girls.” Eight years before his death, one of his concubines had brought him to a confirmed habit of drinking, and this vice alone, against which the Resident had repeatedly remonstrated, was sufficient to disqualify him for the government. He manifested an invincible distaste for business, and never left the zenana without reluctance. His chief object was to fill the privy purse from bribes, fines, confiscations, and compositions. He was completely in the hands of the most unprincipled favourites, who put up justice to sale, and plundered the country. He contented himself with signing and sealing documents which awarded decisions to those who payed best; and “all his thoughts and actions resembled those of a village chandler.”

Anxiety of the people for the British rule, 1837-1853.

It was no matter of surprise that the people should long for the halcyon days of British rule. Mr. Cavendish, the Resident in 1837, had affirmed that while any questioning of the right of adoption at Gwalior, Hyderabad, and Lucknow, would be improper, because those territories were not bestowed on the present or former rulers by the British Government, Nagpore, Sattara,

and Mysore were created by the Hon. Company, and none but a descendant of the grantee could advance any claim to the succession according to the law of the land. He asserted that all the agriculturists, bankers, and shopkeepers would prefer the British rule to that of any native government, and hail with joy the return of their former masters; he therefore recommended the annexation of the country. His successor, Major Wilkinson, who had always upheld the cause of native princes, asserted, on the contrary, that Nagpore stood precisely in the same position as Gwalior, and advised that permission should be given to the raja to adopt a son; but, with an amiable candour, acknowledged that the course proposed by Mr. Cavendish would be most beneficial and gratifying to the mass of the population, who desired nothing so much as to be placed under the British Government; and this, he remarked, "was not a mere idle wish for change, inasmuch as they had experienced the blessings of the rule of British officers. The only people who would regret a change, were a few favourites about the Court and their followers." Mr. Mansell, who advocated the continuance of a native government, because, among other benefits, it would conciliate the prejudices of the native aristocracy, stated that "if the public voice were polled, it would be greatly in favour of escaping from the chance of a rule like that of the late chief in his latter years."

On a review of this body of evidence supplied Lord Dalhousie's conclusions, 1858. through a period of twenty-five years, by a succession of officers, who differed from each other in political opinions, Lord Dalhousie came to the conclusion that the interest and happiness of the people forbade the British Government to bestow the sovereignty of Nagpore afresh on a native ruler. He then passed in review the repeated failures which had attended the experiment of setting up native sovereigns to govern territories we had acquired by the issue of war. "We set up a raja at Mysore; and we have long since been obliged to assume the direct management of the country, and to take out of the raja's hands the power which he was found

unfit to wield. We set up a raja at Sattara, and twenty years afterwards we were obliged to dethrone and exile him. We set up a raja at Nagpore; we afforded him every advantage a native prince could command; an able and experienced princess was his guardian and the regent of the state. So favoured, so aided, he has, nevertheless, lived and died a seller of justice, a miser, a drunkard, and a debauchee." He said he was well aware that the continuance of the raj of Nagpore under some Mahratta rule, as an act of grace and favour on the part of the British Government, would be highly acceptable to native sovereigns and nobles in India; but "I place the interests of the people of Nagpore foremost among the considerations which induce me to advise that the state should now pass under British Government, for I conscientiously declare, that unless I believed that the prosperity and happiness of its inhabitants would be promoted by their being placed permanently under British rule, no other advantages which could arise out of the measure, would move me to propose it." He then touched on the benefits which might accrue from the annexation. The essential interests of England would be promoted if the great cotton fields in the valley of Berai were placed under British management, and a railroad constructed to convey its produce to the port of Bombay; the dominions of the Nizam would be surrounded by British territory; a direct line of communication would be established between Bombay and Calcutta, and the British empire materially consolidated.

Minutes of
Colonel Low and
Mr. Halliday,
1853.

Of the three members of Council the proposal of Lord Dalhousie was controverted by only one, Colonel—now Sir John—Low. He had been employed for thirty years in political posts of the highest importance in various parts of India, and acquired a large fund of experience, which gave no ordinary weight to his political opinions. He was distinguished by the amiability of his disposition; and his long intercourse with the native princes and chiefs had created a benevolent sympathy with their feelings

and wishes, which it was impossible not to respect, even when it appeared occasionally to be carried to excess. It was his opinion that as there was no limitation in the treaty, the late raja was placed in the same position as Appa Sahib before he made war on the Government, and when he occupied the throne by hereditary right; that the raja possessed the same power and authority as any other independent prince; and that the annexation of the territory would contravene the spirit as well as the letter of the treaty. He admitted that the great mass of the people ought to be grateful for the system of government projected for them by the Governor-General, and would certainly be better governed than under the late raja, but the men of high rank and influence would be less contented. He considered that we had no right to hinder the widows and relatives from settling the succession to the vacant throne according to their customs and wishes, and that they and the principal men ought to be invited to state their claims openly. He believed that the confidence of our native allies in our good faith had been shaken by the conquest and occupation of Sinde, by our attack on Gwalior, and by the annexation of Sattara; and that the incorporation of Nagpore would fill them with a dread of what might happen on their own death. Mr. Halliday, also a member of Council, affirmed that on the question of right there could be no difference of opinion, and he proceeded to say, "Here is a territory actually without a claimant, a territory full of available resources of a kind important to the Government of India, and still more so to the people of England; a territory whose teeming population is avowedly hoping, praying, expecting to be taken under our Government, as no imaginary blessing, but as a boon of which, having full experience, they know and appreciate the value; and at such a juncture, we, forsooth, are to be deaf to their call, and deaf also to the claims of our own countrymen, and leave the widows and relatives and principal men to settle this affair; or, still more, to invite and solicit them to take some spoilt boy from a nursery, or some

obscure and uneducated youth from a village, and place again in such hands the rod of iron with which the late raja had so scourged the nationality out of his unfortunate subjects, that they are now impatient for the rule of the stranger rather than suffer such another tyranny. We are to give this right of succession as a thing of little worth to some 'son of a daughter of a sister of the adoptive father of the late raja,' or to some 'son of a son of a sister of the adoptive grandfather of the late raja,' for such is the designation of the relationship to the raja of the two youths suggested by the Resident, of whom he says one is a dissipated and violent youth, while the best he can say of the other is that he has not suffered from any serious illness for the last three years."

Decision of the
Court of Direc-
tors, 1854.

The Court of Directors, on receiving information that the Government of India, acting on the instructions conveyed in their despatch of the 24th January, 1849, had annexed the territory, expressed their entire concurrence in its views and proceedings. They remarked that Nagpore was a principality granted, after conquest, by the favour of the British Government to the late raja, on hereditary tenure. He had left no heir of his body; there was no male heir who, by family or hereditary right could claim to succeed him; he adopted no son; there was not in existence any person descended in the male line from the founder of the dynasty; and they had no doubt of their right to resume the grant. As to the policy of resumption, they agreed with the Governor-General that regard for the interest of the people themselves who had suffered under Mahratta rule, and prospered under British administration, forbade the maintenance of the sovereignty of Nagpore, now that it was at the free disposal of the British Government.

Sale of Property,
1854.

With regard to the property of the late raja, Lord Dalhousie stated that although he considered it to be fairly at the disposal of Government, he desired that it should neither be alienated from the family, nor given up to be squandered by the ranees. He directed

that jewels, furniture, and other personal property suitable to their rank having been allotted to them, the value of the remainder should be realized, and constitute a fund for "the benefit of the Bhonslay family." The ranees resolutely resisted the surrender of the gold mohurs which were deposited in their private apartments, and the Governor-General considered it desirable rather to fail in obtaining them than to force an entrance for that purpose. The live stock was at once sold off at Nagpore, and the jewels and other articles of value were sent round to Calcutta to be put up to auction. There can be little doubt that this mode of disposing of the jewels and gems which had been accumulated by that royal house for more than a century, by the hammer of the auctioneer, was revolting to the feelings of the native community, and open to all the censure which has been passed on it; but the proceeds, amounting to twenty lacs of rupees, were considered a sacred deposit for the use of the family. According to the most recent reports from the province, one-fourth of the entire revenue of the country still continues to be devoted to the support of the royal family and its retainers and dependents, notwithstanding the death of some of the annuitants.

Jhansi, 1854. The raja of Jhansi died on the 11th November, and the question of the succession to this principality was brought before the Government of India. To revert to its former history: On the first connection of the Government with Bundelcund, in 1804, a treaty was concluded with Sheo Rao Bhao, a tributary of the Peshwa, who is described in some documents as an *aumil*, or governor of this small territory; in others, as simply the collector. All the rights of the Peshwa in the province were ceded to the Company in 1817, and the Governor-General, adverting to the fidelity and the attachment of the family to British interests "resolved to declare the territory to be hereditary in the family of the late Sheo Rao Bhao." A treaty was concluded with his grandson, Rao Ramchunder, and his heirs and successors; and the title of raja was conferred on him in 1832. He died in 1835,

having adopted a son the day before his death; but Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Governor of Agra, refused to acknowledge his right to bequeath the sovereignty by adoption, and placed the lawful heir descended from Sheo Rao Bhao on the throne, though a leper. He died in 1838, and was succeeded by Gungadhur Rao, the only surviving son of Sheo Rao Bhao, under whose mismanagement the revenues, which had once amounted to eighteen lacs of rupees, dwindled down to three. Gungadhur died in 1853, and in like manner adopted a son on his death-bed, and thus secured all the spiritual benefits which depended on that rite; but his widow, a woman of no ordinary talent and of high spirit, undeterred by the previous refusal of the British Government to admit of succession to the kingdom by adoption, demanded the sovereignty also for the lad. Lord Dalhousie, before he formed any opinion on the subject, referred to the Minute recorded by Sir Charles Metcalfe, as Governor of Agra, which was universally considered a conclusive authority on the law of succession in Bundelcund. Sir Charles was known to be favourable to the maintenance of native thrones and to the principle of adoption, but in reference to that particular province stated, "With regard to chiefs who merely hold lands, or enjoy public revenues under grants, such as are issued by a sovereign to a subject, the power which made the grant, or which by conquest or otherwise had succeeded to its rights, is certainly entitled to limit succession according to the limitation of the grant, which in general confines it to heirs male of the body, and consequently precludes adoption. In such cases, therefore, the power which granted or the power standing in its place, would have a right to resume on failure of heirs male of the body." Jhansi was one of these principalities. Gungadhur Rao had left no heir of his body. There was no male heir of Rao Ramchunder, or of Sheo Rao Bhao, or indeed of any raja or soobadar who had ruled it since the first relations of the Company with the state. Lord Dalhousie, therefore, came to the inevitable conclusion that the right of the British Government to refuse to acknow-

ledge the present adoption, was placed beyond all doubt, by the existence of precedents, by the general law of succession established by the home Government in their despatch of the 24th January, 1849, and by the *lex loci* of the province, as expounded by Sir Charles Metcalfe. He added, that the British Government would not derive any practical advantage from the possession of this territory, as it was of no great extent, and the revenue was inconsiderable; but the possession of it as our own would tend to the improvement of the general internal administration of Bundelcund. Colonel Low, who had a fortnight before vigorously opposed the annexation of Nagpore, recorded his entire concurrence in the opinion of Lord Dalhousie, and added: "The native rulers of Jhansi were never sovereigns; they were only subjects of a sovereign, first of the Peshwa, and latterly of the Company. . . . I consider that the Government of India has now a full right, if it chooses to exercise that right, to annex the lands of Jhansi to the British dominions." The Court of Directors decided that, as the state of Jhansi was a tributary and dependent province, created by the British Government, the adoption should not be recognized as conferring any right to succeed to the rule of the principality; and as the chief had left no descendants and no descendants of any preceding chief were in existence, the state had lapsed to the British Government. Three years afterwards, on the outbreak of the mutiny and the extinction of British authority in the north-west, the ranee took a fearful revenge for her disappointment, and put to death every European man, woman, and child she could seize.

These are the three cases of absorption by lapse which constitute the "annexation policy" of Lord Dalhousie. In annexing the remainder of the Punjab, he followed the example of Lord Hardinge, who had previously annexed two of its provinces; in both cases it was the necessary result of a war brought on by unprovoked aggression. The retention of Pegu was only a continuation of the policy of Lord Amherst, who had deprived the "Golden-

Enumeration
of annexations,
1855.

foot" of three provinces, thirty-six years before. In each case, the act was admitted to be a just and legitimate retribution for the arrogant encroachments of the court of Ava. The sovereignty of Oude was extinguished under special orders from home, contrary to the advice of Lord Dalhousie. He has been censured for having coveted the annexation of Kerowlee, which is said to have been rescued from his grasp by the firmness of the Resident, Colonel Low, and of the Court of Directors. A passing notice of the transaction may be useful in the interests of truth. Kerowlee was a small Rajpoot principality, the raja of which adopted a son just before his death. Colonel Low, the Resident, recommended that the adoption should be recognized. Sir Frederick Currie, one of the members of Council, recorded the same opinion in a Minute in which he pointed out the essential distinction between the ancient principalities of Rajpootana and a state like that of Sattara, "the offspring of our gratuitous benevolence," where we resumed only what we had bestowed. Lord Dalhousie drew up a fair and impartial statement of the arguments on both sides the question, and concluded with the remark that, taking into consideration that British supremacy was established in Kerowlee in 1817, the arguments in favour of causing it to lapse, appeared to him to preponderate; but he referred the question to the Court of Directors. They decided that their despatch of the 24th January, 1849, had reference only to a "deudent principality" like Sattara, and not to the case of a "protected ally" like the raja of Kerowlee. Sumbulpore has also been inserted in the schedule of annexations, but the raja was simply a zemindar, with whom there never was any treaty at all, and who in February, 1827, signed a document in which he acknowledged that "he had been vested with authority from the Government to administer justice, and to conduct the police duties within the limits of his estate." On his death, the office was conferred on a second raja, probably a member of his family, and eventually reverted to Government. Sumbulpore was an

extensive region in the centre of India, thinly inhabited by wild tribes, scarcely less barbarous than they were when the hero of the Ramayun marched through it on his expedition to Ceylon, and recruited his army, according to the epic, with monkeys. Brahmins and rajpoots had contrived to establish their authority in it, but it was a land of forests and swamps, and withal so pestiferous that an appointment to it was dreaded by the European officers of Government like a sentence of death. The revenue amounted to 6,000 rupees a month, and there was little temptation to annex it. Minor estates were also from time to time escheating to the state; but the three acts on which the administration of Lord Dalhousie has been assailed by his censors, are, the annexation of Sattara, Nagpore, and Jhansi, by the "dread and appalling doctrine of lapse." His conduct has been described as resembling "the acts of brigands counting out their spoil in a wood, rather than the acts of British statesmanship," and he has been pronounced to be the "worst and basest of rulers."

