

Pending these hostilities, Holkar at Malwa was plundering friend and foe, incredulous of the British achievements. When too late, he determined to make an effort for the independence of the Mahrattas, and sent to Scindia, pressing him to break the recently-signed treaty, which fact the latter immediately made known to the British. Lake believing Holkar amicably disposed, invited him to send officers to negotiate a treaty. Upon their arrival, their terms were found so preposterous they were forthwith dismissed; and the governor-general being made acquainted with their demands, ordered Generals Wellesley and Lake to march upon Holkar's territories, Scindia professing the greatest willingness to co-operate.

Colonel Monson was sent to act in concert with Colonel Murray, and attack Holkar's territory on the Gujerat side. Monson advanced with spirit, but retreated upon hearing that Holkar with a large force was marching against him. It was an injudicious movement, and deplorably conducted, while a want of confidence existed between the colonel and his army: the officers and men desired an engagement, Monson sought shelter under a fortress. The forts on the line of his retreat pronounced against the English; and the troops, weary and starving, broke through all discipline, and fled in parties to Agra. This panic increased both Holkar's reputation and his army.

Lake took the field to reclaim these misfortunes; but failing to bring the Mahrattas to an engagement, wasted his time at Mutha, which afforded Holkar the opportunity of attempting the surprise of Delhi and securing the emperor, which he nearly accomplished. Lake then marched to relieve the capital; but Holkar five days before had joined the rajah of Bhurtpore, who had broken his treaty with the English. General Frazer then undertook the pursuit, and came up with the enemy's infantry near Deeg fortress on the 13th of November, and drove them from their first line of guns, but fell mortally wounded at the second, when Colonel Monson assumed the command and captured eighty-seven pieces of cannon; amongst them were fourteen he had lost in his retreat. Four days later, at Furruckabad, Lake routed Holkar, slaughtering three thousand of his men. Deeg was then invested, and stormed in ten days. The power of Holkar now seemed destroyed, his territory reduced, his forts and capital possessed by the English. Bhurtpore alone remained to shelter him. This place of refuge Lake attacked on January 2d, 1805, and then, as on subsequent occasions, with great valour, though but little engineering skill. The siege being converted into a blockade, the rajah sued for peace, which was accorded him on favourable terms, renewed hostilities being anti-

cipated with Scindia, who had advanced towards Bhurtpore, when Holkar joined him, and was still hovering about the neighbourhood and harassing our outposts.

The policy of Lord Wellesley had been that of stripping the native princes of military, and leaving them civil power only; which gave the East India Company entire control over the foreign relations of these rulers. By the treaties with the Peishwa and the Nizam, the governor-general not only protected the frontiers of both, but secured tranquillity in the southern parts of the peninsula. This prevented Scindia from levying tribute on the more feeble states, while Holkar moved about at the head of a mere rabble. Necessarily such important results occasioned vast expenditure; but the diminished cost of governing and the growing revenues of the conquered states promised an ample return.

From July of this year (1805), when Lord Cornwallis succeeded the Marquis of Wellesley as governor-general, hostilities continued between the troops of Scindia and Holkar and those of General Lake. Driven from the Bhurtpore territories, the Mahratta chieftains fled towards the north-west frontier, where they appear to have expected some countenance.

Lake having conferred with the governor-general, pushed on towards the Sutlej in pursuit of his troublesome opponents, satisfied that the only prospect of continued peace in that quarter lay in the utter overthrow of their power. Undismayed by the perils and trials of a long and harassing journey through countries then but little known, the British commander halted not until, having crossed the boundary-line of Alexander's conquests, he encamped his troops on the banks of the Hyphasis (the Beas), where, upwards of two thousand years before, the veterans of the Macedonian conqueror had pitched their tents. The snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas, the green hills and valleys of the country of the five rivers, the noble stream whose waters fell into the Indus at some distance below,—all these were before their eyes, whilst, at the distance of a few miles, and within his reach, lay Holkar, the object of this long and toilsome march.

To have dashed at him, and thus have finished the struggle, would have been the policy of Lake; but a controlling power was at hand. Sir George Barlow had succeeded as acting governor-general, in the room of Cornwallis, who died but a few months after his arrival in the country; and the policy of this civilian was to purchase peace and security at all hazards, at all cost. With the instructions which at this juncture reached him, Lake, however unwilling, had no alternative but

to consent to a peace, the preliminaries of which were arranged in December, and the treaty was finally ratified in the month of January 1806.

By the terms of this agreement the British reinstated Holkar in all his possessions, broke off their alliance with the rajah of Jeypoor and other Hindoo chiefs to the westward of the Jumna, and finally marched back to Delhi. The peace policy of Sir George Barlow, however it may have served a present purpose, did not satisfy those who, like Lord Lake, viewed matters in India with reference to the future as well as the present ; and no one who was really competent to form an opinion believed for a moment that this disgraceful treaty would be observed one moment beyond the time which it might serve the purpose of the Mahratta chieftains ; and so it indeed proved, as the following chapter will demonstrate.



## CHAPTER V.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES TO THE TERMINATION OF THE  
SECOND MAHRATTA WAR.

A.D. 1806-1822.

THE new policy of the supreme government was not long in producing its fruits, as might have been anticipated ; and first we find matters in the Deccan promising a crisis.

Mir Allum, the prime minister of the Nizam, had, by his attachment to the English, lost the confidence and regard of his master ; and intrigues were at this time discovered at Hyderabad for his removal and the disruption of the alliance with the British. This conspiracy calling for decisive steps, orders were forwarded to the resident and commander of the troops, by means of which it was frustrated.

It was at this period that the Court of Directors, in order to mortify Lord Wellesley, urged the governor-general to modify the treaty of Bassein ; which proceeding Sir George Barlow, with more than ordinary courage and determination, opposed most strenuously, and declined carrying out.

Upon the restoration of the Mahratta chief Holkar, he intimated that, from pure necessity, he must at once disband so many as twenty-thousand of his cavalry ; whereupon, large arrears being due to them, a mutiny ensued, which was only quieted by placing Holkar's nephew in their hands as a hostage. Having thus the heir to the throne in their possession, the troops once more mutinied, but were subdued and their arrears paid ; while the innocent object of their revolt was sacrificed by his uncle. Shortly after Holkar became insane, and so remained until his death on the 20th of October, 1811.

On his thus becoming incapacitated, the regency was divided between Toolzee Rye, one of his concubines, and Ameer Khan, who administered for Mulhar Rao Holkar, about four years old, the son of Jeswunt Rao. This imbecile government swayed between two parties,

the Mahrattas and the Patans, whose respective ascendancy was the signal for the renewal of the most sanguinary atrocities.

Lord Minto was appointed governor-general, and arrived in India in July 1807. He was a statesman of ability, hated precedents, and judged invariably for himself. He soon found that Wellesley had adopted a firm, but right policy, the very reverse of Cornwallis and Barlow, whose imbecility was near proving most fatal to British ascendancy in India. There existed in the Deccan at this period a body of freebooters called Pindarries, who hired themselves indiscriminately to the best paymaster. Upon the defeat of the Mahrattas, these people, left to their own resources, wandered through the country, and pillaged every place that was too weak to oppose them. Subsequent to the last treaty, they were confined in their ravages to Malwa, Rajpootana, and Berar; a few ventured into the dominions of the Peishwa and Nizam, but so long as they left the inhabitants at peace they were not molested.

The policy of non-interference adopted by Sir G. Barlow had not only exposed the Rajpoot states to great danger, but thrown the Sikh chieftains into considerable consternation; they were apprehensive that this apparent withdrawal of British assistance might lead to their subjugation by Runjeet Singh, whose recently-established throne in the Punjab hourly increased in strength. The abandonment of the rajah of Jeypore, and the employment by Scindia of Rao Ghatkia as minister, who had previously planned the attack on the British residency, at length induced the Directory to express their dissatisfaction with Barlow's policy; at the same time they wished to avoid a further extension of political supremacy.

The Nizam's court had been an exception to Barlow's tactics, he having been compelled to support the minister Sheer Alum; upon whose death an arrangement was effected between the Nizam and the governor-general to divide the office, appointing the Nizam's favourite, Moneer-al-Mulk, minister, while Chand-u-lal, a supporter of the British, performed the duties of deewan. The Brahmins of the Carnatic, the sect of Chand-u-lal, are frequently men of good education, with enlarged commercial knowledge, while the Mahomedan Omrahs, to which Moneer-al-Mulk belonged, are the very reverse. Chand-u-lal at once discerned the difficulties and danger of his position, and that his tenure of office rested upon the supremacy of the British at Hyderabad; he therefore exerted himself to establish the Marquis of Wellesley's military reform, and organised an army commanded by English officers. In return for which he was supported by British influence against his

enemies, and allowed to administer the government without interference. The result of this was, that the Nizam fell into a state of melancholy despondency, while the deewan and his relatives flourished at the expense of British reputation; and Lord Minto found that, without overstepping his instructions, a remedy was almost hopeless; matters were therefore allowed to remain as they stood during his administration.

Upon Bajee Rao being reinstated by the treaty of Bassein, he did not hesitate to declare that revenge was his motive for allying himself with the English: he was of a most profligate character, choosing his favourites and ministers from those who gratified his lusts or his cruelties; and through their agency maintained a correspondence with those who were most opposed to the English. General Wellesley well knew the character of Bajee Rao, and urged a speedy settlement of the relations between the Peishwa and southern chiefs, who, though nominally subjects, obeyed the Peishwa only when he was strong enough to enforce obedience. The terms of settlement proposed by the resident at Poonah for adjusting these differences were, the oblivion of past injuries, the abandonment of all money claims, the guarantee of the lands granted for supporting a certain number of soldiers for the Peishwa, attendance with the whole of their forces when required, and of a third portion under command of a relation at all times. Upon adhering to these stipulations, the British guaranteed the personal safety of the chiefs and their relations. Upon which Lord Minto sent to Madras, Mysore, and the Deccan to have an adequate force to compel the submission of any refractory chief.

At first neither the Peishwa nor the Jaghiredars, or chieftains, were willing to submit to English dictation; but the presence of a powerful force quieted dissatisfaction, and the feudatories accompanied the Peishwa to Poonah; and under the mediation of the resident, came to an arrangement, which greatly increased the Peishwa's power and resources.

Upon the insanity of Jeswunt Rao incapacitating him from exercising authority, Ameer Khan declared himself regent; and quitting Indore, headed a body of Pindarries, and began plundering the people. His next act was to threaten Berar, under the pretence that the rajah owed Holkar large sums of money. Upon this Lord Minto at once abandoned the old policy of non-interference; and tendering the rajah British protection, Ameer Khan was subsequently driven into his own dominions with heavy loss.

Early in the year 1808 it was rumoured that Napoleon was again

endeavouring to establish French influence in India; and, moreover, that his ambassadors in Persia had been received with great marks of distinction by Futteh Ali Shah, the reigning monarch, who had concluded with them a treaty most inimical to British interests. When this intelligence reached London and Calcutta, missions were sent from each to the court of Persia; but without any privity or concert. Lord Minto despatched Captain Malcolm; but his advance on Teheran was stopped by the king of Persia, who at the same time insisted that he should negotiate with his son, the Viceroy of Shiran. To this Malcolm refused to accede, as unbecoming the dignity of the country he represented; and, after embodying his sentiments in a memorial to the court, he sailed for Calcutta. The ambassador from the British court, Sir Harford Jones, was a most incompetent person, who seemed only anxious to shew his independence of the Calcutta council. At the time of which we are writing, it was the custom with England to subsidise all her allies; in other words, to pay them for protecting themselves; and a treaty was signed in 1809, by which Great Britain bound herself to pay a yearly sum of 100,000*l.*, while the king of Persia was at war with Russia; and in addition supply 16,000 stand of arms and twenty field-pieces, together with artillerymen and officers to instruct the Persians; for which Persia agreed to oppose any attempt of the French to invade the Company's Indian territory.

A similar impression respecting French influence originated a mission to the court of Cabul, governed at that time by Shuja-al-Mulk. An alliance was concluded with this potentate, who was, however, shortly after driven from the throne, and pensioned by the British.

It has been before remarked that the Marquis of Wellesley's judicious plans for the occupation of the French and Dutch possessions in the Indian seas were frustrated by Admiral Rainer. For several years the weakness of the French fleet precluded them from doing more than annoy; but in the winter of 1808, a number of French frigates sailed from various ports in France and Holland, and reaching the Indian seas in the ensuing spring, committed great injury upon our commerce. Still more serious results being apprehended, Lord Minto announced his intention of reducing the islands which sheltered them, and depriving our adversaries of any port of refuge. The reduction of Bourbon and the Mauritius was effected with but little difficulty; but Java was considered an affair of considerable importance. The command was given to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, under whom the governor-general served as a volunteer. On the 4th of August, 1811, the whole of the troops were disembarked in twenty-four hours without an accident, and

marched against the Dutch at Cornellis, who were protected by a series of batteries mounting 300 guns. On the 26th orders for assault were issued, which terminated in the storm of the Dutch camp, and surrender of 5000 prisoners of war. But Jansen, the Dutch governor, refused to submit; and it was not until garrison after garrison capitulated, that he surrendered the island on the 16th of September.

The principle of non-interference prevented Lord Minto from checking the tyranny of the nabob of Oude towards his subjects; but he secured the allegiance of Travancore and Bundelcund, and restored tranquillity, to which they had long been strangers. The same absurd policy prevented him from chastising the Pindarries, who, having increased in audacity, at length plundered Mirzapore, committing, as usual, all sorts of excesses. The apprehension of a Mahratta war, which Lord Minto knew would be displeasing to the Directory, deterred him from punishing these lawless freebooters.

The tranquillity of our Indian possessions was now disturbed by the Ghoorkas, a warlike race on the north-eastern frontier, who, taking advantage of the disputes and distress of their neighbours, extended their sway through the entire province of Nepal, and thence to the plains inhabited by the dependent rajahs, committing great excesses at Gurruckpore and Sarun. These were at first regarded as individual and unpremeditated acts; but at length their frequency compelled Lord Minto to address the Ghoorka rajah in determined language, demanding redress and threatening retaliation. But his lordship's recall threw the duty of curbing these marauders upon his successor. We might here, if space allowed, allude to the vast benefits both the home and Indian community had enjoyed through the sagacity, discretion, and even temper of this really great man, whose doctrines, in the words of Sir John Malcolm, were "to conciliate and carry his superiors along with him; but not from the apprehension of responsibility; for wherever the exigency of the case required a departure from this general rule, he was prompt and decided."

The arrival of the Marquis of Hastings as governor-general took place on October 13th, 1813. His appointment was hailed with great satisfaction: having proved himself an able diplomatist and brave soldier on many occasions, he was justly esteemed the most suited to the exigencies of the times; more particularly so, as it was now well known that neutral policy was rapidly declining in favour at home, and that determined measures were to be taken to repress the insolence and violence of treacherous allies and open enemies.

In the following December the rajah of Nepal sent a reply to

Lord Minto's despatch. It was couched in servile and evasive terms, and led to the appointment of commissioners on both sides to discuss the various points at issue. After repeated interviews, the English commissioners reported that it was useless longer to protract their powers, it being evident that the Nepaulese, who were adepts in dissimulation, negotiated merely to gain time; upon which the governor-general dismissed the Ghoorka commissioners, with instructions to their rajah to confine himself to his own territory, if he wished to avoid punishment. At the same time the chief was ordered to restore certain lands belonging to the British government which he had seized; and that in the event of his not complying, troops would at once occupy them. This notice being disregarded, the magistrate at Gurruckpore, Sir Roger Martin, took possession of Turall, and the villages near Sarun were also occupied without resistance. The rainy season now setting in, the charge of these places was left to native officers, and the troops withdrawn; upon which the Nepaulese, who had been watching their opportunity, attacked the civil officers and police, who were completely defenceless; and after murdering the superior officer, they killed eighteen, and wounded six, of the police establishment. This outrage was committed in the presence of the Nepaulese commander-in-chief, who offered neither restraint to the assassins nor assistance to the victims. Immediate representations were made to the rajah, who, instead of offering reparation, justified the outrages which his troops had committed; upon which the Marquis of Hastings prepared for war, the means of defraying which, had it not been for the nabob of Oude, who lent the governor-general large sums at lower rates of interest than the market prices, must have been found by the home government, the Bengal treasury being completely empty.

The Pindarries, like the Ghoorkas, it was known, were only waiting the opportunity to renew their predatory excursions; and the Marquis of Hastings forcibly represented to the home executive the urgency of its sanction to a series of determined proceedings, to avoid the impending danger. With the view of strengthening the British power, the governor-general had commenced a defensive treaty with the rajah of Berar, who, however, after a protracted correspondence, declined acceding to it; and, breaking through the existing treaty of 1814, joined Scindia in the attempt to subjugate the nabob of Bhopaul, who had long maintained himself against the Hindoo princes.

The friendship invariably shewn by the nabob, particularly in the Mahratta war, induced us to join him, as well as Govina Rao, the prince of Sagur, in offensive and defensive treaties, by which means

were furnished for watching the Mahratta princes, Runjeet Sing and Ameer Khan, leader of the Pindarries. Scindia, who pretended that the rajah of Bhopaul was one of his vassals, became greatly enraged at this alliance, and threatened retaliation ; upon which a body of troops was marched on Bundelcund, while another force, under the Nizam, advanced to Elichipore, the capital of Berar ; and the governor-general then gave his undivided attention to the coming war in Nepaul.

The frontier of Nepaul consists of mountain ridges, extending 600 miles from east to west ; and it was determined to penetrate it by four armies marching simultaneously. General Ochterlony, with 6000 sepoy, was ordered from Loodiana through the hill-passes overlooking the Sutlej ; General Gillespie, from the Doab to the west of the Jumna, and so on to Nahir ; General Wood, through Bootwal to Palpa ; and General Morley, with the main body, was ordered to force the Gunduck passes and march direct on Katmandu, the Ghoorka capital.

General Gillespie crossed the frontier on the 22d of October, 1814, and captured Dera without opposition ; while Balbhadur Sing, to whom the defence of the town had been entrusted, retreated to a steep and well-fortified hill called Nalapane. Gillespie, who miscalculated the strength of the position, determined to carry it by assault, but had scarcely reached the wall when he was killed by a musket-ball, and his troops fled to their lines, leaving many comrades behind. Colonel Mowbray, with the remainder, retreated on Dera until he obtained a train of heavy artillery ; then advancing, after two days' firing, he effected a breach, when an assault was attempted ; but the Ghoorkas drove back the storming party with great loss. This so disheartened the sepoy that they would not renew the attack ; and Mowbray compelled the garrison to surrender by bombardment, after it had been reduced from 600 to 70 inhabitants.

General Martindell, Gillespie's successor, having joined the camp, marched against Nahir, which the Ghoorkas evacuated, retiring to Jythuck, a fortress built on a ridge 4000 feet above the adjacent plain. The general, having reconnoitered, resolved to turn it on both flanks, concealing his intentions by an attack in front ; but, most unfortunately, the grenadiers leading the southern column, underrating their adversaries, rashly attacked a stockade well flanked with rocks, and were received with a heavy and well-directed fire from all sides, and driven back upon the sepoy, who had not formed into line so as to support them. The Ghoorkas, perceiving their advantage, dashed

forward, driving the British before them to the confines of their camp ; after which, General Martindell retreated to Nahir.

General Ochterlony, with the army of the Sutlej, was as conspicuous for caution as Martindell for rashness. He was opposed by Ameerah Sing, the most experienced and courageous of the Ghoorka leaders, whose generalship was well and successfully tested. By a series of manœuvres the general obtained possession of post after post, until the entire country between Plassea and Belarpore submitted to him.

General Wood, on the other hand, was most unfortunate ; while passing through the Sal forest, his troops came upon an unexpected and well-appointed stockade, which opened a fearfully destructive fire ; but Colonel Hardyman, of the 17th Royal regiment, turned both flanks of the Ghoorkas, and was rapidly securing the victory, when the general, disheartened by the surprise, to the astonishment and indignation of the entire force, sounded a retreat. This was a type of Wood's campaign, timidity and injudiciousness invariably betraying the incapacity of the commander.

The fourth army, under General Morley, was quite as discredibly commanded as that under Wood. Dividing his forces, he posted three large detachments twenty miles distant from each other ; and was panic-struck when two of them were cut off by the enemy. Upon learning this, he suddenly left the camp, and fled to Calcutta. His successor, General George Wood, was a cautious but timid man ; and the consequence was, that the remainder of the campaign was passed in disgraceful idleness.

The effect of this disastrous campaign naturally induced a feeling of confidence amongst the enemies of the British in India. In the Peishwa and Scindia there was a marked alteration ; while Runjeet and Ameer Khan shewed they were ready, and only wanted the opportunity to act. But the Marquis of Hastings was nothing daunted ; and having ascertained that Kumaoon, in the north of Nepaul, was destitute of troops, he determined, as he could not spare any of his army, to send an irregular force ; for which purpose he appointed Lieut.-Colonel Gardiner and Captain Hearsay, formerly in the Mahratta service, to enlist a force among the Patans of Rohilcund.

A considerable number of men were thus collected and divided between Gardiner and Hearsay. The latter blockaded Koolulgurt ; and while in this position, the enemy advanced to relieve the place, and forced him into an engagement, in which he was wounded, captured, and sent to Almora by his conqueror, Hasta-Dal. Gardiner, understanding well the mode of Patan warfare, submitted to their ways, but

proceeded nevertheless with skill and caution, and advanced to Almora shortly after Hearsay's defeat, where he was joined by Colonel Nicholls with a small train of artillery and 2000 regular infantry. Hasta-Dal attempted to relieve Almora, but was defeated, and fell in the skirmish; which so disheartened the Ghoorkas that they surrendered the place, and with it the prisoner Hearsay.

Notwithstanding repeated orders from Calcutta, General Martindell remained comparatively inactive; and when he did move, he had neither plan nor object in view. He wasted the season before Jythuck: now trying an active siege, but wanting courage to push it boldly; then a blockade, without cutting off the enemy's communications. His only success was in wasting men and money, and destroying British reputation in India.