Extent of Lord
Dalhousie's re-
sponsibility, 1856.

To form a correct judgment on this subject, it must be recalled to mind that this "annexation policy," as it has been somewhat insidiously termed, was neither created nor enlarged by Lord Dalhousie. On the first occasion on which the question of lapse came before him, he found the principle of annexation supported by all the members of Council in Calcutta and Bombay, with the exception of Sir George Clerk, and, on the ground that it was in accordance with the immemorial law and usage of India. He found also that it harmonized with the practice which had received the sanction of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. That it was in unison also with his own views of public policy he fully admitted; but he refrained from acting upon it till a reference had been made to England, and until a declaration of the "fixed principle" which was in future to guide the proceedings of the Government of India on this important question, was received from the highest authority in the empire. If any censure is to be attached to the adoption

of this policy, a much larger share of it would, upon every principle of justice, fall on the masters than on the servant. It has been asserted that these annexations created alarm among all the princes of India, and shook their feeling of loyalty to the Company; but it appears to be forgotten that the application of this law of succession was confined to extremely narrow limits. It did not affect any of the Mahomedan princes of India; and the Court of Directors and Lord Dalhousie explicitly declared that it was applicable exclusively to those subordinate and dependent principalities which had been created by the "spontaneous generosity" of the British Government, and not to any of the independent sovereigns. It was, in fact, restricted to the states of Mysore, Sattara, Nagpore, and Jhansi, and possibly to one or two others of minor account. If any alarm had arisen in the minds of the independent princes, a few words of explanation from the Resident would have been sufficient to dispel it.

Opposition to annexation, 1855. The principle of refusing to allow these dependent states which had lapsed by the failure of natural heirs to be continued by adoption, was vigorously combated by a considerable body of the European functionaries of Government. Ever since the days of Edmund Burke, who has been justly described as a worshipper of ancient dynasties, there has always been a succession of men in the Direction at home, and in the public service abroad, prepared to advocate the cause of native princes as princes, without any particular reference to the merits or demerits of their government. Among them may be enumerated some of the most eminent men connected with the administration,—Tucker, Malcolm, Henry Lawrence, Clerk, Outram, Sleeman, Low,—all animated with an honourable and chivalrous feeling of respect for the royal families of India. Considering the inevitable tendency of our progress to level them, it is an honour to our national character that there should be men in authority eager to defend their interests; and it is impossible not to admire the feeling even when it may appear to interfere with interests

of a higher character. On the other hand, there has always existed a body of public men at home and in India, equally eminent and high-minded, who consider British rule an inestimable blessing to the people, and are anxious to substitute it for native administrations, wherever this can be effected with a scrupulous regard to the claims of justice and equity. The feelings of one party incline to the wishes and susceptibilities of the princes of India; those of the other to the interests of the people. The opinions of both are equally entitled to respect, and nothing can be more preposterous than to introduce into the controversy a charge of indifference to national faith. These antagonistic principles have been alternately in the ascendant, and they will probably continue, in turns, to sway our counsels, till the British empire in India reaches the same point of consolidation as that of Rome under the Cæsars, and these independent principalities expire from the extinction of every element of vitality, and the princes themselves subside into the position of grantees.

Arguments for
permitting
adoption, 1855.

Two arguments have been adduced for permitting these subordinate and dependent states to be perpetuated by adoption. A native administration is said to be more beneficial to the people than any we can construct, and more congenial with their wishes. There are doubtless many provinces within the wide circuit of our empire where it would be more adapted to the wishes of certain classes than a government of foreigners. If, as has been asserted, our Government is the purgatory of the upper ten thousand, it is still the paradise of the million. But the allegation that native rule is more advantageous to the general interests of the country, or of the people, is contrary to all the lessons of the past. Even when a minor prince has enjoyed all the benefit of careful training under our own auspices, for one instance in which he has proved a beneficent ruler, there are half-a-dozen in which he has sunk into the sensualities of the zenana, and abandoned all care of his people. Well has it been observed that "the education which tells on

kings, like the education that tells on all public men, is the education of the world," and not of the school room. If, moreover, a government with the purest intentions, and acting under a sense of severe responsibility, cannot promote the prosperity of a province more effectually than such rulers as the rajas of Mysore or of Nagpore, or the king of Oude, we can have no business in India. The other argument advanced for the perpetuation of lapsed kingdoms, is the opportunity it affords of employment for native talent, which does not exist under our rule. It carries much weight; it will be readily admitted that this has been the opprobrium of our administration ever since the days of Lord Cornwallis. Under the government of his predecessor, Mr. Hastings, the native *fouzdar* or commissioner of Hooghly received an allowance of 7,000 rupees a-month. Lord Cornwallis declared the natives unfit for any situations of trust, and reduced the salary of the best paid among them to 50 rupees. The empire of Akbar rose as rapidly as our own, but as he subjugated province after province, he enlisted the nobles and the aristocracy in his own service, and they became the firmest supporters of his throne. But with the progress of our empire a blight comes over the prospects of the higher and more influential classes of native society; there is no room for their aspirations in our system of Government, and they sink down to one dead level of depression in their own land. The remedy for this error is to be found, not in perpetuating the power, so constantly abused, of native princes, simply on the ground of finding employment for native intelligence and ambition, but in incorporating these qualities in our own administration, with all necessary safeguards against the defects of the oriental character, and thus to combine the gratification of the upper classes with the welfare of the lower.

Nabob of the
Carnatic; pre-
vious history,
1801—52.

It was during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, and with his concurrence, that the dignity and privileges of the Nabobs of the Carnatic became extinct. The proceedings of Lord Wellesley

regarding the Carnatic have been circumstantially detailed in a former chapter, and it is only necessary to recall to the memory of the reader that in consequence of the treasonable correspondence of the Nabob Mahomed Ali, and his son, with Tippoo Sultan, which was discovered in 1801, the Governor-General declared all the treaties made with the Nabob by the British Government null and void, and all the right and claim of the family to the musnud of the Carnatic annihilated. Lord Wellesley was disposed at first to abolish the nabobship altogether, but he eventually resolved to place one of the family on the throne with a liberal allowance. This arrangement was reduced to the form of a treaty which, as originally drawn up at Madras, contained expressions which implied that the British Government was simply recognizing a right already in existence, and not conferring a new right, but these words were, at once, struck out by Lord Wellesley, who explicitly declared that the Nabob owed his elevation, not to any existing right, for it had been entirely forfeited, but to the generosity and liberality of the British Government. The treaty stated that the allowance made to the Nabob of 213,421 pagodas a-year should be considered a permanent deduction in all times to come from the revenues of the Carnatic. But Lord Wellesley, expressly and intentionally excluded from this document, as he had done from that which related to Mysore, the words heirs and successors, which were invariably inserted by him in the treaties made with the independent princes of India. It was always understood at Madras and Calcutta that Lord Wellesley did not, in this case, contemplate a treaty such as is usually executed between parties who are in a position of equality but simply a personal settlement with one who was in a subordinate position. The Nabob enjoyed a titular dignity, but was obliged to reside in Chepauk Palace, under the guns of Fort St. George, and he was not allowed to travel to any distance without permission. He received royal salutes, and he was placed above law, but being without duties or responsibilities, he passed his life in

debauchery, and the palace became the pest of the Presidency. The Nabob died in 1819, and the Government of Madras placed his son on the throne. On his death in 1825, Sir Thomas Munro continued his infant son in the nabobship, but he died childless in 1853, when his uncle, Azim Jah, laid claim to the prerogatives and the allowances of the post, as his collateral heir.

Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, recorded an elaborate Minute on the subject, which became the basis of subsequent arrangements. He did not consider that the Company was bound by any act or deed to maintain the hereditary succession of the Nabobs of the Carnatic, as long as the family continued to exist. On the death of the Nabob in 1819, the Government of Madras had pointed out to the Governor-General that they were not authorized by the terms of the treaty to acknowledge any successor. Though the musnud had been allowed to descend in two instances in regular succession from father to son, this circumstance did not bind the Government to continue it when that succession had failed, as in the present instance. He objected, likewise, to the perpetuation of the nabobship, on the ground of expediency. The semblance of royalty without any of its power was a mockery of authority which must necessarily be pernicious. It was not merely anomalous, but prejudicial to the community that a separate authority, not amenable to the laws, should be permitted to exist. This pageant, though hitherto harmless, might at any time become a nucleus of sedition and agitation. Moreover, the habits of life, and the course of proceeding of the Nabobs had been morally most injurious, and tended to bring high station into disrepute, and favoured the accumulation of an idle and dissipated population in the chief city of the Presidency. He recommended that the royal privileges and immunities hitherto conceded to the Arcot family should cease, that a handsome allowance should be given to Azim Jah, that Government should undertake to settle his debts, and that the salaries of

Opinion of the
Governor and
Council of
Madras, 1853.

the principal officers should be continued for their lives. Sir Henry Montgomery, the member of Council at Madras, seconded these views, and stated in his Minute that the affairs of the Nabob were irretrievably embarrassed; that his palace was mortgaged, and that his debts were computed at fifty lacs of rupees, for the payment of which the creditors were importunate. Those who were responsible for the peace and the welfare of Madras were unquestionably the best judges of what was necessary to secure it, and the opinions thus expressed by them of the importance of extinguishing the noxious influence of Chepauk Palace, could not fail to carry weight with the Government in Calcutta and in England.

Opinion of Lord
Dalhousie, 1853.

Lord Dalhousie, who happened at the time to be at Madras on his way to Rangoon, recorded his entire concurrence in the arguments and conclusions of the Governor and Council. On his return to Calcutta he embodied his views in a Minute, in which he stated that he agreed with Lord Harris and the members of the Government of Madras in holding that the treaty of 1801 was a purely personal settlement concluded between the Company on the one part, and the Nabob Azim-ood-dowlah on the other, without any mention of heirs or successors. The strongest point in the claim of Azim Jah, he said, was that the Court of Directors had, in more than one despatch, alluded to him as the heir of his nephew, but no attempt need be made to evade these allusions, or to weaken the full force of their meaning. They may be readily admitted to indicate an expectation on the part of the British Government that if Mahomed Ghouse should die without children, his uncle Azim Jah would be allowed to succeed him; but to indicate an expectation, or even an intention, was not to recognize or confer a right. These words contained no pledge or promise of the succession; and there had subsequently been too much reason to forego any such intention regarding the claimant or his family. The
Decision of the Court of Directors with whom the settlement of

Court, 1853. the question rested, deemed it expedient to notice the expressions upon which Azim Jah had laid so much stress, of his having been alluded to in a letter addressed to Madras, thirty-six years before, as the "next heir." They observed that the question then before them was not the succession to the musnud, but the appointment of a physician to the young Nabob. As nearest of kin they had spoken of him as heir to whatever could be legally derived by inheritance. After "that earnest deliberation which was due to all questions which could be supposed to involve considerations of public faith," the Court came to the conclusion that the rights of the family were derived from the treaty of 1801, and necessarily limited by its terms, which were exclusively personal to Azim-ood-dowlah; that there was no obligation on the British Government to continue the provisions of the treaty in favour of any collateral heirs, and that it would be highly inexpedient to do so. "The title and dignity of Nabob and all the advantages annexed to it by the treaty of 1801 are therefore at an end." A liberal allowance was made to Azim Jah, besides a suitable provision for the dependents of the family, and he was recognized as the first nobleman in the Presidency of Madras, and allowed to maintain a military guard.