General Ochterlony, however, prepared to follow up his advantages, while the Ghoorkas retired before him to a formidable position, consisting of a mountain-ridge of elevated peaks, all but two of which were stockaded, and further protected by the redoubts of Maloun and Seringarhar. The two unprotected peaks Ochterlony seized, being confident their attempted recovery would bring on a decisive battle. And so it proved. The Ghoorkas attacked the British with desperation for two hours, when they were driven back, with the loss of their commander and one-third of their force. Ameera Sing would have continued to resist, but was deserted by the other chiefs; eventually he procured safety for himself and followers by surrendering to the British the country west of Kalee, as well as the fortress of Jythuck.

Proposals having been made for peace, the English insisted on stipulations to which the Nepaulese refused to accede; and Ochterlony was ordered to take command of the main army. In February 1816 he penetrated into the forests which protect the frontier of Nepal, and soon reached the fortifications guarding the chief pass through the hills. A brief inspection satisfied him of the inutility of attempting to capture the stockades by assault, and that he must adopt other plans. Upon further inspection of the locality he discovered a narrow water-course, which was forthwith entered by a column of troops, headed by Ochterlony. After imminent danger and privation, the summit was attained, and the enemy abandoned their intrenchments as useless. The Ghoorkas now brought their whole force to bear upon a post occupied by the English at Makwanpore, but were completely defeated; and Colonels Kelly and O'Halloran having obtained another victory, the rajah of Nepaul solicited peace upon the terms he had recently rejected. During this war the Ghoorkas, nominally subjects of

the Celestial empire, had applied in that quarter for assistance; upon which the Chinese assembled an army, but procrastinated marching until the war had terminated. Upon learning, however, the origin of the war, they pronounced the Ghoorkas well-deserving punishment, and unhesitatingly left them to their fate. The governor-general was not inclined to act with oppressiveness, nor encumber himself with useless possessions; he therefore limited the Ghoorkas to Nepaul proper, without disturbing their ancient dominions.

Our reverses at the commencement of the war gave rise to fresh Mahratta intrigues. Scindia, who headed the confederacy, had established a permanent camp, protected by the fort of Gwalior, which had become a flourishing town in a few years, the increase of which contributed largely to his pride, as proof of his growing power. He not only intrigued with the Peishwa at Poonah, and Holkar at Indore, but entered into alliance with the rajah of Berar, and obtained promised assistance, upon emergency, from Runjeet Sing and the Rajpoot rajahs, and even sought to win the rajah of Mysore. This combination during the Nepaulese war, had it been brought into operation, would assuredly have seriously affected the British authority; but the mutual jealousy of the Mahrattas, and knowledge of each other's treachery, combined with suspicion of their allies, required too much time to organise with effect such a confederacy, during which peace was concluded with the Ghoorkas, and the British concentrated their attention upon central India.

During this period of uncertainty and anxiety, the residents at Poonah and Nagpore were Messrs. Elphinstone and Jenkins, diplomatists of unrivalled ability, possessed of enlarged experience, great decision, and intimately acquainted with the relations between the native states. The position of the resident at Poonah was one of much difficulty, arising out of the treaty of alliance signed between the Peishwa and the British. The Marquis of Wellesley at the time knew that necessity only had induced the Peishwa to contract the alliance, and foresaw that jealousy would rankle in the native prince's mind, and a period arrive when he would display his hostility. This view was a correct one: the state of the Peishwa's affairs being now much improved, and the various Mahratta states tendering him their support, he became desirous of cancelling his engagement with the British. He was likewise much dissatisfied with various decisions of the English governors in their capacities of arbitrators between himself and his vassals, conceiving that interest, not right, had been the foundation of them. Another great source of annoyance was compelling him to

renounce his supremacy over Kolapore and Sawant Waree, on the coast of the Northern Concan ; these states fitted out small piratical vessels, and had been the scourge of the western seas for years. In 1812 Lord Minto obliged them to succumb to his power, taking possession of their principal ports, and preventing their maritime depredations, the loss of which was the ground of offence to the Peishwa. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that, like most Asiatic princes, Bajee Rao was equally ambitious and timid, fond of intriguing, and swayed by alternate desires and fears. Mr. Elphinstone, by combining discretion with decision, held him in restraint, until his inclinations being inflamed by a profligate minister, he dashed on through criminality and treachery to his eventual destruction.

Upon the death of the rajah of Nagpore, in 1816, his son, Pursajee Bhonslah, who was blind, paralysed, and idiotic, succeeded him, when two factions divided the court ; the resident secretly supported Appa Sahib, the next heir, securing him to the British interest. This was a blow to the Mahratta confederacy ; for though Appa proved treacherous, his timely withdrawal from that union was considered of the greatest importance to the British.

The most depraved minister of the Peishwa was Trimbuckjee Danglia, who commenced life as a runner, then became a spy, and after passing through a variety of degrading offices became the Peishwa's favourite, with the command of the artillery and rank of prime minister. These steps were rewards for pandering to his master's licentiousness and innumerable daring crimes. Trimbuckjee shared in the Mahratta hatred to Europeans, whose presence he believed prevented the Peishwa's supremacy ; it was therefore a studied policy with him to join any attempt to expel or reduce the British power ; he accordingly instigated Bajee Rao to renew his claims upon the Nizam and Guicowar, seizing the estates of the principal landholders, whose revenues enriched his treasury. By this audacious step he collected five millions sterling previous to the commencement of hostilities.

The claims against the Nizam and Guicowar Mr. Elphinstone knew were pretences urged for the purpose of keeping open the communications between the courts of Poonah, Baroda, and Hyderabad. He therefore strove for an arrangement ; but was thwarted by the Peishwa and his minister. The Guicowar was also anxious for a settlement between the Peishwa and himself ; he accordingly sent a representative to Poonah, with power to conclude a treaty, who, after wasting twelve months, resolved to return and leave the arbitration to the

British government. This would have foiled the plans of the Peishwa and Trimbuckjee, who accordingly made every exertion to conciliate the envoy's favour and arrest his return. Gungadhar Shastre, a Brahmin of repute, the Guicowar's representative, was excessively vain, and readily duped by the professed respect Trimbuckjee paid to his abilities, to whom he proposed resigning his office, that the Peishwa might secure more able services. Mr. Elphinstone having guaranteed the Shastre's safety, finding negotiations dormant, proposed his return; to his surprise the envoy refused, when it transpired that a marriage was negotiating between the Shastre's son and Bajee Rao's sister-in-law. The Guicowar refusing to cede some territory, the marriage was broken off. The refusal of the Shastre to permit his wife to visit the palace proved another offence in the Peishwa's eyes.

These differences soon produced a quarrel between the Peishwa and the Shastre. Trimbuckjee therefore determined, as he was too deeply committed to extricate himself, to alter his policy, and resolved upon assassination. The Shastre being invited to accompany Bajee Rao on a pilgrimage to the temple of Binderpore, Mr. Elphinstone proceeded with them as far as Nafik, where he was induced to remain while his companions went forward. The night after their arrival, the Shastre, instigated by Trimbuckjee, joined the Peishwa in some ceremonies of much sanctity, receiving in return the warmest assurances of friendship and esteem. Immediately, however, on quitting the temple, the unfortunate Shastre was almost hewn to pieces by hired assassins. The murder of an envoy, whose safety the British had guaranteed, excited universal indignation; and the sanctity of the spot, and the character of the victim, afforded additional ground of condemnation. The strict inquiry Mr. Elphinstone enforced fixed the guilt upon the Peishwa and his minister. Hereupon Bajee Rao was informed that he might attribute the culpability to the actual perpetrators, but that his crafty and guilty minister must be surrendered to the British authorities. The Peishwa hesitating, a British force was quickly assembled at Poonah; upon which he delivered Trimbuckjee to the resident, having obtained a promise that his life would be spared. Accordingly the minister was confined in the Tannah fort, on Salsette island, where he admitted his participation in the murder, in obedience to the Peishwa's instructions.

Tannah being entirely garrisoned by Europeans, Trimbuckjee was enabled, by some native servants, to correspond with his friends; a horsekeeper, who passed his place of confinement daily, being his chief agent. This man carelessly sung, in the peculiar Mahratta recitative

style, his information, while the sentries, ignorant of the language, were incompetent to detect the plot, even had they had any suspicion. All being ready, Trimbuckjee made an excuse for quitting his rooms, dressed himself as a servant, reached an embrasure, and lowered himself into the ditch by a rope which one of his accomplices had secured to a gum. He had friends ready outside ; and long ere his flight was discovered he was safe from pursuit. The Peishwa disclaimed acquaintance with Trimbuckjee's escape ; but Mr. Elphinstone ascertained that he not only supplied him with money to raise troops, but had given him an audience. A remarkable display of duplicity ensued. Trimbuckjee disciplined large numbers of Mahrattas and Pindarries, whose existence the Peishwa denied ; and when his falsehood became transparent, he repudiated their actions and threatened them as insurgents. Eventually he placed a price on Trimbuckjee's head, and forfeited the estates of his principal coadjutors.

It is here necessary, before entering upon the results of the events just recorded, to review other portions of the Indian possessions. The reputation gained by the British from the issue of the Nepaulese war was augmented in the ensuing year by the capture of Hatrass, a fort belonging to a tributary of the Company named Diaram, who, relying upon its position and reputed impregnability, became contumacious, and determined the authorities upon his chastisement. The military depôt at Cawnpore furnished a large train of artillery, which in a few hours effected a breach in the walls, and the principal magazine exploding, finished the demolition of this invulnerable fort, unaccompanied with loss to the besiegers. The affair effected a sensible impression upon the refractory chiefs in Hindostan Proper.

The Pindarries, however, increased in numbers and daring proportionately with the success of the British arms ; upon the destruction of Hatrass, a large body entered and desolated a portion of the Madras territory ; and in the following season, despite our exertions, ravaged the Deccan. The governor-general, convinced that eventually these audacious proceedings would be noticed and ordered to be suppressed by the authorities at home, merely acted on the defensive, waiting events, and watching the growing treachery of the Mahrattas, at the same time making every preparation for a war, which he saw was inevitable.

This course received the sanction of the home executive, who became at last convinced that Cornwallis and Barlow had erred in their policy of non-interference ; and upon the renewal of the charter in 1813 orders were despatched to place Jeypore under British protection when opportunity favoured. Upon the termination of the Ne-

paulese war, the capital of Jeypore being threatened by Ameer Khan and the Pindarries, overtures of an alliance with the prince were made; but these advances were received with indifference, owing, it subsequently appeared, to a supposition entertained by the Jeypore prince that Ameer Khan would abandon his plans, under the impression that British protection could be secured at pleasure; upon which the governor-general abandoned any further negotiations until he adopted the line of action he had in view.

The Peishwa, though professing the most perfect amity towards the English, was known by the resident to be in league with Trimbuckjee, and fostering a rebellion nominally against his own dominions. He was manifestly preparing for war;—his treasures were removed from Poona, his forts repaired and garrisoned, and he levied troops from all quarters. Upon this the governor in council declared that Bajee Rao had broken his treaty with the English, and should be forced to render satisfaction for his past, together with security for his future conduct. His principal forts being at the time in the hands of the British, he had no choice between war or concession; he reluctantly adopted the latter alternative, and a treaty was signed on the 18th of June, 1817, in which he abandoned his pretensions to be considered as the head of the Mahratta chiefs, giving up a quantity of territory and the fortress of Ahmednagar to the British.

As a sequence to the foregoing treaty, a supplementary one was executed in the following November with the Guicowar, in which the claims of the Peishwa upon him were commuted by the payment of four lacs of rupees annually; the British receiving, as their share of the agreement, the city of Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujerat, a place of considerable political and commercial importance.

The Marquis of Hastings, being now comparatively unfettered, proceeded to execute his plans against the Pindarries. He resolved on pushing forward unexpectedly several corps to occupy certain positions, so that the enemy were prevented from concentrating their forces. The success of this plan he considered rested upon secrecy and celerity. The first effort of his policy which greatly influenced the succeeding war was directed against Scindia, to whom both the Pindarries and Mahrattas looked for support. Two corps, one under the governor-general, the other under Major-General Dorkin, so effectually isolated him that he was forced either to fight or treat. The latter, placed as he was, he knew was his only alternative, though repugnant to his sentiments; and thus early in the war the promoter and supporter of opposition to our rule was detached from his associates.

The treaty was to the effect that Scindia should use his best exertions to annihilate the Pindarries, and furnish a contingent to act with the British, under the direction of a British officer ; for the complete efficiency of which, as well as the pay of the troops, he was to resign for three years his claim against the Company ; that the sums paid as pensions to his family and ministers should be appropriated to the payment of the cavalry he was to furnish ; and it was further agreed that the rest of his army should occupy posts assigned by the English, who alone could order their removal. A further stipulation admitted the British to garrison the forts of Asseerghur and Hindia during the war, as pledges for his fidelity ; and the eighth article dispossessed him of the absolute control of the Rajpoot states.

This treaty, so adverse to Scindia's inclinations, was opposed in its execution by every sort of pretext : his contingent was with difficulty obtained, and Asseerghur not delivered up, the governor, it was stated, refusing to comply with his instructions. The British eventually besieged and captured the fort, when a letter was discovered from Scindia directing the governor to comply with any and every command of the Peishwa. This letter Scindia endeavoured to palliate upon the plea of the long-established friendship between their families, an extenuation Lord Hastings admitted ; but as a penalty for so gross a violation, he demanded the absolute cession of Asseerghur, which in our keeping placed an effectual check upon the freebooters and robbers who had hovered about it, while under the Mahratta government it being a sure refuge for them.

The main attack against the Pindarries was now arranged. Situated as they were in Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda, the armies of Bengal, Gujerat, and the Deccan moved simultaneously towards them. The army of the Deccan, numbering fifty-three thousand men, under Sir Thomas Hislop, formed the centre, being supported by the Bengal army, twenty-four thousand strong, on one side, and the Gujerat army, nearly as formidable, upon the other ; while the entire force of the enemy scarcely numbered thirty thousand, and from the jealousy of their chiefs, Cheetor, Kurrur Khan, and Nasil Mahomed, were destitute of all unity of action. Favourable as circumstances thus appeared, events at Poonah entirely altered the campaign, and brought us into a war with the Peishwa.

An impression prevailing that the treaty which Bajee Rao had signed at Poonah was intended to be infringed, the resident declined attending him when he paid his next annual visit of devotion to the temple of Pundesore. This was done with a view to restore the con-

fidence between the British government and the Peishwa, while he, under pretence of meeting this concession, dismissed a body of his cavalry ; but it was ascertained that each officer had seven months' pay in advance, with orders to be vigilant and ready, and when summoned, to bring as many volunteers as possible.

Instead of returning to Poonah, the Peishwa proceeded to Maholy, near Satara, a place invested with great sanctity by the Hindoos : while there, he was waited on by Sir John Malcolm, political agent to the governor-general, who had been visiting and instructing the different residents respecting the proceedings against the Pindarries. Sir John, usually held to be an able diplomatist, was completely duped by the professions of the Peishwa, and returned to Poonah, satisfied that by encouraging his desire to augment his forces, and treating him with confidence, the British would find an able ally. The resident, Mr. Elphinstone, differed entirely from Sir John's views, but was overruled, and the hill-forts, which were held for the performance of the treaty, were delivered up to the Peishwa, while General Smith's force, placed so as to intimidate Poonah, was marched to the frontiers of Candeish, leaving scarcely any protection for the residency. The Peishwa returned to Poonah in September, after having matured his plans against the English at Maholy. The Mahratta chiefs, however, before uniting with him, doubting his resolution, compelled him to swear that he would be guided by the advice of Bappoo Gokla, a general who had their entire confidence.

The Peishwa did not neglect Malcolm's absurd recommendation to recruit his army ; upon that point his exertions were unceasing, neither did he omit storing and repairing his forts, or manning his fleet. Trimbukjee Danglia likewise contributed his assistance by engaging the Bhuls, Ramoosies, and various predatory tribes ; while constant despatches passed to Nagpore and the encampments of Scindia, Holkar, and Ameer Khan. The assassination of the resident and disaffection of the troops were personally undertaken by the Peishwa.

The fidelity of the sepoys had never been suspected ; but the reports from every quarter, together with the largeness of the offered bribes, and a still more important fact, that several of their families were in the Peishwa's power, and suffering from his vindictiveness, at length created some apprehension. But to the honour of these gallant men, neither domestic considerations, nor the rewards held out, had any influence on them. All attempts were ineffectual ; some indignantly spurned the offers, while others appeared to accept them, for the purpose of learning the nature of the intrigues, and then divulged

them to their officers. If there was this principle of honour exhibited on our side ; on the Peishwa's, it would not be doing justice to a brave soldier if we omitted stating that Bappoo Gokla would not for a moment listen to or sanction the assassination of Mr. Elphinstone ; on the contrary, he immediately sent word to the resident to apprise him of his danger. That gentleman, knowing that a European regiment was marching to support him, and aware of the indecision of Bajee Rao, entertained hopes that his courage might fail at the last moment.

The forces in cantonments being badly posted, Mr. Elphinstone moved them to Khirkee village, which had been pointed out by General Smith, in the event of a rupture. This withdrawal the Mahrattas attributed to fear, and the abandoned cantonments were immediately plundered. Parties of horse at the same time advanced on the British lines, while the language of the Peishwa's ministers became most offensive and insulting. On the 3d of November, Mr. Elphinstone deeming longer delay inimical to our interest, ordered the light battalion and a body of auxiliary horse to march on Poonah, when the Peishwa resolved at once to commence hostilities.

The only portion of the Mahratta army visible was the infantry assembling on the tops of the surrounding heights. Ascending one of these, it was perceived that a mass of cavalry covered nearly the whole of the plain below, towards the city ; while endless bodies were pouring in from every quarter. Mr. Elphinstone, discovering the attempt the infantry were making to cut him off from the camp, retired with his family to Kirkhee, exposed to the Mahratta fire from the opposite side of the river ; at the same time ordering Lieut.-Colonel Burr to attack the Peishwa's forces, and Major Ford to support him with the irregulars. The Mahrattas, surprised at this movement from troops they had fancied disheartened, hesitated ; Gokla, however, encouraged his men to advance, using praises, taunts, and implorations, as best suited his purpose ; but the Peishwa, after the troops had advanced, sent word to Gokla not to fire the first gun. The general, seeing the messenger, and guessing his errand, instantly opened a nine-gun battery, detaching a corps of rocket-camels to the right, and advancing his cavalry upon both flanks, nearly surrounded the British ; but the rapidity of the cavalry movement left the infantry in the rear, with the exception of a battalion under a Portuguese named De Pinto, who had taken a shorter route, and concealed his men amongst the low jungle. De Pinto formed with great steadiness, but was suddenly charged by the English sepoys, who, in their impetuosity, became detached from the rest of the troops. Gokla, to take advantage of this, led forward

six thousand cavalry, but was perceived by Colonel Burr, who instantly stopped the pursuit of De Pinto's routed force, and ordered the sepoys to reserve their fire. In front of the British left, and unknown to either party was a deep swamp, into which the Mahratta horse dashed with such impetuosity that those behind rode over their sinking companions in front. The sepoys poured their reserved fire into them with terrible effect; whilst the few who reached the sepoys' bayonets were despatched with ease. A company of Europeans now advancing in support, the Mahrattas fled in a body, leaving the English victors over a body ten times their number, with the loss of but eighty-three in killed and wounded.

Upon the declaration of hostilities, Bajee Rao gave vent to his sanguinary and vindictive disposition. The residency was plundered and burnt; the families of the soldiery that fell into his hands beaten, robbed, and many mutilated; the crops destroyed, trees torn up, and even the graves violated. An engineer officer, surveying, was killed. Two brothers named Vaughan, one a captain in the Madras army, were captured whilst travelling near Poonah, and hanged; but Gokla terminated these atrocities, Mr. Elphinstone representing to him that a severe retaliation would follow the continuance of such acts.

The communications from Poonah having ceased, General Smith, suspecting something amiss, prepared to return, and was followed and harassed by parties of the Mahratta light horse. On the 13th of November the two detachments effected a junction, marched towards the camp of Bajee Rao, who, after a sharp engagement, fled to Sattara, leaving his capital to the mercy of the English. Possession was at once taken of it, and further reinforcements having arrived, General Smith started in pursuit of the Peishwa.

At Nagpore very similar occurrences had taken place. Notwithstanding that Appah Sahib was chiefly indebted to the English for his elevation, he soon exhibited his ingratitude, by entering into secret correspondence with the Peishwa. This, although a violation of his treaty, the English government did not notice, the resident considering it would be impolitic to betray any suspicion respecting the rajah's integrity, his communications being frank and unreserved. Mr. Jenkins did not, however, trust to demeanour only; the increase of the Nagpore army, and the growing correspondence with the court of Poonah, spoke more plainly than the rajah's professions. But it was hoped that Bajee Rao's defeat would have had its influence upon the rajah; still the worst was prepared for, and instant reinforcements demanded. In a short time suspicions were confirmed, news being brought of an

intended attack upon the residency and cantonments, which the movements of the rajah's army tended to confirm, and defensive measures were at once taken. Colonel Scott with his brigade forthwith occupied the residency and neighbouring heights. The British force, about 1500 strong, were here attacked, on the night of the 26th of November, by an army numbering 18,000 men, and again on the following day, when, after many hours' severe fighting, the enemy were repulsed with great loss.

The defeat of his army, added to the appearance of reinforcements, destroyed the hopes of Appah Sahib, who sought to make his peace with the British, declaring the late attack had been made without his cognisance. He was ordered to draw off his troops from the vicinity before any reply would be made, with which he instantly complied, but still continued to vacillate in his conduct. General Doveton having now arrived with his army in support of the resident, the following terms were offered the rajah : viz. to deliver up his ordnance and military stores, disband his Arab mercenaries at once, and his own troops afterwards ; that the British should occupy Nagpore, and himself reside at the residency as a hostage. He was still left with the nominal sovereignty and functions, against the wish of the governor-general, who acceded to the representations of Mr. Jenkins ; and the latter, after many evasions, and a further struggle with the Arab troops, brought the rajah to accede to the British terms.