The Nizam and Berar, 1853. The vexatious question of the Hyderabad Contingent was brought to a satisfactory conclusion under Lord Dalhousie's administration, by the transfer of Berar to the management of British officers. To trace this transaction to its origin, it is necessary to observe that by the treaty of 1801 the Nizam was bound to join the British army, in time of war, with 6,000 infantry and 9,000 horse. These troops, however, were found to be worse than useless in the field, and the Resident, Mr. Russell, was urged by the Court of Directors to obtain the consent of the Nizam and his minister, Chundoo-lall, to substitute for them a British Contingent of 5,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and four field batteries. In a former chapter, special reference has been made to this efficient but expensive force, which was over-officered and over-

paid, and severely taxed the resources of the Hyderabad state. Its allowances had repeatedly fallen into arrears, and the Government of India, considering itself bound to ensure the payment of a force enlisted under its guarantee, directed the necessary funds to be advanced from the Resident's chest, and they were acknowledged by the Nizam as a debt due with interest to the Company. In 1843, the Resident was again required to make advances, when he was instructed by the Government of India to inform the Nizam that, unless he observed greater punctuality in future, he would be called on to transfer to the Government territory of sufficient value to meet these periodical demands. Small sums were, from time to time, doled out in dribblets, from the Nizam's treasury, but not sufficient to cover the pay of the Contingent, or to keep down the interest of the debt. The Resident had repeatedly remonstrated with him on the deplorable state of his affairs. The territory of Hyderabad was sufficiently productive to provide for all the demands of the administration, and to maintain the court in affluence and splendour; but it was impossible to prevail on the Nizam to attend to public business, and he had for a long time left the Government without a responsible minister. The hordes of foreign mercenaries he persisted in maintaining, to the number of more than 40,000, devoured his revenues, oppressed his people, and even held his own sovereign power in check. Lord Dalhousie was determined that this unsatisfactory state of things should not be allowed to continue, and he brought his clear head, practical judgment, and resolute will to the solution of the difficulty.

Lord Dalhousie's movements, 1849. In August, 1849, he directed the Resident to intimate that arrangements must be made to liquidate the debt by the 31st December, 1850.

This communication produced no result. At the appointed period, not only had no attempt been made to cope with the debt, but it was augmented to seventy lacs by fresh advances on account of the Contingent. Accordingly, in May, 1851, Lord Dalhousie addressed a letter to the Nizam desiring him

to make over certain districts, specified in a schedule, to cover the past and the growing obligations. The Nizam, who had been apprized of the transmission of the communication, anticipated its official delivery by appointing Seraj-ool-moolk, the grandson of the great Meer Alum, and the ablest man at the court, to the office of minister, and likewise pledged his royal word to discharge half the debt immediately, and the remainder by the 31st October, as well as to appropriate the revenue of certain districts to the payment of the Contingent. The first instalment was paid by money raised at an exorbitant premium; the second was neglected; the pay of the Contingent again fell into arrears, and the officers and men were driven to the bankers, who accommodated them at the rate of twenty-four per cent. Again were advances made by the Resident, and the debt, notwithstanding the recent payments, swelled to fifty lacs of rupees. Four years of evasion on the part of the Nizam had worn out the patience of Lord Dalhousie. In one of those lucid and exhaustive Minutes in which he was accustomed to record the ground, and to furnish the justification, of his decisions on public questions, he examined the subject of the Contingent in a moral and practical point of view. The sole cause, he observed, of all the discord which vexes the two states is the Contingent, for which the Resident maintains a constant wrestle with the Dewan, and which transforms the representative of the British Government, by turns, into an importunate creditor, and a bailiff in execution. If the Nizam had at any time refused, or should now refuse to maintain the Contingent any longer, the Government of India could not make good any right by treaty to enforce the continuance of it. Our simple right was to require 15,000 infantry and cavalry of the Nizam's army in time of war, and this provision has been made to justify our requiring the Nizam to uphold a force of 7,000 men and twenty-four guns, officered by British officers, and controlled by the British Resident, in time of peace. Neither the words nor the intention of the treaty can

Lord Dalhousie's
Minute, 30th
March, 1853.

be held to warrant such a construction of its obligations. But, the rulers of Hyderabad, having for forty years consented to maintain this field force on certain terms, are bound faithfully to fulfil those terms as long as the original consent to its maintenance is not withdrawn. The present Nizam, though he has enquired in moments of irritation why the Contingent was kept up when there was no war, has steadily resisted every attempt to reduce it by a single bayonet or sabre. It has been upheld of his own free will. However anomalous in its origin, it has become a practical necessity, and the Nizam has repeatedly declared that his government cannot be carried on without its assistance. It is required as a counterpoise to the large and disorderly body of foreign mercenaries who continually threaten the peace of the country. Lord Dalhousie proceeded to remark that the Government owed much consideration to the Nizam, for having allowed the Contingent to be maintained at a larger cost than was necessary to secure him all the advantages of it, and that it would be worth the while of Government and worthy of its dignity, to obtain an adjustment of a question which disturbed the amity of the two states, even at a considerable sacrifice. He therefore proposed the draft of a treaty to be submitted to the Nizam, which should place the Contingent on a definite and permanent footing, determine its strength and its duties, provide for its punctual payment, and effect an equitable settlement of the interest and principal of the debt. Including the pay of these troops, the interest of the debt, and certain annuities to native chiefs guaranteed by the Government of India, the annual payments of the Nizam amounted to between forty-two and forty-three lacs of rupees, and Lord Dalhousie proposed to require the transfer of territory yielding between thirty-six and thirty-seven lacs. By this arrangement the Nizam would benefit to the extent of six lacs of rupees a-year, besides being exempted from the repayment of a debt of nearly half a crore of rupees. If, remarked Lord Dalhousie, the Nizam should determine not to continue the Contingent, and refuse to make

assignments for its support, the whole force must be broken up; but the Government of India cannot consent at once to let loose on the country a large body of trained troops, and thus endanger its peace and security. The reduction must necessarily be gradual, and the assignment of districts must still be made to meet the expenses of the force while the disbandment is in progress, and to secure the liquidation of the debt, both principal and interest. When these objects are accomplished, the districts will be restored to the Nizam. Sir Frederick Currie and Mr. Lewis, the two members of Council, fully acquiesced in the sentiments and the propositions of the Governor-General's Minute.

The Nizam manifested the deepest reluctance to the proposal. He said there were two royal maxims which he held sacred,—never to part with territory, and never to dismiss soldiers who had been useful to the state. When the Resident presented the draft of the treaty, a long and acrimonious discussion ensued, in the course of which he said that his Highness had only to declare that he did not require the Contingent, and the Governor-General would gradually reduce it, and then restore the districts. The Nizam exclaimed, “I beg you to assure him that I do not want the present strength of the Contingent reduced; I am able and willing to pay it month by month, and I undertake to do so, independent of the minister;” but he had neither the power nor the intention to fulfil these grand promises. The debt of the state amounted to three crores of rupees, borrowed at usurious interest, and its finances had not been in so hopeless a condition for half a century. The minister and the principal officers of the durbar considered the proposed arrangement highly advantageous to the interests of the kingdom, but for a fortnight the Nizam turned a deaf ear to all their representations. Seraj-ool-moolk at length succeeded in purchasing the goodwill of a favourite and confidential valet, who exercised a paramount influence over the mind of his master. The treaty was speedily accepted, but with modifications to suit the

Conclusion of
the Treaty and
its results, 1853.

wishes of the Nizam. The sovereignty of the assigned districts was still to remain with him, and they were to be made over to the management, not of the Government of Madras or Bombay, but of the Resident at his court, who was to render a faithful account of receipts and disbursements, and to remit the surplus revenue to his treasury. The question which was thus solved by the talent of Lord Dalhousie, and by the skill, firmness, and judgment of Colonel Low, the Resident, to whom the entire management of the negotiations was committed, was one of the most perplexing which had ever been brought before the Indian authorities, and the arrangement was one of the masterstrokes of the Governor-General's policy. It encountered the opposition of that section of the Court of Directors which was given to fondling the sensibilities of native princes, and who, on this occasion, seemed to forget that the question was one for practical statesmanship and not for the fancies of philanthropy. In passing their judgment upon it, the Court of Directors said that they regarded with the greatest satisfaction this mode of settling our pecuniary relations with the Nizam's government; they sanctioned the treaty, and conveyed their cordial thanks to the Governor-General and the officers employed by him. They were fully justified in their approval of it. Seldom has there been a settlement in India from which all parties have derived such equal advantages. It delivered both Governments from those derogatory disputes about money which disturbed the harmony of their intercourse. It relieved the British treasury from incessant but uncertain demands; it absolved the Nizam from the obligations of a debt of nearly half a crore of rupees, and reduced his annual responsibilities in a very material degree, while it bestowed on the people thus transferred to our charge the inestimable benefit of those institutions which had been brought to maturity in the Punjab. The territory thus placed under British control, and brought within the circle of British enterprise, included the great cotton field of Berar, and Lord Dalhousie immediately laid the foundation of a railway for the conveyance

of its produce to the port of Bombay. To the inhabitants of that district the assignment brought the age of gold during the civil war in America, while it furnished a grateful supply of the raw material to the manufacturers of England. Two years after the settlement, Lord Dalhousie, finding that the revenues of the districts he had taken over exceeded the requirements, restored territory yielding three lacs of rupees a-year. The treaty was revised by his successor in 1860, when the British Government gave back all the districts which had been surrendered, with the exception of Berar, the revenues of which were found to be sufficient to cover the sum to which the expenses of the Contingent had been reduced, and the whole amount of the debt, principal and interest, was wiped out. The family of the Nizam of Hyderabad, which has not produced a single ruler of even ordinary capacity, since the death of its great founder, has been the most fortunate of all the royal houses of India. At the close of the last century, it was rescued by Lord Wellesley from the ambition and rapacity of the Mahrattas, through the guarantee of British protection. Since that period there has been no diminution of its territory. If Lord Wellesley took over large districts for the payment of the subsidiary force in 1801, and incorporated them with the Company's dominions, they consisted of those which he and Lord Cornwallis had bestowed on the Nizam from the spoils of Tippoo Sultan. If Lord Dalhousie took over another province for the support of the Contingent in 1853, it consisted of the territory with which Lord Hastings had enriched the Nizam from the spoils of Nagpore in 1819. While every other throne in the Deccan has become extinct, the Tartar dynasty founded by Nizam-ool-moolk retains in all its integrity the territory which the Mahrattas had left it seventy years before.

Nana Sahib,
1853.

Bajee Rao, the ex-Peshwa, died at Bithoor, in January, 1853, at the age of seventy-seven. The circumstances connected with his surrender in 1818 have been detailed in a former chapter, and it is only necessary to

remark that he did not open a negotiation with Sir John Malcolm until the divisions of the British army were closing upon him in every direction. He was allowed an interview with Sir John, who advised him either to throw himself on the consideration of the British Government, or manfully to resolve on further resistance. "Resistance," exclaimed Bajee Rao, "how can I resist; am I not surrounded; am I not enclosed?" It was in these desperate circumstances that Sir John offered him a pension for himself and his family of eight lacs of rupees a-year. Lord Hastings, who had destined him an annuity of only two lacs, was mortified to find it quadrupled by the pliability of his representative. "I well knew," he wrote to him, "that the vagabond would try every appeal to your kindness, and I thought you might have a little too much sympathy with fallen greatness. It is a condition which ordinarily challenges respect, but when it is the condition of so thorough and incorrigible a scoundrel as Bajee Rao, one sees in it only deserved punishment." Sir John stated in reply, that he was convinced it would not have been possible to obtain his submission on other terms, that the provision made for him was indeed most princely, and far beyond what he had, from his treacherous conduct, any right to expect; but then it was only a life pension. Mr. Prinsep, the Secretary to Government in attendance on the Governor-General, and the author of the History of the Mahratta and Pindaree campaigns, which is the highest authority on these transactions, says: "The principal objection to this arrangement was the extent of the personal allowance provided to his Highness, amounting to no less than £100,000 a-year for life." Mr. Kaye, in his excellent life of Sir John Malcolm, also describes Bajee Rao as a simple annuitant, who drew his pension for a quarter of a century. If any further evidence be required to determine the character of this grant, it is furnished by Bajee Rao himself, who, after having adopted Dhoondoo Punt—Nana Sahib—as his son, repeatedly appealed to the generosity of Government to provide for his family after his death, which he would not have done if he

had considered the pension hereditary. Bajee Rao died, at length, after having received the sum of two crores and a-half of rupees, with the reputation of being immensely rich—hoarding was the passion of his life—but his adopted son did not acknowledge an accumulation of more than twenty-eight lacs of rupees. The Nana then petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra to continue the pension, or some portion of it, for the support of the family, but Mr. Thomason discouraged every hope of further assistance, and advised that the retainers should return to the Deccan, but he granted him the town and jageer of Bithoor rent free for life. Lord Dalhousie, to whom the matter was referred, considered that the grant was for life only, and that the family had no further claim on the Government; that Bajee Rao had received the enormous sum of two millions and a-half sterling, out of which he ought to have made adequate provision for them. The Nana then despatched an envoy to London to appeal to the Court of Directors, claiming the continuance of the pension, as a matter of right, grounded on the expression in the original settlement that it was intended for “the Peshwa and his family,” which he said was designed to include heirs, both natural and adopted. But this term was used by Sir John simply to distinguish the allowance to Bajee Rao and his family from the separate provision which he made for “his principal jageerdars, for his old adherents, for brahmins of respectable character, and for religious establishments founded or supported by his family.” The Nana had the effrontery to assert that this annuity was granted in consideration of the territory, valued at thirty-four lacs a-year, which Bajee Rao had ceded to the Company, and that the enjoyment of the one was contingent on the payment of the other. This demand, more especially on the part of an adopted son, for the continuation of a pension which the grantor declared to be for life only, after a sum of two crores and a-half of rupees had been paid on the strength of it, was universally regarded at the time by all who heard of it in India, natives and Europeans, as the most preposterous and

impudent request which had ever been made to Government. It was unceremoniously rejected by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The enraged Nana took advantage of the mutiny to obtain his revenge by inflicting barbarities on all the English who fell into his hands, which are not paralleled in the history of crime. It has been whispered that some palliation may be discovered for the atrocities he committed in what is called Lord Dalhousie's breach of national faith in the matter of his pension. But neither in this case nor in that of the raneé of Jhansi is it equitable to infer that the refusal of their claims was unjustifiable simply because an opportunity was subsequently presented to them of wreaking their vengeance on innocent Europeans, men, women, and children. The real character of the annexation of Jhansi and the discontinuance of the pension to Nana Sahib are to be determined upon their own intrinsic merits, and not by a reference to the diabolical crimes of those whose expectations were disappointed.