The Marquis of Hastings ordered the embodiment in a treaty of the provisional engagements with Appah Sahib ; but before final instructions reached Nagpore a fresh revolution had burst forth. The cession of the forts of Berar was refused by the governors. This, it was suspected, and soon confirmed, was at the instigation of the rajah ; while correspondence between the rajah, his troops, and former ministers, clearly demonstrating renewed hostility, was detected. The murder likewise of his predecessor was clearly brought home to him. These offences, great as they were, would not have induced Mr. Jenkins to have adopted extraordinary measures ; but information of the rajah's intended escape reaching him, he ordered a detachment to occupy the palace and capture the rajah, who was placed in confinement at the residency until ordered to be sent, strongly escorted, into Hindostan. But while on his way to Benares, appointed as his residence, by pretending illness and bribing his guards, he escaped. The officer in charge visited the rajah at the usual hour at night, found him apparently asleep in bed, the attendants requesting him not to disturb their master, repose being essential to his enfeebled condition ; this was

acceded to, and a hasty glance failing to detect a pillow as a substitute for the invalid, the officer departed, Appah Sahib at the time being miles away. His escort, it subsequently appeared, were his own soldiery, whom he had been allowed to select, the authorities not wishing, upon his leaving his kingdom, to irritate his feelings by a denial. Appah fled to the Mahedo hills, and thence to Asseerghur, where he joined Cheeto, the leader of the Pindarries.

General Smith, who pursued the flying Peishwa, had a harassing chase through the ghauts ; and getting too far to the north, Bajee Rao returned and threatened to retake Poonah. Upon which Colonel Burr ordered to his assistance the Seram detachment, which marched under the command of Captain Staunton. It consisted of one battalion of native infantry, three hundred irregular horse, and two six-pounders manned by twenty-four Europeans. A night-march brought them to the hills overlooking Konjaum, where Captain Staunton suddenly found himself confronting the Peishwa's army twenty-five thousand strong.

An engagement ensued, which, incredible as it may appear, terminated in favour of the British ; men and officers gallantly supporting the reputation of the English. The feats of daring performed this day were never excelled in Indian warfare ; while, on the side of the enemy, acts of barbarity which were intended to intimidate produced a contrary effect, and added to the desperate valour displayed on the part of the English. The Peishwa, his general Lokla, and Trimbuckjee Danglia witnessed the engagement with dismay, and when night came on made a rapid retreat. The Peishwa was pursued ; but, as usual, without success.

Sattara was then attacked by General Smith, and capitulated ; after which a proclamation was issued deposing the Peishwa ; and, with the exception of a small portion retained for the rajah of Sattara, his territories were declared forfeited to the Company. Regulations were also issued for equitably adjusting the rental and taxation of the country.

Bajee Rao, who had retreated to Sholapore, being joined by a body of horse, moved westward. General Smith, discovering the enemy's tactics, pursued with cavalry and horse-artillery, and came upon the Mahrattas suddenly. In the engagement which ensued, Gokla was cut down by a dragoon, and the Mahrattas fled, leaving their baggage and several elephants, and their captive hostage the rajah of Sattara. Bajee Rao now moved on Nagpore ; but finding the dissimulation of the rajah of that country had been punished, he returned to the northern confines.

The Marquis of Hastings having resolved upon the extermination of the Pindarries, Sir John Malcolm and Colonel Adams, acting with General Marshall, drove them from their strongholds ; upon which Wasil Mohammed and Kharrum Khan united their forces and proceeded to Gwalior, whither they were invited by Scindia. Cheeto took to the north-west, trusting to Holkar for support.

These movements being known, the governor-general sent a strong force to cut off the enemy before reaching Gwalior, bringing one division close on Scindia's camp. The Pindarries failing in their object of entering Gwalior, took flight into Mewar. One body, however, ravaged the Deccan and entered the Carnatic, where they were destroyed or dispersed before the ensuing February ; and Cheeto, pursued by Malcolm, sought refuge in Holkar's encampment.

On the 21st of December the English sighted the enemy's entrenchments. Holkar's army was strongly posted near Mahedpore, the river Supra covering his left, and a deep ravine protecting his right flank, with a strong display of artillery in front, amounting to seventy guns, well manned by the Patans. The British, while fording the Supra, suffered severely from the enemy's guns ; and each regiment, in order to escape the slaughter, was ordered, after taking its position on the other side of the river, to lie on the ground. At length, the whole having crossed, the signal was given, when they advanced rapidly to the charge, carrying all before them. Holkar's lines were broken, his guns captured, and a complete though bloody victory was obtained. A large amount of military stores was left on the field by the enemy, in addition to the whole of their artillery.

After this engagement the British forces marched to Mundinore, where envoys met them, deputed by young Holkar to treat for peace, which was granted more favourably for him than he might have anticipated. The victory over Holkar rendered Scindia perfectly submissive : he could not, however, control his feudatories, one of whom sheltered Cheeto and his Pindarries ; this was immediately noticed, and General Brown sent to resent his contumacious behaviour. A more efficient man for the service could not have been selected ; he acted with such promptitude, that Juswunt Rao's camp was surprised, his town stormed, all his guns captured, and another prince substituted for him over the district he governed.

Cheeto now fled with his Pindarries to the north-west districts ; and the pursuit was then handed over to the Gujerat division, by whose efforts he was at length surprised, and his army dispersed by a small detachment from the fort of Hindia. Escaping with a few fol-

lowers, he sought protection from the nabob of Bhopal, who, however, rejected his overtures. Thus situated, he was compelled to join Appah Sahib, also a fugitive, but who was unable to afford him an effectual shelter; and having left this, his last hope, he wandered friendless through the fastnesses, and finally fell by an attack from a tiger. The Pindarries were now prostrated; destitute of leaders and homes, their position had become desperate, and eventually such as remained of them settled down to agricultural pursuits.

On his return to Madras, Sir Thomas Hislop proceeded to possess himself of the various forts yielded by Scindia and Holkar. Matters proceeded peaceably until the advanced guard approached the fort of Talnier, when a fire was opened from the walls. This unprovoked assault, and rupture of the treaty by which Talnier was ceded to the English, occasioned much surprise. General Hislop not being desirous of having recourse to severe measures, sent a message to the governor, informing him of the stipulations, and that in the event of any further opposition, he would be treated as a rebel. Instead of this message producing the effect intended, the reply was of a hostile character; upon which a six-pounder and two howitzers were ordered at once to play on the gateway of the fort. The enemy briskly replied, and opened a spirited fire upon the besieging force. The British guns were found too small to do much damage to the walls; and it was at length decided to carry the gate by assault. A storming party was ordered to advance; upon which a flag of truce was exhibited on the walls, and the commander shortly after appeared, and declared his readiness to surrender the fort according to the stipulations acceded to, time being allowed to make the requisite preparations. To this the British general replied, that the surrender must be immediate and unconditional, and directed his reply to be made known to the adverse troops. Great reluctance being shewn to convey this message, the storming party were led on, passing through the dilapidated walls, and advanced to the last gate without opposition. On arriving there, a small gate was opened, through which Major Gordon, with a few supporters, entered; a short conference ensued, the enemy closing round Gordon, who was thus completely entrapped, and with his party barbarously murdered.

This treachery being made known, the English soldiery attacked the place with desperation, to avenge their murdered comrades. The pioneers soon forced an entrance; and the besieged, to the number of 150, were destroyed: some few hid themselves in haystacks; but being discovered, the stacks were fired, and the fugitives, in attempting to escape from the flames, were shot like dogs by the infuriated soldiers.

Two Arab boys and an old woman, who had secreted themselves in a well, were the only survivors of this fearful assault. The Killidan and Arab commander of the fort, Sir Thomas Hislop hung as rebels. Their execution was strongly remonstrated against by several of the officers, both of them at the period of Gordon's murder being prisoners in the keeping of the British. Hislop's line of action proved correct, and ensured the peaceful surrender of the other fortresses. The keys of Chandore Galna and Unktunky were sent into the British camp, and immediately occupied. All that was now wanting to terminate the war was the capture of Bajee Rao and Appah Sahib.

The Peishwa moved about with a daily decreasing army, and at last was surprised and defeated by Col. Adams, who crowned his victory by the capture of Chandah fort. Bajee Rao now made proposals to Mr. Elphinstone; but as they implied the possession of authority, he was informed that nothing short, of unconditional submission would be listened to. Deeply mortified, he retreated with about 8000 men to a strong hill-post, whence he sent agents to Sir John Malcolm, the nearest of his adversaries, to treat for a surrender. Malcolm, coveting the honour of being considered the terminator of the war, entered into negotiations at once; the terms of which were his surrender to Sir John, the abdication of his throne, and the passing the remainder of his life within the British territory, the Company allowing him 80,000*l.* a year, and the retention of his private treasures. These concessions were reluctantly confirmed by the governor-general, who considered them greatly disproportioned to the condition of the Peishwa; and he condemned Malcolm in strong terms for his injudiciousness. Trim-buckjee Danglia did not long remain free after his master's surrender; and being captured, was confined a prisoner for life.

Appah Sahib was for some time blockaded among the hills; but at length made his escape to Asseerghur, which was then invested by General Doveton, supported by Malcolm with the Malwa contingent, a strong force of artillery.

Asseerghur, after an obstinate defence, surrendered on the 9th of April, 1819; but Appah Sahib had fled previously to its capture, and was not to be heard of. Fort after fort was now surrendered, and the governor-general commenced his plans for managing the captured territory. The possessors of property were treated with every consideration, and the law little changed in its enforcement; but an increased vigilance was needed in the criminal courts to suppress the organised bodies of murderers and robbers that infested the country. By these means a great change in the condition of the natives was effected,

which, on the whole, gave much satisfaction. At Barcilly in Rohilkund, however, some resistance was made. A tax was there levied to defray the cost of the police; unpopular in itself, it was rendered still more so by its mode of collection. The head of the police, a man hated for his audacity and severity, was appointed by the magistrate to collect the tax. In consequence of the offensiveness of the tax, several meetings were held, and a petition against it presented by the mufti to the magistrate. The petition was unnoticed; and popular discontent was aggravated by a female being wounded by the police while distraining for the tax.

These occurrences led to a collision with the people, which was attended with bloodshed, and left behind it a strong feeling of discontent.

With the fall of Asseerghur ended the Mahratta war, famous alike for the many engagements which had taken place, and the difficulties presented by the nature of the country in which they occurred. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and invalided was considerable; and amongst other enemies which our troops had to encounter during this harassing campaign, not the least was the cholera, which made its first appearance in the south of Bengal during the rainy season of 1817. Thence it made its way westward to the English camp, where it committed great havoc, especially among the troops of the governor-general in Bundelkund, where about a tenth of the entire number were carried off. Europeans and natives were alike attacked, though not with equally fatal effects, the more poorly clad and fed suffering the most. Since that time the disease has scarcely ever been absent from some part of the Indian territories.

Early in 1822 the Marquis of Hastings, having resigned the high office he had filled during nine years, returned to England, leaving India, as several of his predecessors had done, in an apparent state of tranquillity. A review of his active administration will shew that it had been attended with the most striking and brilliant events. The aggressions of the Mahrattas and Pindarries had been put an end to, and the power of those daring and restless people completely broken; whilst Scindia alone remained of all the disturbers of the public peace, almost powerless, and no longer feared as a dangerous adversary. The Company's name and reputation had been extended by the addition of large territories; and on all sides the revenues and trade had increased, and the people appeared to be contented and prospering.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST BURMESE WAR, AND THE CESSION OF ASSAM AND THE  
TENASSERIM PROVINCES TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

A.D. 1822-1827.