It has been stated in a former chapter that the Mysore, 1799-1856. insufferable misrule of the raja of Mysore for twenty years, which culminated in rebellion, constrained Lord William Bentinck in 1831 to assume the entire management of the country. The administration was placed in the hands of General Cubbon, one of the great statesmen of the Company's service, who conducted it for twenty-five years with such efficiency and success, as to surprise even the Government of India. The record of his administration was pronounced by Lord Dalhousie to be honourable to the British name, and to reflect the highest credit upon the exertions of the valuable body of officers by whom these great results had been accomplished. Every department had felt the hand of reform. In that of civil and criminal justice, regularity, order, and purity had been introduced, where, under native rule, caprice, uncertainty, and corruption prevailed. Works of public improvement had been prosecuted with a liberal hand. Taxes had been reduced to the extent of eleven lacs of rupees a-year, and the revenue had nevertheless increased from forty-four

to eighty-two lacs. It was, as Lord Dalhousie remarked, to the ability and judgment of General Cubbon, and to his long continued and vigilant superintendence, that the British Government owed, in a great measure, the successful issue of its interposition in the affairs of Mysore. In 1847, the raja requested Lord Hardinge to restore the government to him. A reference was made to General Cubbon, who replied that any improvement that had taken place in the condition and resources of the country, had been effected in spite of the opposition he had met with on the part of the Maharaja and his partisans, and that the conduct of his Highness during his suspension from power, afforded no security that the crisis which induced his supersession, would not recur in the event of his restoration. The request of the raja was, therefore, negatived. In 1856 he made a similar application to Lord Dalhousie, who investigated the question with great assiduity, and arrived at the conclusion that it was impossible to reinstate the raja, pointing out at the same time, that the treaty was personal and not dynastic. The accuracy of this assertion had been impugned, but it has been placed beyond controversy by a reference to the original papers of 1799. Lord Wellesley, which show, moreover, by the multiplicity of alterations, the care he bestowed on the wording of the treaty. In the draft drawn up by Colonel Kirkpatrick, the fifth article ran thus:—"The contracting parties mutually and severally agree, that the districts in Schedule C shall be ceded to the Maharaja, and his heirs and successors, for ever, and shall form the separate Government of Mysore." Lord Wellesley struck out the words "heirs and successors," with both pencil and pen, noting in the margin, "this is unnecessary and dangerous." In the fair copy of the treaty he wrote in the margin, "this clause is approved with the omission of the words struck out with the pen," and he attested the note with his signature "Mornington." Colonel Kirkpatrick pointed out to him, that if the guarantee clause of the treaty were allowed to remain, the raja would be placed

in the same position as regarded heirs and successors as the Nizam; to which Lord Wellesley replied, "strike it out." In the original draft of the subsidiary treaty it was stated that "it should be binding on the contracting parties, and their heirs and successors, as long as the sun and moon should endure." Lord Wellesley again struck out the words "heirs and successors," but left in the oriental flourish about the sun and the moon. These extracts prove to a demonstration that the settlement made with the raja was intended by Lord Wellesley to be strictly personal, and that he carefully excluded every expression which might be supposed to imply a right of hereditary succession.

Subsequent
history of
Mysore, 1867.

To bring the history of the Mysore raj to a close. The raja solicited Lord Canning to reinstate him in the Government, but it was refused on the ground that "it was his conviction, founded on an experience of the past, that if the authority of the British officers were removed, or even hampered, the peace and prosperity of the country would be at an end." In 1862, the raja renewed his request to Lord Elgin, but with no better success. He then appealed to the present Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence, who upheld the decision of his four predecessors, which was likewise sanctioned by Sir Charles Wood. The raja then proceeded to adopt a son, and required that he should be recognized as his successor in the sovereignty, but, under the rule laid down by the Court of Directors sixteen years before, it was refused both in India and in England. Thus stood the question when the Whigs retired from office in 1866. Even if the treaty with the raja had included heirs and successors, it would still have come within the category of those principalities, like Sattara, the offspring of our "gratuitous benevolence" which the Government had a right to resume on the failure of natural heirs. But in this case, the words heirs and successors had been expressly excluded. This was fully admitted by Lord Cranbourne, the Conservative Secretary of State for India, who stated in the House, "I must express most em-

phatically the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the rights conferred on the Maharaja terminated with his life." The treaty in fact became extinct on his death, and if he left natural heirs, they had no right of succession; the territory reverted to those who had bestowed it. But the present Secretary of State for India has overruled all the decisions of the Government which preceded him, as well as of five successive Governors-General, and has ordered the re-establishment of a native sovereignty in Mysore, and the surrender of the country to the child whom the raja has adopted, on his coming of age. With all the lessons of experience before us, it is difficult to conceive any adequate reason for this new policy, by which the government of four millions of people, after they have enjoyed for nearly fifty years the inestimable benefit of a wise, liberal, and beneficent administration, is relegated to the caprices and oppressions of a native prince. "To supplant," says Sir John Grant, in his *Oude Minute*, "the British Government of any province by the best native government that ever yet existed, is in one moment to abolish law, and establish arbitrary power in its place." If it was deemed necessary to make some concession to the spirit of agitation which the raja has raised in this country, it might have been sufficient, as an act of grace, to continue the titular sovereignty, and the sixth of the revenues which the raja now enjoys, to the boy when he comes of age, to furnish him with the means of personal gratification. But to sacrifice to a new theory the welfare of a whole people, whose interests we are bound to hold sacred, and to demolish the fabric of prosperity we have been building up for half a century, is so repugnant to every feeling of humanity, that before the period for consummating this policy arrives, it is to be hoped that some future Secretary of State will be found to annul it, as the present Secretary has annulled the decision of his predecessor.

CHAPTER XLII.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION—OUDE—ADMINISTRATIVE
AND MATERIAL IMPROVEMENTS—CONCLUSION, 1848-1856.

Chronic misrule
in Oude, 1801-
1856.

THE history of our connection with Oude has been given in preceding chapters down to the time of Lord William Bentinck. No province in India had suffered the affliction of misgovernment for so long a period. The people had scarcely known repose or happiness since the first Nabob, the Khorasan merchant, acquired the principality by treachery. As early as 1779, Warren Hastings remonstrated with the prince on the dissipation of his revenues and the oppression of his subjects. The expostulation was repeated by Lord Cornwallis and by Sir John Shore, but without effect. At the beginning of this century, Lord Wellesley found that "the inveterate abuses which pervaded every department of Government destroyed the foundations of public prosperity and individual happiness," and he pronounced that the only substantial remedy for these evils was to vest the exclusive administration of the civil and military government in the hands of the Company. In 1801 a large portion of the territory was made over to them, and a treaty was concluded with the Nabob, by which he, on his part, bound himself to introduce into his reserved dominions a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and invariably to act in conformity with the advice of the Resident, while the British Government, on its part, engaged to defend his dominions from all foreign and domestic enemies. So little, however, was this pledge regarded by him, that in the course of thirteen years, he amassed a sum of no less than thirteen

crores of rupees, though the annual revenue of the country was only a trifle in excess of a crore of rupees a-year. In 1831, Lord William Bentinck, who was distinguished by a desire to maintain the independence of native princes, proceeded to Lucknow, and after describing the flagrant abuses of his Government, assured the king—he had been raised to royal dignity by Lord Hastings—that matters had come to such a pass, that unless prompt measures were adopted to reform them, and to govern the country for the benefit of the people, in conformity with the treaty of 1801, the British Government would assume the entire administration till order was restored, and reduce him to the condition of a pensioner of the state, like the raja of Tanjore and the Nabobs of the Carnatic and Moorshedabad. To impress this warning more deeply on his mind, it was likewise left with him in writing. The Court of Directors, in their remarks on this proceeding, observed that the Oude administration had become progressively more inefficient and oppressive, till the country presented a scene of anarchy and tyranny scarcely paralleled in any other part of India; and they gave the Governor-General the fullest authority to carry out his intentions, and assume the temporary administration of the country. The reformation which this menace produced was, however, very short-lived, and in 1837 Lord Auckland constrained the Nabob to enter into a new treaty for the protection of his subjects, but it contained stipulations which induced the Court of Directors to disallow it, and it became void. In 1847, Lord Hardinge proceeded to Lucknow to remonstrate in person with the king upon the state of desolation to which the country was reduced, and gave him a solemn warning that if at the end of two years there should not be a complete reform in his administration, the Government would assuredly carry into effect the orders received from the Court of Directors in 1834, and deprive him of the management of the country.

Colonel Sleeman, 1851. Soon afterwards, Colonel Sleeman was appointed Resident, and made a tour through the country to

ascertain from personal observation the condition of the people and the character of the administration. The valuable journal which he presented to Government on his return to Lucknow, presented a black record of crimes and misery. The king's army of 70,000 men which, while British troops protected the throne from all domestic and foreign foes, was altogether redundant, received scanty and uncertain pay, and was employed only in preying on the people. As soon as a regiment reached its encamping ground, foraging parties were sent out to rob the villagers of provisions, and to bring in the roofs, doors, and windows of their houses for fuel. In the peaceable parts of the country, the Colonel remarked, not a house was to be seen with a thatched or tiled covering. It was impossible to conceive a greater curse to a country than such a body of licentious, predatory, and disorganized soldiery. The people affirmed that rebels and robbers sometimes spared them, but the king's troops never. There were 246 forts or strongholds in the country, with 476 guns, held by first-class landholders, chiefly Rajpoots. They had converted into jungle large tracts of the most fertile land in Oude, extending many miles round their castles, which became the dens of lawless men who infested all parts of the country, set the Government at defiance, and levied intolerable imposts on all traders and travellers. Within sixteen miles of the capital one landholder had converted thirty miles of rich land into a dense jungle, and erected four fortifications within its circle. One rapacious and brutal revenue contractor had driven off hundreds of the wives and children of the cultivators from entire towns and villages, and had not only sold the cattle and the implements of husbandry but the men themselves, and thus reduced a smiling district to desolation. The king, immured in his palace, was invisible except to his women, singers, musicians, and buffoons, and the minister, whom he sometimes saw, was obliged to succumb to them. His favourite fiddler was appointed chief justice. The chief singer, was, *de facto*, king of Oude; justice was openly bought and sold, and nothing was seen but corruption, from the monarch

on the throne to the lowest functionary. Every officer on his appointment was obliged to pay heavy *douceurs* to the king, to the heir apparent, to the minister, and to every one who was supposed to have interest at court. He reimbursed himself by extortions, all the more severe for being necessarily rapid, since he was never certain of his post for a single day. The king never read a report, and the great object of his ministers and his favourites was to guard him from the cares of business. This system of misrule was in some measure mitigated by the privileges which the sepoys in the Company's service enjoyed of transmitting their complaints through their own commanding officer to the Resident, who was required to take them up, and use his influence, which was all powerful, to obtain redress. With few exceptions, every agricultural family in Oude planted one of its members in the Company's army, and thus obtained the protection of British power. It will, therefore, be no matter of surprise that there should be 40,000 Oude sepoys in the ranks of the native army, when the enlistment made them a privileged class in their own misgoverned country. In presenting his report on the state of the administration to Government, Colonel Sleeman stated that "his friendly feelings towards native states, and his earnest desire to do everything in his power, and consistent with his duties, to support them, were so generally known in India, that his nomination to the Lucknow Residency was considered by all native chiefs as the surest pledge the Governor-General could give of his earnest desire, if possible, to maintain the native sovereignty of Oude in all its integrity." But, he remarked, fifty years of sad experience have shown that the hopes in which the treaty of 1801 was founded, that while the British Government defended the king from all enemies, foreign or domestic, he should by means of his own officers carry out a system of administration calculated to secure life and property, and to promote the happiness of the people, were utterly fallacious. "He did not think that with a due regard to its own character, as the paramount power in India, and to the

particular obligations by which it was bound by solemn treaties to the suffering people of this distracted country, the Government could any longer forbear to take over the administration." No reigning family in India, he added, had a juster claim for its loyalty to the protection and consideration of Government; but this claim could not be expected to embrace the privilege of rendering wretched in perpetuity, five millions whose welfare and happiness the British Government was bound by solemn treaties to promote. He advised that on assuming the Government of the country, such provision should be made for the king as would enable him and his family and dependents to live, in perpetuity, in suitable dignity and comfort.

General Outram was appointed Resident at Lucknow in 1854, and directed to institute a minute and searching enquiry into the condition of the people and the administration. He was required to report whether the country was still in the same state which Colonel Sleeman had described, and whether any progress had been made in the correction of abuses which Lord William Bentinck had peremptorily demanded thirteen years before, and for which Lord Hardinge had given the king two years of grace. He reported that there was not only no improvement whatever, but no prospect of any. The vices of the Government were inherent in its constitution, and absolutely incurable. He had no hesitation, therefore, in affirming that the duty imposed on the British Government by treaty could no longer admit of its honestly indulging the reluctance it had hitherto felt of having recourse to the decisive measure of assuming the government. "In pronouncing," he said "an opinion so unfavourable to the reigning family of Oude, I have performed a painful duty. I have ever advocated the maintenance of the few remaining states in India, so long as we can, consistently with our duty as the paramount power and the pledges of our treaties. It is distressing to me to find that in upholding the sovereign power of this effete and

General
Outram's report,
1855.

incapable dynasty, we do it at the cost of five millions of people, for whom we are bound to secure good government."

Lord Dalhousie's
Minute, 1855.

General Outram's report was transmitted to Lord Dalhousie while residing for his health at Ootacamund, and he drew up one of his great and comprehensive Minutes upon it. "For the convenience of those to whom it would belong to decide the future fate of Oude," he made a complete and masterly analysis of the evidence which had been given during a long series of years of the gross and inveterate abuses of power in Oude. He collected together the opinions which had been recorded of our solemn obligations to the people, by those officers of Government who were distinguished by their anxiety to maintain the existing royal families, and then proceeded to state that, if it were not for the presence of British troops, the people would long since have worked their own deliverance. Our Government was, therefore, heavily responsible for having so long tolerated this disregard of the treaty of 1801, and for all the ills and human suffering which had sprung therefrom. The time had now arrived when inaction on our part could no longer be justified, and was already converting responsibility into guilt. "But," he added, "the rulers of Oude, however unfaithful to the trust conferred on them, have yet ever been faithful and true in their allegiance to British power. No wavering friendship has ever been laid to their charge, and they have aided us, as best they could, in the hour of our utmost need. Although we are bound by all the means in our power to amend the lot of a people whom we have so long indirectly injured, justice and gratitude nevertheless require that in so doing we should lower the dignity and authority of the sovereign of Oude no farther than is absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of our righteous ends. The reform of the administration may be wrought, and the prospects of the people secured, without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne, and I, for my part, do not advocate the advice that the province of Oude be declared

British territory." He proposed, therefore, that the king should retain the sovereignty of all the territory which he possessed, that he should vest the whole of the civil and military administration in the hands of the Company; that an annual stipend should be allotted for the support of his honour and dignity, and due provision be made for all the members of the royal family, besides his own children. The scheme which Lord Dalhousie thus proposed differed from that of Colonel Sleeman only in regard to the surplus revenue, which he proposed to expend entirely for the benefit of the royal family and the people of Oude. Lord Dalhousie, on the other hand, remarked that the revenue of the country might be expected largely to increase under the judicious management of our own officers, and that the British Government would not be justified in making over so considerable a surplus to the reigning sovereign, to be unprofitably squandered in the follies, vices, and excesses of a native court. He considered that the British Government ought to be at liberty to devote to the general advantage of the Indian empire some portion of that surplus of which its own exertions would have been the sole origin and creative cause. He likewise urged, that the arrangement should be perpetual and not transitory. He cited the cases of Hyderabad and Nagpore, where the country had flourished under British management, and had been desolated when restored to the native princes.

Opinions of the
Members of
Council, 1855.

The members of Council unanimously concurred in the opinion that the Government of India could no longer postpone the assumption of the entire administration, but they were divided in their views regarding the mode in which this was to be effected, two of them siding with Lord Dalhousie, and two others voting for a more radical measure. General Low, who had been Resident at Lucknow, and was thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the people and the Government, and who had, moreover, recently resisted the annexation of Nagpore, declared it to be his deliberate opinion that "the disorders of Oude were of so long

standing and so deeply rooted, and the corruption of the public officers so general and so inveterate that there was now no other remedy available for effecting and maintaining a just government over the people of Oude than that of placing the whole of its territory, *exclusively* and *permanently*, under the direct management of the East India Company." In a subsequent Minute he said "the scheme I advocate may be considered harsh towards the king himself, individually, but I contend that it would only be a fulfilment of our own obligations to the people of Oude." He wished, however, to avoid the assertion contained in Lord Dalhousie's Minute, that the king should retain his sovereignty, and desired to substitute for it that he should retain the rank and title, and all the honours heretofore enjoyed by him as sovereign of Oude. He saw no objection to the application of the surplus revenue to the general interests of the empire, but proposed that "after a *bond fide* peaceful and beneficial government to the inhabitants of the country should be fully established in the Oude territory, the king should receive an addition of three or four lacs a-year to his income." The Minute of Mr.—now Sir Barnes—Peacock, the legislative Member of Council, was replete with the refinements of legal analysis, and concluded with advising that in conformity with the proposal of the Governor-General, the province of Oude should not be declared British territory, but that the civil and military administration should be vested in the Company. Mr. Dorin earnestly seconded the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie that the transfer of power should be permanent. In support of this opinion he cited the recent case of the raja of Sorapore, who had been carefully trained as a minor by the Governor of Bombay, but when invested with the Government of his principality on coming of age, so completely disorganized the administration in one short year, that no respectable adherent was safe under his auspices. This case of failure, he remarked, "teaches us the bitter lesson that, with all our care, we may still be unable to impress on the minds of the native princes of India, even with education, a proper

sense of their responsibilities." But he recommended that the king of Oude should be required to abdicate his sovereignty, and that the province should be incorporated with the possessions of the British Crown. Mr.—now Sir John—Grant, Governor of Jamaica, took up the subject from a different point of view, and brought his extraordinary powers of argumentation to bear on the discussion of it, but he coincided with Mr. Dorin, and came to the conclusion that "the incorporation of Oude with the territories administered by the British Indian Government was the best measure on the whole, which could be adopted for the good government of the people, and that the East India Company had a clear right to adopt it."

Decision of the
home authorities, 1855.

These Minutes were transmitted to England. It was a great and important question, and it received earnest and conscientious deliberation for two months, when the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, and the Cabinet, came to the unanimous determination to overrule the advice of Lord Dalhousie, and to adopt what he had endeavoured to dissuade them from, as an "extreme measure," the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne;—thus ended the sovereignty of Oude. In communicating his Minute to the India House, Lord Dalhousie had stated, that if they considered his experience of eight years likely to arm him with greater authority for carrying their decision into effect than a Governor-General just entering on the Government, he was ready to undertake the duty, though it would doubtless be assailed by those who were ever on the watch to attack the policy of the Indian Government. On the arrival of the orders from England, he prepared to carry them into execution with promptitude, though so ill as scarcely to be able to move. A body of troops was moved up to the frontier. General Outram was instructed to endeavour to persuade the king to sign the treaty which transferred the government to the Company. He received the communication with an undignified burst of tears, said he was a miserable wretch, and placed his turban in the lap of the Resident; he positively

refused to affix his signature to the treaty, and a Proclamation was accordingly issued, declaring the province of Oude to be a component part of the British empire in India. Not a blow was struck in favour of the dynasty; there were no popular risings, and the whole body of the people went over peaceably to their new rulers. An allowance of fifteen lacs of rupees a-year—more than a seventh of the revenues of the country—was allotted for the support of the king and his palace guards. An elaborate scheme of administration, on the model of that of the Punjab, was drawn up by Lord Dalhousie, which embraced every possible contingency in every department. Compared with the plan of government for Bengal drafted eighty years before by the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings—who was in no respect inferior to the last,—it exhibits a proof of the vast progress which had been immediately made in the science of oriental administration.

Remarks, 1856. The assumption of the Government of Oude was the fulfilment of a sacred obligation to the people, which had for half a century been acknowledged without exception by all the public officers, not excepting even those who advocated the continuance of native dynasties. The condition of that province was forcibly delineated in an eloquent article which appeared in the columns of the leading journal of England several years before the annexation. "Rebellion and deposition," the writer remarked, "were the correctives of despotism, in India. This remedy we have taken away from the inhabitants of the states still governed by native princes. We give those princes power without responsibility. Our hand of iron maintains them on the throne despite their imbecility, their vices, and their crimes. The result is in most of these states a chronic anarchy, under which the revenues of the state are dissipated between the mercenaries of the camp and the minions of the court. The heavy and arbitrary taxes levied on the miserable ryots serve only to feed the meanest and the most degenerate of mankind. The theory seems in fact admitted, that government is not for the people

but for the king, and that so long as we secure him his sinecure royalty, we discharge all the duty that we, as sovereigns of India, owe to his subjects, who are virtually ours." It was from this deplorable condition that Lord Dalhousie's measure was intended to relieve Oude. The abolition of the throne and of the king's sovereignty, were added to it by the home authorities. The equity and justice of the measure were not impaired by the revolt of the province in the succeeding year. The large and powerful body of zemindars, from whose tyranny we were anxious to deliver the people, were not likely to neglect the opportunity of rising against us when they saw our power in Hindostan shaken to its foundation, and Oude left with only a mere handful of European troops,—not a tenth of the number left in the Punjab to maintain our authority on its annexation. Neither was it to be expected that when 40,000 Oude sepoys were in a state of mutiny, their kinsmen and connections, forming, according to the estimate of the Resident, one tenth of the population would remain firm in their allegiance to a foreign power which appeared to be tottering. The rescue of five millions of people from a state of the deepest misery was, notwithstanding the mutiny, an act of benevolence which Lord Dalhousie might justly congratulate himself on having had an opportunity of performing.

Administrative
reforms, 1848-
1856.

The period of Lord Dalhousie's administration, which extended to eight years, was rendered memorable, not less by administrative reforms and material progress, than by its political results. There was no division of the public service in any portion of the empire, which his keen eye did not penetrate, and into which his strong hand did not introduce substantial reforms. He simplified and lubricated the whole machinery of the Government. He had an unconquerable aversion to what he considered the cumbersome and obstructive agency of Boards, and he considered individual responsibility to be the secret of success in public business. He abolished the Board of Customs, Salt

and Opium, and transferred its duties to the Board of Revenue which he, unhappily, left standing, but which the depopulation of Orissa by famine in the present year,—chiefly through its supineness,—will doubtless consign to the tomb. In no branch of the service were his reforms more radical and more beneficial than in the military department. He had not been many months in India, before the approach of the second Punjab war and its exigencies, convinced him of the necessity of a complete reorganization of our whole system of military economy, and he remarked that he would have demolished the venerable and senile Military Board at once, if he did not apprehend that the Court might exclaim, “What is the boy about?” The Board was not only viciously constituted, but loaded with duties, which could not have been efficiently performed by it, even if its organization had been perfect. After a complete investigation of the subject, he withdrew from its control, in the first instance, the Army Commissariat, one of the most important departments of the army, on the efficiency of which its movements in the field depend. It was placed in the hands of a Commissary-General; and the practice of keeping accounts in Persian, which had lingered for nearly a century was at the same time abolished, and they were ordered to be rendered at once in English. Next followed the Stud department, which, at the suggestion of the Court of Directors, was invigorated by unity of control and responsibility. In like manner, the Ordnance Commissariat, with its powder manufactures, gun foundry and gun carriage agency, was placed under a single officer. The Board had likewise been laden with the superintendence of all public works, and in no department of duty had our failure been more palpable and more flagrant. Compared with our Mahomedan predecessors, we had nothing to shew for our dynasty; and it was not inaptly remarked, that if we were obliged to quit the country there would remain no token of our rule but empty soda water bottles. The Court of Directors became at length fully alive

The Military
Board, 1860.

Public Works
Department,
1852.

to the scandal of this neglect, and ordered a Commission of enquiry to be appointed at each Presidency. It was on the receipt of their report that Lord Dalhousie proceeded to reorganize the system, root and branch. The charge of the works was withdrawn from the Board—which was then abolished—and a Public Works Department became one of the institutions of Government, with a separate Secretary, not only to the Government of India, but to that of each Presidency. The responsibility of management was vested in a Chief Engineer, assisted by executive officers and subordinates appointed from England, and youths trained in the College of Roorkee, and at the corresponding colleges founded in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. This was, in fact, to supply the need which had long been felt in India of a civil engineering establishment. To secure the uninterrupted progress of these works, which had previously been prosecuted by spasmodic efforts, it was ordered that a schedule of all the undertakings which it was proposed to commence, or to carry on during the year, at each Presidency, and under each commissionership—now designated the budget—should be submitted at the beginning of the year to the Government of India. Funds were supplied with a lavish hand. The liberality with which Lord Dalhousie fed this department, which had been famished for many years, may be gathered from the fact, that while the entire sum expended during the seventeen preceding years, including the repairs of civil and military buildings, had not on an average exceeded seventeen lacs of rupees a-year, the expenditure in the last year of his administration fell little short of three hundred lacs.

Education, 1848-
1855.