IF the Marquis of Hastings had the honour of terminating successfully one of the many important struggles in which the British forces had been engaged with native powers, he enjoyed the credit of having bequeathed to his successor a war as tedious and harassing, if not as brilliant, as any in which that government had ever been involved. Before proceeding to detail the events of the first Burmese war, it will be necessary, in order to preserve this historical narrative in its integrity, to advert in the first place to the nomination of Earl Amherst as governor-general mainly through ministerial influence; which was successfully urged against the superior claims of Lord William Bentinck, who had previously distinguished himself as governor of Madras.

The temporary administration of Mr. Adams, pending the arrival of this latter nobleman, was rendered notorious by the exercise of a power which had hitherto not been used, though vested in the supreme government. To the censorship of the press of India was added the discretion of banishing any refractory or troublesome editor from the Company's territories. This despotic control was exercised by Mr. Adams against the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, who, upon publishing some stringent remarks upon the acts of the executive, received notice to quit the country within a few days. This tyrannical proceeding, involving as it did the ruin of an individual, called forth some severe strictures in England, but was nevertheless supported and approved by the home government.

It was at this period also that the negotiations among the European powers, relative to the various Dutch settlements in the East, captured during the war, were brought to a final issue by the British

authorities ceding to Holland the islands of Sumatra and Bencoolen, the former retaining possession of Malacca and Singapore. This last, under the auspices of Sir Stamford Raffles, was destined to rise to an importance as a commercial settlement unknown to any other of our eastern possessions; and at the present time may be considered the heart of the Indian seas.

Another event occurred, during the short administration of Mr. Adams, most disastrous to many of the European community of India. The commercial firm of Palmer and Company had for a series of years, and with the private cognisance of the Marquis of Hastings, contracted for loans of money to the Nizam of the Deccan, amounting in the aggregate to 700,000*l.*; and, as security for the repayment of the balances, they had received a lien on the revenues of the Nizam. Such transactions were contrary to the laws of the Company, which reserved to itself alone the right of entering upon monetary transactions with native powers. Some difficulties having arisen between the contracting parties, the entire affair came under the notice of the supreme government; whereupon the acting governor-general declared Palmer and Company had throughout acted illegally, and could not recover from the Nizam. The effect of this was to cause the immediate insolvency of this wealthy firm, to the serious injury of great numbers of the service, who had employed them as their bankers.

Whilst the British had been engaged in the extension of their territories on the west and north-west of India, the Burmese had been scarcely less actively employed in the enlargement of their dominions on the east. In this way the frontiers of the two powers approached each other, until the occupation of Assam, Arracan, and Cachar, finally rendered them near neighbours. On the part of the Company there was little to hope for by any aggression in the direction of Burmah; whilst, on the other hand, the *éclat* of successes over the inhabitants of the subjugated provinces led the advisers of the golden-footed sovereign of Ava to indulge in dreams of further and more noble acquisition to the westward.

Matters might have remained undisturbed for a long period but for an occurrence which took place on the confines of the south-east territories. In order to render this affair intelligible, it will be first necessary to refer to events which had occurred on our Burman frontier during the previous thirty years.

It was in 1798 that as many as 30,000 of the Mugs, a race inhabiting a part of Arracan, fled from the oppression of their Burmese masters, and sought refuge within the British district of Chittagong. An

asylum was not refused them, and they settled down in villages and towns to various pursuits. Many attempts were subsequently made by the Burmese authorities to persuade the resident at Chittagong to deliver up the fugitives ; but without avail. An embassy was afterwards despatched by the court of Ava to Calcutta, but without inducing any change in the policy of the supreme government. In 1802, and again in 1809, embassies were sent to the governor-general by the Burmese sovereign, having the same subject for object, always with apparent friendly results, but still leaving the matter rankling in the mind of the latter potentate. In 1818 it appeared probable that a rupture would ere long take place between the two powers. The governor-general, however, had no desire for a war which held out such small prospect of gain or renown, and assumed a conciliatory tone in all negotiations. This demeanour was not unnaturally construed into weakness by the barbarian monarch ; and his tone and demands became more assuming as that of the other evinced a more friendly disposition. On the arrival of Lord Amherst in India, a lull in Burmese agitation had taken place ; and it might have been imagined by ordinary spectators that the threatening storm would pass over. Suddenly, however, it burst upon the British territories in a night-attack by the Burmese troops upon the island of Shahporee, at the entrance of the Tek Nauf, or arm of the sea dividing Chittagong from Arracan. It had been usual to keep a small guard on duty to protect the island from any marauders ; but an attack from the Burmese not having been anticipated, the small force was overcome, and the island formally occupied by the Burmese. The governor of Arracan, when called upon to explain this invasion, impudently announced the annexation of it by his government ; and that, moreover, unless the acknowledged right of the Burmese to the island was admitted, the sovereign of Burmah would invade the British territories. This violent act was shortly followed by the imprisonment of the commander and several of the crew of the Company's cruiser *Sophia*. Other open acts of hostility were committed ; and finally large bodies of troops from Assam and Munnipore crossed the frontiers, and, plundering the villages, established themselves within a few miles of Sylhet by means of their usual defences, bamboo stockades. From this position they were driven with considerable loss, as also from several other stockaded posts on the eastern frontier, though not always without loss on the side of the British. These operations occurred during January and February of the year 1824 ; and when a more imposing force under the command of Colonel Innes was preparing to march against the invaders, intelligence was received of a

numerous army of the Burmese having penetrated our territories on the Arracan side, led on by Maha Bandoola, the favourite general of the sovereign of Ava, who, it was stated, was so confident of success, that he carried with him golden fetters, in which the governor-general was to be led captive to the presence of his royal master.

Hostilities being no longer doubtful, Lord Amherst proclaimed war in due form, by issuing a manifesto declaring the Burmese public enemies, stating the various causes of complaint against them, and interdicting all British subjects, European and native, from holding intercourse with them. This proclamation also stated, that the "deliberate silence of the court of Ava, as well as the combination and extent of the operations undertaken by its officers, leave it no longer doubtful that the acts and declarations of the subordinate authorities are fully sanctioned by their sovereign. The governor-general in council therefore, for the safety of the subjects and security of our districts, already seriously alarmed and injured by the approach of the Burmese armies, has felt himself imperatively called on to anticipate the threatened invasion. The national honour no less obviously requires that atonement should be had for wrongs so wantonly inflicted and so insolently maintained, and the national interests equally demand that we should seek, by an appeal to arms, that security against future aggression which the arrogance and grasping spirit of the Burmese government have denied to friendly remonstrance and expostulation."

The ignorance of the authorities upon the geography and resources of the Burmese territories caused some hesitation in adopting a plan of action. It was intended at one time to march on Ava through Arracan, a subsidiary force moving simultaneously from Cachar; but on inquiry this plan was abandoned, the unhealthiness of Arracan being considered insurmountable. It was then resolved that Madras and Bengal should provide an army which should capture Rangoon, the principal Burmese sea-port at the mouth of the river Irrawaddy. The seizure of this place, it was believed, would intimidate the king, and induce him to sue for peace; if otherwise, it was resolved to establish a dépôt of ammunition and military stores at Rangoon, to seize the boats and ascend the river to the capital, a distance of six hundred miles. Port Cornwallis, a harbour in the Andaman Islands was the place of rendezvous to which the Bengal division was conveyed in April, to be followed in May by the Madras force. The united forces were commanded by Sir Archibald Campbell, who had served with great distinction in the Spanish campaigns, but knew little either of Indian wars or discipline. Commodore Grant commanded the naval

part of the expedition, consisting of the *Liffy*, *Larne*, *Sophia*, *Slaney*, with several cruisers, and a small steam-vessel.

The 10th of May found the squadron anchored within the bar of the Irrawaddy, to the great consternation of the Burmese authorities; and as the night advanced watch-fires were lighted in every direction along the shores. The British resolved at once to make for Rangoon, trusting, by the great consternation evinced, that the place would surrender, and afford at once cattle, boats, and boatmen, all of which the expedition was destitute of. Accordingly, arrangements having been speedily made, the fleet sailed up the river on the ensuing morning. At noon the *Liffy* anchored in front of the king's battery at Rangoon, the remainder of the vessels taking position in her rear. These arrangements were effected without the slightest interruption, the enemy appearing completely intimidated. The Burmese authorities, however, at length succeeded in persuading their mercenaries to open a cannonade upon the ships, to which the *Liffy* replied, quickly driving the troops from their guns, and leaving the town deserted by both soldiers and inhabitants.

The complete evacuation of Rangoon was at first viewed with suspicion, it being apprehended that it was intended as a ruse. It soon, however, transpired that upon the arrival of the British becoming known, the governor, aware of the defenceless nature of the place, had ordered the inhabitants to be driven into the thick jungle of the interior, drafting the males into the army, and retaining their wives and children as hostages for their fidelity. This appears to have been a customary practice with the Burman government. The position of the victors was now one of considerable anxiety; for, destitute of supplies, and without the means of travelling either by land or water, it was evident that during the approaching monsoon the hovels of Rangoon were to be their quarters, with an uncertain supply of provisions, and but a remote prospect of reinforcements from Calcutta.

It was known previous to the capture of Rangoon, that there were a few British and American residents in the town, whose absence afforded considerable anxiety to the captors. It subsequently appeared that they were seized and confined, and after repeated examinations by the governor were condemned to death. In this condition the prisoners remained several hours, when a 32-pound shot from the *Liffy* struck the place in which the chiefs were assembled, upon which they hurried off with their prisoners some miles into the interior. An advanced guard of the British fortunately followed in their track, and so alarmed the

Burmese escort that they fled in great haste, leaving their prisoners behind them, who were thus liberated.

The possession of the Golden Dagon Pagoda, about two miles and a half from Rangoon, was Sir A. Campbell's first care. The approach to it on the southern face was through a row of mango, cocoa-nut, and other beautiful trees leading from the town, and shading a good road, at each side of which were monasteries of great antiquity, and richly carved with curious images and ornaments; whilst here and there appeared huge images of griffins and other hideous monsters, guarding the entrance to different pagodas; at the end of this road rose abruptly the eminence on which stood the golden Dagon.

The removal of the inhabitants from Rangoon was but the prelude to the desolation of the country, in the hope that famine would drive the British from the place. This would, doubtless, have been good policy, had humanity accompanied the perpetration; but the evils that it was intended to inflict upon the invaders fell with tenfold severity upon the poor inhabitants, who were as little cared for as though they neither belonged to the country nor were worthy of a moment's consideration to those who directed the war.

The Burmese, who formed a cordon round the British, resolved, while they harassed them, to avoid an engagement. They were concealed in their impenetrable forests, and carried their measures into effect without the slightest chance of observation, whilst with their adversaries all was doubt and uncertainty. Their scouts came in without intelligence, and the natives previously removed from the vicinity, all means of communication were destroyed. The English commander had been induced to suppose that the occupation of Rangoon would instantly have produced its effect upon the court of Ava, and that the demands of the governor-general would have been immediately complied with; but the present aspect of affairs led him to doubt the accuracy of these conclusions. Even the rising of the inhabitants of Pegu against the yoke of the Burmese, which he was informed might be safely relied upon, had not been manifested by the slightest movement.