The cause of education received special encouragement from Lord Dalhousie. Mr. Thomason, the enlightened Governor of the north-west provinces, had established a Government vernacular school in each revenue division of certain districts under his charge. The experiment was attended with such signal success, that Lord Dalhousie resolved to extend the system to the whole of the north-west provinces

as well as to Bengal and the Punjab—but vernacular education has never yet been duly appreciated by those who have hitherto exercised power in Bengal. At the suggestion of Mr. Bethune, the legislative Member of Council, who devoted his time and his purse to the cause of female education, Lord Dalhousie officially announced that the education of females was considered by the British Government an object of national importance, and he was the first Governor-General who had the courage to proclaim this doctrine in the teeth of native prejudices. On the death of Mr. Bethune, he took on himself the support of the female school established by him. It was while engaged in devising plans for the improvement of education that he received the celebrated despatch of Sir Charles Wood, of July, 1854, which has justly been denominated “the Intellectual Charter of India,” and which Lord Dalhousie described as “containing a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the local or the Supreme Government could have ventured to suggest.” It embraced vernacular schools throughout the districts; Government colleges of a higher character, a university at each Presidency, to which all educational establishments, supported by the state, or by societies, or by individuals, might be affiliated; and above all, the glorious measure of grants in aid to all schools, without reference to caste or creed. Lord Dalhousie took immediate measures to carry out this large scheme; organized a distinct department of public instruction, and placed it under the responsibility of a Director-General, with a suitable staff of assistants.

Revenue,
finance, com-
merce, 1848-55.

The revenue of India was advanced during Lord Dalhousie's administration from twenty-six to thirty lacs of rupees. Yet, such is the elasticity of the resources of India under our scientific management, that even this large amount has since been augmented fifty per cent., and the income now stands at forty-five crores of rupees. The wars in which the Government of India had been engaged, with little interruption for more than ten years, had absorbed

thirty crores of rupees, and entailed an annual deficit; but for some little time after they had ceased there was a trifling surplus. The deficiency which appeared again during the last two years of Lord Dalhousie's rule, was occasioned by the copious expenditure which he authorized in the department of public works for the improvement of the country. During the period of eight years now under review, the commerce of Bombay was developed to an extraordinary extent, and that of Calcutta was doubled. The coasting trade was liberated from every obstruction; many improvements were sanctioned in the various ports from Kerachee to Rangoon, and light-houses erected in dangerous parts of the Indian and eastern seas. Lord Dalhousie's attention was equally bestowed on the improvement of internal navigation. Steamers were placed on the "silent Indus," for periodical trips between Mooltan and Kerachee, the port of Sind, destined one day to be the emporium of the trade of the Punjab and of Central Asia, but neither has this undertaking nor that of the guaranteed Company, which has since continued to work it, been marked by success. They have only served to demonstrate more clearly the necessity of completing the Sind railway to expand the commerce of the Punjab—and, not less, to bring its capital within forty hours of the sea, which is the basis of our security. After the conquest of Pegu, Lord Dalhousie transferred half the steam flotilla of Government to the delta of the Irawaddy, a country abounding in rivers, but destitute of roads. The apprehension which was entertained of interruption to the commerce of Calcutta from the silting up of the Hooghly led him to contemplate the establishment of an auxiliary port, and after careful surveys, he fixed upon the Mutlah, a channel in the Soonderbuns, twenty-eight miles east of Calcutta, which presents every facility of navigation for the largest vessels. Anticipating the future importance of the settlement, whenever its advantages should be fairly developed, he adopted the precaution of purchasing on behalf of Government, and for an inconsiderable sum, the large estate on which stood the site selected for the

new port. To the latest period of his administration he laboured earnestly to promote the undertaking ; but, by one of the caprices of fortune, the port has been ungratefully named after his successor, who treated the whole project with supreme contempt. Lord Dalhousie likewise gave every encouragement to the project of a bridge across the Hooghly, at Calcutta, which, after the establishment of the railway, became an indispensable necessity. Boring operations were commenced under his auspices ; but twelve years have since been allowed to elapse without any further progress in a work, which, if he had been in power, would long have been completed.

Low and uniform postage,
1853.

Private posts had long been established in India by the mercantile community, but Government had thought fit to abolish them under heavy penalties. The postage by the public mail was, for a poor population like that of India, prohibitory, and it was felt to be a severe tax even by the merchants. The importance of conferring on India the boon of cheap and uniform postage which had long been enjoyed in England, had frequently been suggested and discussed, but without any practical result, as is usually the case when there is not a resolute spirit of energy at the source of power. Lord Dalhousie took up the subject with his accustomed zeal, and appointed a commission, consisting of an experienced civilian from each Presidency, to revise the postal system of the empire, and to suggest improvements. Their report was submitted to the authorities in England, and, with their concurrence, Lord Dalhousie proceeded to remodel the postal economy of India, which he placed under one Director-General. He established a uniform rate of half an anna, or three farthings, for letters of a given weight, irrespective of distance, to be levied by means of stamps. He likewise procured a reduction of the rate of postage between England and India, and took no little pride in an arrangement by which, as he said, " the Scotch recruit at Peshawur might write to his mother at John O'Groat's house for sixpence." Of all the improvements of Lord Dalhousie's administration there was none

which conferred on the population a blessing so universally felt as the privilege of sending letters through the length and breadth of the land, if necessary, to a distance of two thousand miles, at a cost which placed the means of correspondence within the reach of the poorest.

Lord Dalhousie's
Journeys,
1848-55.

No Governor-General has ever traversed the vast dominions committed to his care to the same extent as Lord Dalhousie. He visited the Punjab, Madras, Pegu, and Sinde, investigating the state of the country and of the administration with his own eyes, and immediately turning his observations to practical account. Nor did he overlook the Straits settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore which had been visited but once by the head of the state. It was when inspecting the jail at Penang, that he perceived something resembling a gibbet within the walls, and found upon enquiry that it was the gallows on which criminals were executed. He ordered it immediately to be placed without, with the facetious remark that if its position came to be known in England, he should be liable to an impeachment for having permitted an infringement of the most ancient and indefeasible right of an Englishman,—to be hung in public. In order to keep the Government of India constantly and fully acquainted with the state of each division of the empire, he established the rule that the Governor of each Presidency and the chief of each province should annually transmit a report of every event of importance, and of the progress which had been made in the several departments. These reports have proved of the highest value. They have enabled the controlling authorities in England and in India to trace the progress of improvement in each province, year by year, and to compare the state of one province with that of another. They also furnish materials from which the nations of Europe may estimate the extent to which England is fulfilling her mission of civilization in India.

Roads and

Canals, 1848-55.

The great importance which Lord Dalhousie attached to the construction of roads and canals

has been illustrated in a preceding chapter by a reference to the great works with which he endowed the Punjab. Other provinces and districts were likewise benefited by improved means of communication, but two undertakings deserve to be selected for particular notice. No sooner had Pegu become a British province, than Lord Dalhousie perceived the necessity of connecting it with Bengal by a military road, and thus obviate the objections of the sepoy to the sea. A road was constructed from Dacca to Aracan, but not without a great sacrifice of life and money. To pass from Aracan to Pegu, it was necessary to cross the Yoma range through the Toungoo pass, which presented such formidable obstacles to the engineer that the construction of a road appeared at first an impracticable undertaking. The mountains were lofty; the forests were dense; water was scarce, and labour still more so, and the climate was so pestiferous as to reduce the working season to five months in the year. It was entrusted to Lieutenant Forlong, who succeeded in collecting, embodying, and training a brigade of Burmese labourers, and by his untiring zeal and energy completed the enterprise in two years. Another arduous and important work, executed under the orders of the Governor-General, was the road intended to stretch from the plains of Hindostan to the frontiers of Tibet. The first portion of it extended from Kalka, where it left the plains, to Simla, 7,800 feet above the level of the sea, a distance of about fifty miles, and it was accomplished with a gradient of not more than three feet in a hundred. From Simla the road advanced to Chini, through the valleys, forests, and cliffs of the mighty range of the Himalayas; but the skill and perseverance of the engineer officers, and more especially of Lieutenant Briggs, animated by the deep interest Lord Dalhousie took in the work, surmounted every difficulty. The vale of Chini, the favourite residence of Lord Dalhousie when in the hills, is surrounded by the most sublime scenery in the world, and faces the magnificent Koilaa, 21,000 feet above the level of the sea, the fabled paradise of the god Shiva. It is one of the most salubrious and

lovely spots yet discovered in India; and produces the most luxuriant grapes at an elevation of 8,700 feet. One object of constructing the road was to establish a convalescent dépôt for European soldiers. Nor was Lord Dalhousie without a hope that when it was completed, it might attract the traffic of Tibet, now transported in packs on the shoulders of goats. The Ganges Canal was sanctioned and commenced before the arrival of Lord Dalhousie; but it was advancing at so sluggish a pace, that the sum expended on it from the beginning had not exceeded seventeen lacs of rupees. He considered it a work of paramount importance, and pressed it forward with great ardour, allowing no financial pressure and no exigencies of war to interrupt its progress. The sum expended under his direction in the course of six years exceeded a crore and a-half of rupees. The main stream was for the first time opened by a grand ceremonial, over which Mr. Colvin presided, on the 8th April, 1854. The canal, in its class and character, stands among the noblest efforts of civilized nations. It nearly equals the aggregate length of all the lines of the four greatest canals in France, and its length is five times greater than that of all the main lines in Lombardy. This gigantic work was designed and completed by Colonel Cautley, and seldom has the star of the Bath, which adorns his breast been so richly earned by pacific labours in the service of humanity.

Mr. Thomason. The Ganges Canal was pressed forward by the Governor-General with a spirit of zeal proportioned to the value he attached to it, but the immediate superintendence of Colonel Cautley's labours devolved on Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the north-west provinces. He was not permitted to see the completion of it; before its waters began to fertilize the country his eyes were closed in death, just as he had been rewarded for his successful administration of ten years by the governorship of Madras. In 1832, he resolved to quit the honourable post he held in Calcutta, in order to make himself acquainted with the economy of our system of government in the interior. He took charge of the large and

populous district of Azimgur, on the borders of Oude, where in five years he acquired that intimate knowledge of the working of our institutions which was of the greatest service when he came to rule the Presidency. He was subsequently raised to the post of foreign secretary, and was in attendance, during his tour in the north-west provinces, on Lord Ellenborough, who, with his characteristic discernment of talent, selected him for the Lieutenant-Governorship of the north-west provinces. At the same time, Lord Ellenborough exhibited a noble instance of disinterestedness by relinquishing the patronage of that Presidency, which, as well as that of Bengal, had hitherto been vested in the Governor-General, and transferring it to the officers charged with the responsibility of governing them. Mr. Thomason occupies a very high rank among the great administrators of the Company, and his long, beneficent, and vigorous administration reflected honour on the British name in India. Every cold season, he was in the habit of making a tour through the various districts in his jurisdiction, which gave him a complete acquaintance with the circumstances and wants of the people, and the qualifications of his subordinate officers, and likewise afforded him an opportunity of conciliating the confidence of the most influential men in each district by personal intercourse. He devoted great attention in the revenue department to the establishment of an equitable and moderate assessment, and the definition of boundaries, the absence of which was one of the most fruitful sources of litigation and crime, as well as to the completion of proprietary records, which he laboured to render accessible to the native public. But his warmest and most zealous efforts were directed to the promotion of education, and more particularly of vernacular tuition; and well did he earn the eulogy of Lord Dalhousie, when, in announcing the loss the country had sustained by his death, he said, that "though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, his system of general vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career."

Railways, 1843
—1853.

The system of railways, which is working a greater and more beneficial change in the social, political, and commercial condition of India than has been known at any former period of its history, is due to the indefatigable exertions of Lord Dalhousie. The question had been for some time under discussion, when Mr.—now Sir Macdonald—Stephenson proceeded to Calcutta in 1843, with the hope of drawing the attention of Government and of the public to its importance. Lord Ellenborough pronounced the whole project to be moonshine; but his temporary successor, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, announced, in an official communication, that the Government was fully alive to the value of the proposal, and would recommend it to the Court of Directors. About the same time, Mr. Chapman endeavoured to secure the patronage of the Bombay Government, and succeeded in laying the foundation of the Great India Peninsular Rail; and Mr. Andrew likewise brought his local knowledge and zeal to the aid of the cause. Mr. Stephenson returned to England and formed a Company for the construction of a railway through the valley of the Ganges, from Calcutta to Delhi. The commercial disasters of 1846 and 1847, which indisposed the public to all railway enterprises, gave his task for some time the appearance of a forlorn hope, but his indomitable energy and perseverance surmounted every obstacle, and enabled him to give a fair start to the East India Railway Company, the largest of these Indian undertakings,—which now works a capital of twenty-five crores of rupees, and embraces 1,500 miles of line. It was manifest that, under the most favourable circumstances, a railway project in so remote and unexplored a field of labour, could not attract public confidence without the material support of Government. But, for a long time, the public authorities in Leadenhall Street and in Calcutta, persisted in limiting the aid of the state to the grant of the land, an insignificant item of expense in India. The eventual assent of the Court of Directors to the indispensable concession of a pecuniary guarantee was secured by the enlightened views and earnestness of

Sir James Hogg, to whom the cause of the railway is not much less indebted in England, than to Lord Dalhousie in India. In the year 1848, a guarantee of five per cent. was granted on two short and experimental lines in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Bombay. Every subsequent concession was, however, preceded by a severe struggle at the India House, and in 1852, the total number of miles sanctioned for the whole continent of India did not exceed two hundred. But the Court came gradually to appreciate the importance of the undertaking, and, in referring the various applications which had been made to them, to the consideration of Lord Dalhousie in 1852, expressed their wish "that India should, without unnecessary loss of time, possess the immense advantage of a regular and well-devised system of railway communications."

The question could not have been placed in the hands of one better qualified to do justice to it.

Lord Dalhousie's
Minute, April,
1853.