The court of Ava had been both expecting and preparing for war, but not in the quarter in which it appeared. After the insolent message sent to Chittagong, respecting the retention of the island of Shaporee, preparations upon an extensive scale were made for invading Chittagong from Arracan; and reports were circulated that, in the event of the British refusing to give up all claims to the island, an army of thirty thousand men would invade Bengal, and march directly upon

Calcutta. Upon the arrival of the British at Pegu active preparations were made to expel them. Every town and village contributed its quota of armed men to its respective chief, and the Irrawaddy was covered with boats conveying troops to the main army assembled at Hengawaddy. At the end of May, strengthened in numbers, they approached the British, and began stockading themselves in the jungle, to which Sir A. Campbell offered no opposition, trusting for an opportunity to impress a lesson upon the court of Ava. A stockade having been thrown up at a short distance from our pickets, the general headed a reconnoitring party, it being reported the governor of Shudauny was there stationed with a large force to harass the English, and prevent the inhabitants from quitting the jungle. The stockades being incomplete, were abandoned as the troops advanced, who found unfinished works in every direction, demonstrating that this movement had not been anticipated by the enemy.

A sudden tempest falling as the British passed from the jungle into the adjoining rice-fields, compelled them to advance on the villages without their field-pieces. As the huts were approached, it was discovered that they were protected by two stockades of considerable strength, well mounted, and guarded by troops, who uttered loud shouts of defiance. The rain which had prevented the guns from being brought forward, had also rendered the muskets of the British comparatively useless; and as they could not return the enemy's fire, which was well maintained, no time was lost in attacking them. Three companies rushed gallantly forward under the command of General Campbell, and forced their way through the stockade, killing or driving out the Burmese, who refused to give or take quarter.

The irrepressible valour of the English, which thus foiled the dogged determination of the Burmese, impressed the latter with a respect for the courage of their adversaries they had not before felt; and anxious, moreover, to gain time, they endeavoured to practise upon the patience of their invaders by strong professions of friendship and desire for peace; but Sir A. Campbell was not so easily duped, and did not for one moment delay his preparations for attacking Kemmendine, a war-station up the river, which the enemy were daily strengthening. On the 9th of June it was announced that two officers of rank from the enemy were solicitous to confer with the general. Permission was given, and two war-boats appeared, from whence the deputies landed, and were escorted to the house of the British commissioners. Assuming an easy familiarity, it was soon discovered they were either unwilling or not authorised to treat, and that their object was simply

to delay affairs; and upon their requesting a suspension of hostilities for a few days, it was at once refused. At 2 o'clock on the following morning the British advanced on Kemmendine by a road parallel to the river, and at no great distance from it. The advancing column was soon checked by a formidable stockade, flanked on three sides by the jungle, and fourteen feet high in front, protected by cross-bars and palisades driven diagonally into the earth. Two eighteen-pounders having reached the spot, and opened a fire upon the defences, a gap was soon made, and an assault at once ordered. In a few minutes the British found themselves in complete possession of the position, after a loss of 200 men on the part of the enemy. At the rear of the fort the gilt umbrella, sword, and spear of the Burmese commander were found, the umbrella much shattered by a shower of grape; and the body of the chief was found a few yards farther in the jungle. He had apparently received his death-wound where the emblems of command were dropped, and had probably been carried off by his attendants, until their own safety rendered it expedient to leave their burden behind them. The chief was said to be recognised as the elder deputy of the day before, whose pacific tone had so much amused the English commissioner.

The Kemmendine stockade was reached the same day at 5 P. M., and was found by General Campbell to be much more formidable than he had anticipated. He therefore postponed his attack until the ensuing day. As morning broke, the mortar batteries were opened, and told with such effect, that the attacking columns were marched forward, and the position captured without resistance; the Burmese having retreated to avoid the destruction our shells were making in their crowded stockade. This victory, although it had the effect of striking terror into the enemy's soldiers, had little influence upon the court of Ava, which continued to authorise the military chiefs to lay the country waste, in order effectually to render the British dependant for their resources upon India.

About the end of the following June it was known that Sykia Woongee, a minister of state, had received the imperial order to drive the British into the sea. To enforce this command, a large body of the enemy emerged from the jungle early in July, and advancing in a parallel line to our front, attacked the British position near Rangoon, where a regiment of sepoys being advanced and supported by two guns, the Burmese commander ordered a retreat; when the news of this action reached Ava, he was dismissed with disgrace, and the second minister of state, Soomba Wongee, appointed to the command of the army in his stead.

The new commander occupied a very strong post at Kummeroot with his force, about five miles from the Dagon pagoda, and had likewise fortified a commanding point of the river above Kemmendine, where he not only prevented the navigation of the river, but constructed fire-rafts to destroy the British vessels of war. Both positions General Campbell attacked simultaneously, leading the column against the river position in person, whilst he left the advance on Kummeroot to General M'Bean.



BURMESE GENERAL.

Campbell found his undertaking really formidable; the stockades on both sides of the river being not only admirably posted and strongly constructed, but well found with guns and men. A naval force under Captain Marryat, consisting of a brig and three cruisers, were ordered to clear the obstructions on the river. These soon silenced the Burmese artillery; and a breach having been effected,

the storming party crossed the river and carried the stockade with little loss. General M'Bean, approaching Kummeroot, found himself completely surrounded by well-constructed stockades, garrisoned by large bodies of troops, who watched his advance with great contempt. Destitute of guns, he determined on an immediate assault upon their principal stronghold, consisting of three stockades, one within the other; the last was Soomba Wongee's head-quarters. The Burmese general was taking his forenoon meal when the report of the British advance was made to him; but satisfied with his position and the valour of his troops, he merely commanded his officers to their post, with orders to "drive the audacious strangers away."

He was not allowed to finish his repast in quiet; the rapidly-approaching volleys of musketry announced the forcing of his outer line. Hastening to the scene of conflict, he found his men crowded together in the centre stockade, upon which the British fire was pouring with terrible effect. Panic-stricken and confined, all attempts of their leader to get them into order were unavailing. At length Soomba Wongee fell, and the Burmese troops fled, leaving 800 dead in the stockades; while the jungle and neighbouring villages were filled with the wounded and the dying.

Although General Campbell had captured ten stockades, covered by thirty guns, and well garrisoned, he was unable to take advantage of the panic his successes had created by marching upon the capital. He determined, therefore, to act against the maritime province of Tenasserim. The principal places offered little opposition; several excellent harbours were secured; and what was all-important, a salubrious country discovered for our troops, whom the pestilential air of Rangoon had seriously affected.

The king of Ava, surprised at the audacity of an insignificant number of men, and unable to understand their success, despatched his two brothers to superintend the war. These were accompanied by numbers of astrologers, who were to foretell the periods most favourable for success. They were likewise attended by a body of warriors termed the "invulnerables." The distinguishing features of this ludicrous and pantomimic force consisted in the short cut of their hair, and peculiar method of tatooing, the figures of elephants, lions, and tigers being elaborately and somewhat abundantly displayed all over their persons. Gold, silver, and precious stones were also inserted in their arms, introduced under the skin when young. They are considered by their countrymen to be invulnerable; and to judge from the absurd exposure of their persons to the fire of an enemy, they are either impressed with

the same opinion, or find it necessary to shew a marked contempt for danger, in support of their pretensions.

The English commander had ascertained that the princes were warned by the astrologers to wait for the first lucky moon, and as this was not very near, he determined not to lie idle, and forthwith attacked several posts which had prevented provisions being brought to Rangoon. One of these, Syriam, a fort originally erected by the Portuguese, had been recently repaired and strongly stockaded. Against this place a strong party in boats was sent, and it was captured, notwithstanding the advantages in favour of the besieged; the Burmese retreated to the pagoda, leaving eight guns and a quantity of ammunition behind them. From the fort the English advanced to the pagoda, which was also carried without loss.

The astrologers, it was ascertained, had at length discovered the favoured time for attacking the British, viz. at midnight on the 30th of August. Sir A. Campbell, having made his preparations, was in readiness to receive them. The invulnerables boldly rushed up the road leading to the great pagoda, uttering threats and imprecations against the impious strangers who defiled the place with their presence. The English remained perfectly quiet until the multitude approached the gateway, when the guns were opened with discharges of grape, whilst the musketry poured in rapid volleys among them. The invulnerables, astonished at the carnage, fled to the jungle, leaving the dead and dying in every direction.

This success General Campbell determined to improve by driving the enemy from all their posts near Rangoon. Major Evans was accordingly dispatched with three hundred men to ascend the Lyne river, and Colonel Smith with the light division on the road to Pegu. Colonel Smith having cleared several stockades, learnt that a large body of the enemy, with cavalry, elephants, and guns, were in a fortified pagoda at Kytloo. As his men were all sepoy, he sent to General Campbell for a European reinforcement. His request was refused, with what appeared to Colonel Smith an imputation on his motives. Conceiving that his courage was doubted, he resolved to hazard an attack, which proved unsuccessful; and, after severe loss in killed and wounded, he was compelled to order a retreat, the gallantry of the officers being unsupported by their men, who were alarmed at the superior physical strength of the Burmese.

The Burmese had in the meantime commenced preparations in Arracan for invading Bengal. Maha Bandoola, their commander, with a powerful force, marched on Ramoo, and attacked a small body of

British stationed there. These, after a gallant resistance, were overwhelmed and nearly all destroyed or captured. The intelligence of this catastrophe reaching the commanding officer, who was marching to their relief, he made for Chittagong, considering that would be the next place upon which the enemy's power would be directed. The Burmese, however, never attempted to turn their advantage to account; and before Bandoola entered upon fresh aggressions, he was recalled to defend his country. This affair produced most painful impressions throughout Bengal. The peasantry fled from the invisible Burmese, as they were called; and the native merchants of Calcutta were dissuaded with difficulty from removing their families and property from that city. These alarms were fostered by the Peishwa and other Mah-ratta princes at Benares, as was subsequently ascertained.

By the end of the rainy season the British in Rangoon had formed far more favourable opinions of their position. Great improvements were visible in the health of the troops, and hopes of an early advance were entertained. Five hundred Mugh boatmen from Chittagong were brought in and employed in preparing boats for the river service; a reinforcement also had arrived, consisting of two British regiments, some native infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and a troop of horse-artillery. Added to these, transports with draught-cattle began to arrive; all of which tended to impart fresh spirit to the men, who were busily preparing for their advance when the approach of Maha Bandoola and his force was announced. He was the best general in the Burmese service, and commanded the largest army they had ever sent into the field.

The enemy's approach was learnt by means of an intercepted letter from Bandoola to the ex-governor of Martaban, stating that he had left Prome at the head of an army well disciplined and supplied, either to capture or drive the English from Rangoon.