Lord Dalhousie had been at the head of the Board of Trade during the most active period of railway enterprise in England, and had become master of the principles and details of the system. With this pre-eminent advantage he united large and comprehensive views of imperial policy. In the memorable Minute which he transmitted to the Court of Directors on the 20th April, 1853, and which became the basis of the railway system of India, he expressed his hope that the limited section of experimental line heretofore sanctioned by them would no longer form the standard for railway works in India. A glance upon the map, he remarked, would recal to mind the vast extent of the empire, the various classes and interests it included, the wide distance which separated the points at which hostile attacks might at any time be expected, the expenditure of time, treasure, and life, involved in the ordinary routine of military movements, and the comparative handful of men scattered over its surface who have been the conquerors of the country, and now hold it in subjection. This glance would suffice to show how immeasurable would be the political advantages of a system of internal communication by

which intelligence of every event should be transmitted to the Government at a speed, under all circumstances, exceeding five fold its present rate, and Government would be enabled to bring the main bulk of its military strength to bear upon any given point in as many days as it now required months. The commercial and social advantages India would derive from the rail were beyond all calculation. Great tracks were teeming with produce we could not transport, and new markets were opening to us under circumstances which defy the foresight of the wisest to estimate their probable value, or calculate their future extent. A system of railways judiciously selected and formed would surely and rapidly give rise within this empire to the same encouragement of enterprise, the same multiplication of produce, the same discovery of latent forces, the same increase of national wealth that have marked the introduction of improved and extended communications in the various kingdoms of the western world. With a railway, moreover, touching every important military station from Calcutta to the Sutlege, native states would be deterred from resorting to combined attacks ; and the army now maintained, might, it was probable, be numerically reduced without diminishing our military strength. With the aid of the rail carried up to the Indus, the risks involved in the extension of our frontier to a distance of 1,500 miles from the capital of the country would be infinitely diminished. Peshawur would, in fact, be reached in less time and with greater facility than Moorshedabad, though only seventy miles distant from Calcutta, was reached in the days of Clive. He already anticipated the great improvement in the conveyance of troops from England, which, after the lapse of fourteen years, has been at length consummated. "If," he said, "when the Egyptian railway is completed, permission could be obtained to send troops through Egypt, a corps might leave England after the heat of the summer was over, and be quartered before Christmas on the banks of the Sutlege, without any exposure on its way, and with four months before it of the finest climate under the sun, and, withal, in less time and with less

trouble, than it could now march from Calcutta to Benares." He then proceeded to lay down a system of railways for the whole continent which should connect the Presidencies with each other, and form the great trunk lines. He entered into a minute analysis of the various lines which sought the patronage of Government, and pointed out their respective merits and demerits, and his judgment in each case has been abundantly confirmed by time and experience. He advocated the construction of the lines by public companies sustained by a Government guarantee, and "directly, but not vexatiously controlled by the Government of the country, acting for the interests of the public on the principle for which I contended"—when at the Board of Trade—"and I may venture, without arrogance, to add, that if the principle had been then more fully recognized, the proprietors of railway property in England, and the suffering public would have been in a better condition now than they appear to be." The bitter experience of the fourteen years which have elapsed since these remarks were recorded by him has served to give them additional weight, and to render this melancholy truth more grievously apparent. But, while England pays the penalty of a hundred millions sterling for the rejection of Lord Dalhousie's advice, India will always have reason to rejoice that the construction of her railway economy fell to the lot of one who combined with a solid judgment and mature experience, the power to turn them to account.

Result of the
Minute, 1852.

This communication reached England at an auspicious juncture. The Court of Directors had already indicated their desire to establish a system of railways in India, but they might have been staggered by the boldness and magnitude of Lord Dalhousie's scheme. Happily, the question of the renewal of the Charter was at the time under the consideration of Parliament. Night after night were they assailed for their shortcomings in the management of the national estate entrusted to them, and Mr. Bright, in one of his most fiery philippics, more particularly denounced their

neglect to establish the means of communication in India. If any hesitation was felt in Leadenhall Street to sanction the grand proposals of the Governor-General, it soon ceased to exist, and a guarantee upon a capital of twelve millions was at once granted. Upon the broad foundation thus laid by the Governor-General, the Indian authorities at home have raised a noble superstructure. In the course of fourteen years they have increased their guarantee from twelve crores to eighty, for the construction of 4,200 miles of line, and, at the present rate of progression, they will not stop short at a hundred crores. Of the sum expended on these Indian railways, only about three per cent. has been contributed by native capitalists and Europeans in India; the remainder has been supplied by the London Stock Exchange. There are not wanting philosophers who assert that England gains nothing by her connection with India, and would lose nothing by cutting her adrift; but there cannot be two opinions on the inestimable advantage which India derives from her annexation to England, which not only gives her a strong and beneficent government, the security of life and property, and the unrestricted pursuit of wealth and happiness, but enables her to draw from the inexhaustible mine of British capital, whatever resources are necessary for material improvements. It was at one time surmised that the priesthood would take umbrage at this innovation, and that the unchangeable habits and traditional prejudices of the Hindoos would present a serious obstacle to the success of the rail; but these fancies were dispelled before the line had been six months in operation. The brahmins, with all their religious conservatism, hailed it with delight, folded up their caste prejudices, and travelled third class with those whose touch was pollution. At a meeting, moreover, of the Dhurmu Subha in Calcutta, the great sanhedrim of Hindoo orthodoxy, which had petitioned the Privy Council for the restoration of the "sacred rite" of suttee, it was unanimously determined that pilgrims might freely avail themselves of the rail, which, considering that the merit of pilgrimage diminishes in propor-

tion to the ease with which it can be performed, was a concession of no small merit. Travelling by rail became at once, and still continues, a national passion, and the number of passengers conveyed during the last year of account, on the 2,500 miles open, exceeded twelve millions, of whom ninety-five per cent. were of the third class.

The Electric
Telegraph, 1852.

Another benefit conferred on the commercial and political interests of India by Lord Dalhousie, was the Electric Telegraph. The system owes its existence to the professional enterprise and the persevering industry of Dr.—now Sir William—O'Shaughnessy. After a series of experiments continued for many years in which every failure became a new element of success, he succeeded in laying a line from Calcutta to the sea at Kedgerie, which proved to be of the highest value during the Burmese war. Lord Dalhousie had watched these experiments with deep interest, and on receiving from Dr. O'Shaughnessy in April, 1852, a report of the successful working of the experimental line, lost no time in transmitting his views on the subject to the Court of Directors. He said, "the complete success of the experimental line has added intensity to the ardent desire I have entertained ever since the first report was submitted, to see the main line of electric telegraph between Calcutta and Peshawur, Bombay and Calcutta, and Madras and Calcutta, fairly commenced before I quit India next year. Since then the early establishment of the electric telegraph is all important, alike to the Government and to the community in India; since it has been shown to be practicable, safe, cheap, and profitable, I make my most earnest personal solicitation to the Honourable Court of Directors, that they will authorize the immediate construction of a line or lines from Calcutta to Agra, to Bombay, to Peshawur, and to Madras, either simultaneously, or as soon as possible, in the order in which they are placed in my list. Every thing, all the world over, moves faster now a days, than it used to do, except the transaction of Indian business." He then proceeded to remark, that, what with the number of

functionaries, boards, references, correspondences, and the several Governments in India, what with the distances, the consultation of the several authorities in England, the reference to India for further information, and the fresh correspondence arising from it, the progress of any great public measure, even when all were equally disposed to promote it, was often discouragingly slow. To obviate these obstructions, he directed Dr. O'Shaughnessy to proceed to England simultaneously with the despatch, and place himself in personal communication with the Court of Directors, and afford them every information on the subject. Happily, Sir James Hogg was in the Chair at the India House, and he took the same interest in promoting the project of the telegraph as he had that of the railway. It was carried through the various stages with such cordiality and promptitude that, within a week of the arrival of Lord Dalhousie's despatch, it had received the sanction of the Court and of the Board of Control, and a despatch conveying this gratifying intelligence was on its way to India. There had been no parallel to the expedition of these movements within the memory of the oldest functionary at the India House. Dr. O'Shaughnessy returned to India with all the necessary apparatus, and a large staff; the construction of the telegraph from Calcutta to Agra was commenced at the end of 1853, and more than 3,000 miles were covered with the wires in the course of fifteen months. Considering the local difficulties presented by the rivers and the swamps, the jungles and the mountains, Lord Dalhousie was fully justified in affirming that the electric telegraph in India might challenge comparison with any public enterprise which had been carried into execution in recent times, among the nations of Europe or America. The establishment of these telegraph lines, which now extend over not less than 12,000 miles, have fully answered the expectations of the Governor-General by increasing the security of the empire, and multiplying the facilities of governing it. Even his most ambitious anticipations have been realized by the

progress of science and the energies of civilization. "It may yet be hoped," he wrote, "that the system of electric telegraphs in India may one day be linked with those which envelope Europe, and which already seek to stretch across the Atlantic." The Governor-General is able now to hold communication with the Secretary of State in London between breakfast and dinner, and a message from New York has been conveyed to Calcutta in less than twenty-four hours. Since the days of Lord Wellesley, who was at one time without intelligence from England for seven months, the appliances for maintaining our dominion in India have been augmented to an indefinite degree. The reasonable apprehensions once entertained that the extension of the boundaries of the empire would increase its insecurity, have vanished before the miracles of modern science. Steam and electricity have given an irresistible strength to European power in Asia. The British Government in India is now prepared for every emergency. If, at the period of the Sepoy mutiny, when the British empire was exposed to the greatest danger it had ever encountered, the Government had possessed the advantages which have since been created,—telegraphic wires pervading every district, and stretching to London, magnificent steam transports on both sides the Isthmus of Suez, with the Egyptian rail as the connecting link, railways radiating from Bombay and extending throughout the country—any number of European troops might have reached the north-west provinces from England within five weeks of the outbreak at Meerut, and the mutiny would have been crushed in the bud.

Character of Lord
Dalhousie's Ad-
ministration,
1856.

Lord Dalhousie embarked at Calcutta on the 6th March, 1856, for England. The whole population, moved by a feeling of admiration of the great ruler who had enlarged and consolidated the empire, and enriched it with solid and lasting improvements, crowded the plain to testify their regret at his departure. Eight years of incessant toil in the service of his country had completely exhausted his constitution, and after a painful and lingering

illness of more than four years, he sunk into the grave on the 19th December, 1860. His administration marks a new and important era of civilization in India. The principle of uninterrupted progression which has since characterized the movements of Government is due to the impulse which he communicated to it. To his genius is to be ascribed the grateful fact that the India of 1867 presents so pre-eminent a contrast to the India of 1847. He grasped the largest projects for the improvement of the country, and his views of policy were of imperial magnitude. In all his measures he exhibited a clear intellect, a sound judgment, and deep sagacity, while his firmness of purpose and resolution of character turned all these qualifications to the highest account. He communicated vigour to the administration by exacting a rigid performance of duty from all under him, and he set them the example of his own intense application to public business, to which, by a noble devotion, he sacrificed leisure, ease, comfort, and even health. He investigated every question that came before him with great patience and diligence, and with a scrupulous desire to be right. He marshalled all the arguments which could be adduced on both sides of it, and always recorded weighty reasons for whatever decision he formed, the soundness of which was seldom questioned either by his colleagues, or by the public in India. If he had little imagination for the sensitive feelings of princes who represented ancient and effete dynasties, the absence of it was in some degree compensated by his compassion for their misgoverned subjects; and his administration was distinguished throughout by incessant efforts to benefit the people, whether in our own territories or independent states. The present age is inclined to form its judgment of his administration from the narrow point of his refusal to commit the government of Sattara, Jhansi, and Nagpore to three lads, when he was authorized by the ancient law of India, and the orders of his superiors in England, to incorporate those states with the territories of the paramount power—and thus bestow on them the blessing of a British

administration. When this error has had its day, and his administration comes to be surveyed in its broad dimensions, it will be apparent that he exhibited perhaps the finest example which ancient or modern history affords, of what can be accomplished for the benefit of mankind by an enlightened despotism acting upon a large theatre.

Lord Dalhousie's
not foreseeing
the Mutiny, 1856.

Lord Dalhousie has been censured for not having foreseen the mutiny, and provided against it. It has been noted against him, that the only allusion to the native army in the Minute in which he reviewed his administration was, that "the position of the native soldier in India had long been such as to leave hardly any circumstance of his condition in need of improvement, while the condition of the European soldier, on the other hand, was susceptible of great improvement, and had received it liberally." This had reference to the condition in which the sepoy had been placed by his indulgent masters, not to his feeling towards them. The repeated acts of insubordination exhibited by the sepoys convinced Lord Dalhousie that the native army was no longer to be depended on; but neither he nor Sir Henry Lawrence, nor any other public functionary, ever dreamt that a hundred thousand sepoys, after all the attention which had been bestowed on their comforts, would rise as one man, massacre their officers, and endeavour to subvert the Government. Such an anticipation would have been deemed as wild and improbable as that the United States of America were likely to be plunged into a civil war, and to prosecute it on the grandest scale the world had ever seen. The constitution of the native army was vicious in the extreme. Two fifths of the sepoys were drawn from a single province, and the fraternity thus established in the various regiments, caused every feeling of irritation to vibrate through the whole body. It was impossible for Lord Dalhousie to eradicate this fundamental defect, and the only practicable mode of averting its consequence, was to re-establish the proportion between European and native troops, which from the days of

Lord Cornwallis had been considered essential to our safety. He had fixed the proportion at one to three, but not less than one to four; it had now been reduced to the dangerous scale of one to six. To this vital question Lord Dalhousie bent his earnest attention. During the Crimean war the Ministry announced their intention to withdraw two European regiments from India, but Lord Dalhousie raised the strongest objections to it. In his Minute on the subject he stated that "the withdrawal of European troops from India to Europe would weaken the essential element of our strength; if European troops were farther withdrawn for service in the Persian gulf, he could no longer feel, or express, the same confidence as before, that the security and stability of our position would remain unassailed." He confidently submitted to the candour of Her Majesty's Ministers, that "placed as it is amidst distances so vast—amidst multitudes so innumerable—amidst peoples and sects various in many things, but all alike in this, that they are the lately conquered subjects of our race, alien to them in religion, in language, in colour, in habits, in all feelings and interests, the Government of India has had solid ground for the declaration more than once made of late years, that the European force at its command is not more than adequate for preserving the empire in security and tranquillity even in ordinary times," much less then, in circumstances of political difficulty. The regiments were, notwithstanding, withdrawn both to the Crimea and to the Persian gulf, and when the mutiny broke forth, the entire force of European infantry at all the Presidencies had been reduced to thirty-one battalions, and there were only two regiments between Calcutta and Agra, a distance of 800 miles, amidst a population of fifty millions. Treble that number, under a Gillespie or a Havelock would have been sufficient to strike terror into the mutineers, and to restore our authority. On the last day Lord Dalhousie presided in Council, he laid on the table nine Minutes in which he stated his mature and final views regarding the condition of the army and the requirements of the

country. He considered it essential to increase the European battalions to thirty-seven, and to reduce the sepoy army by 14,000 men, and thus to protect the Government from the hazard to which it was exposed by the disproportion of the sepoy force.

The annexation policy and the mutiny, 1857.

Lord Dalhousie has been charged not only with having neglected to foresee the mutiny, but with having been himself the cause of it. When the intelligence of this catastrophe reached England, the nation became wild with excitement at the prospect of losing the empire,—in which it had manifested but little interest before,—and swelled with indignation at the atrocities of the sepoys. In this state of feeling, a national victim was required, and it was found in the person of the late Governor-General. Those who had always been opposed to annexation came to the conclusion that it had now produced the result they had long foreseen, of shaking our empire in India to its foundations. “Lord Dalhousie’s annexation policy has caused the mutiny,” was echoed through the land. A dictum thus pronounced by men who were supposed to understand India relieved the mind from the labour of thought, and became an article of faith. All his services were forgotten in the tragedy which “his lust of territorial aggrandisement” had created; and instead of receiving the ovation due to a great statesman who had enlarged the dominions of England, and planted the seeds of a great civilization among a fifth of the human race, his name became a scandal and a reproach. The investigations which have since been made have tended to show the fallacy of this hasty assumption. That the annexation by war or lapse did not create the mutiny, appears evident from the fact that except in the case of Oude, and the little principality of Jhansi under the instigation of the enraged ranee, none of the annexed provinces manifested the slightest disposition to turn against us in the great crisis. Sattara and Nagpore were tranquil. Burmah was so contented with its new masters that the European corps stationed in it was withdrawn with safety,

and the Punjab was mainly instrumental in putting down the mutiny. If the annexations had created any of that alarm for their own possessions in the minds of the independent princes of India, Sindia, Holkar, the Guickwar, or the Nizam, which was assumed, the fairest opportunity was now presented to them for expelling us from India by the revolt of the whole native army, and the extinction of our authority in Hindostan. But so exemplary was their loyalty to the British Government in the day of its extremity, that the advocates of native dynasties have adduced it as one of the strongest arguments for maintaining them. Neither did the sepoys manifest any feeling of irritation at the annexation even of their own province. They took up arms to avenge, not the deposition of their sovereign, but the supposed attempt on their caste. Their relatives and connections included a tenth of the whole population, as well as the great bulk of the agricultural yeomanry, and strange indeed would it have been if they had remained inactive when the sepoy army was triumphant in its rebellion, and the Resident was besieged in Lucknow. The zemindars in Oude, whom it was the object of the incorporation to restrain from plunder and oppression, did in many cases join the malcontents; but during the entire period of the eclipse of our authority in that province, neither sepoy, nor zemindar, nor peasant, appears to have manifested any desire to restore the king to his throne.

The assumed
causes of the
mutiny, 1857.

It does not fall within the compass of this work to embrace the period of the mutiny. We live, in fact, too near this stupendous event, and the feelings it has excited are still too sensitive, to admit of a calm and conclusive judgment of its origin and character. All that can be expected of the present age is to contribute individual opinions, more or less valuable, for the examination of the future historian. Under this impression, a few brief remarks on the mutiny suggested by this review of our progress in India, are offered to the candour of the reader. It has been surmised that the melancholy events of 1857 are to be attri-

buted to a national revolt against our authority. But, independently of the irresistible conclusion that, if this had been the case, we could not have retained our footing on the continent, all the evidence which has since been collected runs counter to this hypothesis. There was no insurrection in any district of any class, however lawless, until after our authority had been extinguished by the triumph of the sepoy, when all the vagabonds were let loose upon the country, and petty and obscure chiefs came forth to take advantage of the confusion. In many districts, on the contrary, natives of influence stepped forward and maintained order, till we should return. Where there were no sepoy, there was no insurrection. Wherever there was revolt, it was the consequence, and not the cause of the mutiny. Neither does the resumption of rent-free tenures, thirty years before, appear to have exercised any influence, as has been asserted, upon the revolt. The province of Behar, with seven millions of inhabitants, of a martial character, had suffered more severely than any other province from the operation of the resumption law; but, with the exception of one district, there was no symptom of disaffection till after the mutinous sepoy had been allowed, by the weakness of the General commanding at Dinapore, to overspread it. We refer to Shahabad, where Koer Sing, the most influential of the zemindars, whose circumstances were irretrievably embarrassed, threw himself into the cause of the mutineers and set the Government at defiance, in the hope of obtaining relief from the process of the courts and the pursuit of his creditors. In two of the most flourishing districts of Behar, containing 10,000 square miles, and filled with landholders whose fathers had felt the heavy hand of resumption, not a finger was raised against our Government, though there was not so much as a corporal's guard left to maintain our power. The mutiny has likewise been attributed to the virtues of our administration, the introduction of female schools, the spread of English education, the railway, the telegraph, and, indeed, to whatever contributed to lessen the

importance and authority of the priesthood. But the sepoys knew nothing of English instruction, and none of our improvements had ever reached them. They had been scrupulously guarded by our timidity from everything that could remotely affect their religious prejudices. The railroad was then unknown out of Bengal. It was in Bengal that the influence of the priesthood had been most rudely shaken by a flood of improvements; but the thirty millions of Bengalees never dreamt of rebellion. Moreover, in no province had those measures and those innovations to which the mutiny has been ascribed been introduced with more rapidity and vigour than in the newly conquered province of the Punjab. In the course of seven years, the Lawrences had abolished suttees and infanticide, two practices ardently cherished by the upper classes; they had carried out an extensive plan of resumptons; they had humiliated Runjeet Sing's aristocracy; established English schools; fostered female education, and even introduced the telegraph. But the Sikhs, instead of making common cause with the sepoys, and seizing the opportunity to re-establish their beloved Khalsa, hastened to assist in putting down the mutineers and restoring our authority.

Real cause of the
mutiny, 1857.

"The mutiny," says Sir John Lawrence, "had its origin in the army itself; it is not attributable to any external or antecedent conspiracy whatever, although it was afterwards taken advantage of by disaffected persons to compass their own ends; the approximate cause was the cartridge affair, and nothing else." This assertion, made by the highest authority on the subject, is corroborated by irrefragable evidence. Neither the old resumptons, nor the spread of English, nor the attempt to teach females, nor the diffusion of knowledge, nor the railway, nor the telegraph, nor all other causes which have been conjectured, put together, were sufficient to account for the savage mutiny of a hundred thousand sepoys; while the delirious alarm created by the story of the greased cartridges is fully adequate to the effect. The sepoy rebels only for his pay or his caste. The various muti-

nies which have been enumerated in this work, between 1763 and 1853, may all be traced to one or other of these causes. The condition of the sepoy as regarded his pay left him nothing to desire, but the most strenuous efforts had been made, after the arrival of Lord Canning, to persuade him that his religion was in danger. It was confidently affirmed that Lord Canning had come out especially pledged to the Queen to make all the army Christians, and had undertaken to have all the native officers to dine at Government House. The King of Oude had left Lucknow, and planted his residence in the suburbs of Calcutta, and his emissaries were incessantly employed in inflaming the minds of the sepoys, as the family of Tippoo had done at Vellore. Then came the report which spread like wild-fire, that the cartridges had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs, with the object of destroying the caste of both Mahomedans and Hindoos. The preposterous tale was believed by ninety-nine out of every hundred sepoys, and a feeling of uncontrollable alarm for their religion and their caste spread through every regiment, from Calcutta to Peshawur, and the whole army was extinguished in a blaze of mutiny.

The Charter of 1853; changes it introduces.

The Charter of 1833 expired in 1853, and a strenuous effort was made in Parliament to wrest the Government of India from the Company, but the Whig Ministry resolved to continue it in their hands, until Parliament should otherwise ordain. The India Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, in a lucid speech of five hours, which, considering that he had been only a few months in office, and was previously ignorant of India, exhibited great power of analysis, and held out the prospect of an enlightened and vigorous administration, which has since been fully realized. The settlement did not last much beyond five years, and it is only necessary to notice the three chief modifications which it embodied. The number of the Court of Directors was reduced from thirty to eighteen, and the elimination was performed by a most ingenious process of balloting, devised

for the occasion. Of the reduced number of Directors, a certain proportion was to be nominated by the Crown. This was no small improvement on the old constitution of the Court, into which it was impossible to obtain admission, except after a laborious and humiliating canvass, often prolonged for years. The most eminent statesmen of the Company's service, men like Malcolm, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, whose experience and influence would have been invaluable at the India House, were thus excluded from all share in the home Government, from their invincible repugnance to this wearisome mode of election; and the vacancies were filled up with bankers and brewers, and captains of ships, and other city men, who coveted a seat in the Direction for its position and its patronage. Under the new arrangement the Minister was enabled to call to his aid the most eminent of the Company's retired officers. A second improvement consisted in entrusting the Government of Bengal and Behar to a separate Lieutenant-Governor. These provinces contained a thriving population of thirty-five millions, and contributed one-third of the revenues of the whole empire, yet the task of administering the Government was still imposed on the Governor-General, when in Calcutta, even after his imperial functions had been doubled. He was generally absent more than half his time, and this duty devolved upon the senior member of Council, who sometimes happened to be a military officer, rewarded for services in the field, or for reforming the Commissariat at Madras, by a seat at the Council Board and £10,000 a-year. Under this anomalous system there were no fewer than ten successive Governors and Deputy Governors of Bengal in the course of eleven years. Happily Mr.—now Sir Frederick—Halliday continued to hold the post of Secretary throughout this period of permanent instability and inevitable weakness, and it was owing entirely to his local knowledge and experience, his sound judgment and great diligence that the administration exhibited any degree of spirit, or even consistency. His long and eminent services

were rewarded by the first appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship. By a third provision in the Charter, the patronage of the Civil Service was withdrawn from the Court of Directors to make way for the principle of unreserved competition. This system has entirely changed the character of the service, but there has not as yet been sufficient time to estimate its full effect on the general interests of the empire. It possesses many advantages, but is not, of course, without its drawbacks. At all events, the new class of men whom it introduces into the service have the advantage of a high standard of excellence before them. The nomination system, with all its tendency to jobbery, did produce a fine body of public servants, who were invariably distinguished by the honourable bearing and high principle of English gentlemen, and who, with few exceptions, threw their whole soul into their work and took a pride in the efficient performance of it. It is to be hoped that when the higher responsibilities of office devolve on those who have entered the service by competition, they will be found equally competent to represent the dignity of British power among the nobles and princes of India, and equally anxious to conciliate the confidence of the people by their consideration and kindness.

End of the East
India Company, of 1857.
1858.

The East India Company fell with the mutiny of 1857. That catastrophe would equally have occurred, if the government had been in the hands of the Crown. Indeed, the Board of Control had been for more than seventy years the mainspring of authority, and the Court was little more than the medium of making public its decisions. If any portion of the responsibility of the mutiny was attached to the authorities in England, it belonged to the Prime Minister, who, in utter disregard of the experience of the past, and the deliberate opinion of successive Governors-General, and the remonstrances of Lord Dalhousie, withdrew the European regiments, which formed "the essential element of our strength." But when the appalling crisis came, the national feeling sought relief and comfort, both with regard

to the past and the future, in changing the organs of government, and the East India Company was required to resign its power. Its work was accomplished, and the cycle of its existence completed. It was created by the Crown, two hundred and fifty years before, for the purpose of extending British commerce to the East; and it transferred to the Crown, on relinquishing its functions, an empire more magnificent than that of Rome. Its political power began with the battle of Plassy; and in the course of a single century, its servants abroad, contrary to every injunction from home, but acting under the influence of an irresistible impulse, extended its authority over the whole continent. A company of merchants in London thus became the instrument, under the mysterious, but wise and benignant agency of Divine Providence, of establishing the British empire in India, with all its attendant blessings, and of leading the way to the extension of European supremacy throughout Asia.

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