On the 30th of November the Burmese assembled in the forest in front of the Shoe-dagon Pagoda. Their lines, extending from above Kemmeline in a semicircular direction to the village of Puzendown, were easily traced by the smoke from their watch-fires. As night set in, the hum of voices from this multitude ceased, and in its place was heard the sound of heavy columns marching to the very edge of the jungle which formed our barrier. The greatest alertness was displayed by the British, a furious assault on the pagoda being momentarily expected; but day broke without their expectations being realised. Scarcely had the day dawned when hostilities commenced with a heavy fire of musketry at Kemmeline, the reduction of that place being

preliminary to any general attack. The firing was long and animated; and from the commanding situation at the great pagoda, though nearly two miles from the scene of action, the troops posted there could distinctly hear the yells and shouts of the infuriated assailants, occasionally returned by the hearty cheer of the British seamen, as they poured in their heavy broadsides upon the resolute and persevering masses.

In the afternoon several Burmese divisions were discerned marching towards the Dallas river; and later in the day dense bodies issued from the forest, about a mile from the east front of the pagoda, taking position on the river at Puzendown, already strongly occupied by cavalry and infantry. These formed the left wing of the Burmese army. The centre was posted in the forest, and defied all conjecture as to its strength or position. In a few hours the British were completely surrounded, with the narrow channel of the Rangoon river alone unoccupied in their rear. The line of circumvallation taken up by the enemy extended a considerable distance, and being divided by the river, weakened Maha Bandoola's means of assailing us on any particular point; but the celerity, order, and regularity with which the different corps took up their stations reflected much credit on the Burmese general.

In the afternoon a sortie was made to ascertain the disposition of the Burmese; and as they were entirely unprepared for this movement, they were forced from their earth-mounds, or coverings, which they had rapidly thrown up, with severe loss, leaving a great quantity of arms and tools in the trenches. But in the evening the Burmese returned to these works, and began fresh excavations. Soon after sunset the enemy's activity was again evinced by a fierce attack on Kemmendine, the country being simultaneously illumined by the flames of their tremendous fire-rafts, set adrift in the river to destroy our shipping at Rangoon. These rafts the sailors secured and towed ashore, where they were consumed, whilst the attack on Kemmendine by land was also repelled.

For three or four days Sir A. Campbell allowed the enemy to advance their outposts until within fifty yards of his lines, when ascertaining that they had brought all their ammunition and stores from the jungle into their entrenchments, he resolved on a decisive attack. Two bodies under Majors Sale and Walker were ordered to advance, while a number of armed boats under Captain Chads proceeded to Puzendown Creek, and opened a fire upon the enemy's intrenchments. Walker's column was stoutly opposed; but advancing, it drove the Burmese from their trenches at the bayonet's point, though with the loss of its leader. Sale's column met with less resistance, forcing the centre

with ease, and then uniting with Walker's troops, it ended in driving the enemy from all parts into the jungle, leaving the earth strewn with the dead and wounded. The whole of their guns, tools, and other stores were at the same time captured.

Still undaunted, Bandoola persevered in his attempts, his troops labouring to make good their approaches to the great pagoda. On the morning of the 7th four attacking columns from the British lines once more forced their entrenchments, and again the Burmese were compelled to retreat into the forest in their rear. In the evening a detachment from Rangoon attacked the position at Dalla, which had enabled the enemy to keep Kemmendine in a state of siege. The attempt was successful; and the Burmese were driven from their line of circumvallation, with the loss of the remainder of their guns, ammunition, and stores.

These reverses caused hundreds of Bandoola's troops to desert, while he was personally fearful that his tyrannical sovereign would wreak his vengeance upon him for his losses. He therefore determined to maintain his position if possible. Four miles in the rear he had an army of reserve busied in stockading and strengthening a position near the village of Kokien, where considerable reinforcements were ordered to join him; and finding he could still face the enemy with twenty-five thousand men, he resolved to risk another action should the English again attack him. With the view of assisting his operations, he bribed several of the inhabitants to set fire to Rangoon in various places, hoping that in the confusion some favourable opportunity might present itself to advance his schemes. The fire was, however, soon extinguished, and on the 15th the English advanced to the attack of Kokien at three different positions. As long as our troops were advancing, the enemy maintained a heavy fire; but no sooner had the advanced column penetrated the works than the enemy fled in every direction, and the entrenchments were carried with little loss to the assailants, but great sacrifice to their adversaries. It was estimated that from the 1st to the 15th of December, six thousand Burmese were slain, while the total on our side killed and wounded did not amount to six hundred, officers and men.

Notwithstanding the repeated defeats of Bandoola, it was evident that the war would be indefinitely protracted unless the interior of the country was penetrated. Accordingly, Sir A. Campbell resolved to march on Prome, while General Cotton proceeded thither with another division in boats; Sale being ordered, at the same time, to reduce Bassein. The march was commenced on the 11th of February, 1825; and on the evening of the 25th of the ensuing month, Sir A. Campbell

reached a village from which Bandoola's position at Donoobew was visible. The general continued to advance, without much opposition, until the 25th, and halted within cannon-shot of the enemy's stockades. On the morning of the 27th the flotilla was seen in full sail, and, after an unsuccessful attack by the Burmese, captured or reduced every thing opposed to it.

Bandoola having been killed by a shell, the troops refused to obey any other commander, and deserted Donoobew, which was immediately occupied by the besiegers, who forthwith prepared to march on Prome, which, in its turn, was abandoned as the British advanced. The court of Ava defeated, but not disheartened, once more tried to organise a fresh army, and raised levies from every part of the kingdom. This heterogeneous force was commanded on the right division by Sudda Woon; —the prime minister, Kee Woongee, commanded the centre; while the left wing, under Maha Nemiow, followed a route about ten miles from the centre. On the 10th of November Maha Nemiow occupied Wattygoon, sixteen miles from Prome, whither Colonel M'Dowal was sent to dispossess them; but the Burmese, learning his advance, marched to meet him. In the engagement which followed M'Dowal was shot, which so dispirited his sepoys, as to cause them to retreat. The Burmese, elated with this trifling advantage, resolved to retake Prome. The English having completed their arrangements, on the first of December, two columns, respectively headed by Generals Sir A. Campbell and Cotton, marched against Nemiow. The engagement that followed was obstinately contested by the enemy, and terminated in the death of the Burmese general, and the total annihilation of his army. Napaadu was next assaulted, and was carried at the bayonet's point, with great slaughter amongst its defenders.

On the 5th of December the remaining division of the Burmese army under Sudda Woon was attacked and defeated, the troops flying in consternation to the woods for protection. General Campbell, with the view of ending the war, began his march on the enemy's capital early in December. After the capture of several stockades, and some slight skirmishes, Patanagoh was reached, when offers of negotiation were renewed, and a meeting to agree upon the terms of a treaty was appointed for the first of January, 1826. It was, however, discovered that the Burmese were dissimulating; and consequently, upon the armistice expiring, notice was given that hostilities would be renewed on the 18th. It was now evident that the Burmese cause was hopeless,—all exertions upon the part of the officers were useless; the soldiers, too dispirited to offer any defence, were driven from their entrenchments,

leaving the whole of their artillery and stores. Prince Memiaboo and his defeated army retreated as quickly as possible, closely pressed by the British.

On the 25th the army was again on its march through a country desolated by fury and fanaticism. On the 31st two Burmese of rank arrived, with full authority for negotiating a treaty, and General Campbell refusing to waive one point of his former demands, was assured they would be yielded; but no entreaty prevailed on him to arrest the progress of his army; he, however, agreed not to pass Pagham Mew for twelve days.

Notwithstanding the assurances of these envoys, Campbell, as he proceeded onwards, ascertained that hostilities were to be renewed. The king, instigated by a warrior of low origin, believed his boast, that with thirty thousand men he could annihilate the rebellious strangers. A fresh levy was accordingly made, and the force honoured with the title of "Retrievers of the king's glory." The British army, weakened by the absence of two brigades, did not muster two thousand men; nevertheless Campbell determinedly pushed on to Pagham Mew. Clearing the jungle, he debouched on the Burmese army sixteen thousand strong; regardless of their position and numbers, the British dashed into their centre, which was speedily overthrown, and the wings with great difficulty reached the second line of redoubts under the walls of Pagham Mew. No time was allowed for rallying; the English troops rushed into the Burmese entrenchments and within the city, and thus secured the victory. This was the most sanguinary defeat the Burmese had yet experienced. Severe as had been their former engagements, this was still more so; but thirteen hundred men, with their boastful leader, returned to Ava out of all that numerous host.

The army was still kept marching until it arrived at Gandaboo, forty-five miles from the capital, when the Burmese monarch, completely humbled and disheartened, sent envoys to conclude peace upon any terms, which were at length arranged, and the treaty signed and sealed at Gandaboo on the 24th. By this act the king of Ava renounced his claim to the sovereignty over Assam, Cachar, and Jylna; declared Munzipore an independent kingdom; acknowledged the mountains of Arracan as the boundary between his territory and the Company's, and yielded the whole of Tenasserim to the British. He further agreed to pay, in four payments, a crore of rupees, not to punish any of his subjects who had assisted us during the war, to include the king of Siam in the amnesty, and to grant to British vessels visiting his ports

the same privileges enjoyed by his own ships. The English, on their part, undertook to fall back on Rangoon at once, to leave the country entirely upon the payment of the second instalment of the crore of rupees, and to return all prisoners with as little delay as possible.

On the 5th of March Sir A. Campbell gave the order for returning to Rangoon, which he reached without any casualties. The whole of the troops did not, however, return by this route; a body of sepoys, conducted by native guides, were directed to cross the country to Arracan, where they arrived without much trouble. Ava was thus proved to be accessible, upon any future occasion, by land as well as by water.

During our operations against the Burmese in 1825, the attention of the Bengal executive was called to affairs at Bhurtpore, where Durgoon Sal, immediately upon the rajah's death, usurped the throne rightfully belonging to Bulwunt Sing, a minor, whose interests we had promised to protect; upon which the guardians of the prince fled with him to Calcutta, and prayed the assistance of the governor-general. Lord Lake's failure at Bhurtpore had created a strong party there inimical to the British; and it had been wished for some time, upon political grounds, to destroy this influence. A favourable opportunity for so doing now presented itself, and it was determined to destroy the hallucination that Bhurtpore was impregnable. Lord Combermere happening to arrive in India at this juncture, assumed the command of the army; and on the 10th of December, at the head of twenty thousand men, supported by a hundred pieces of artillery, appeared before the walls. Unwilling that the females and children should encounter the horrors of such an assault as must ensue, he addressed a letter to Durgoon Sal, on the 21st, urging him to send them out of the fort, and offering safe conduct to them, and further gave twenty-four hours for the execution of his humane desires; he afterwards further extended the time twelve hours, though without any result.

On the 23d besieging operations commenced, the north-east angle being selected as the *point d'appui*, the British at the same time possessing themselves of Kuddum Kundee, a village, and completing their first parallel eight hundred yards from the fort. The remainder of the month was employed in constructing and repairing batteries and making preparations for the general assault, a heavy and destructive fire being sustained by the town during the whole time. At length, on the 3d of January, 1826, the artillery began to breach the curtains. The tough mud-walls were, however, much more effective than masonry; and, as the batteries produced but little effect, recourse was had to mining.

On the 16th two mines were driven, and sprung successfully (previous mines had proved ineffective, or were rendered abortive by the besieged); and an excellent breach in the walls being reported, the 18th was fixed on for the assault. Early in the morning, the troops forming the storming-party reached the advanced trenches without being discovered; while General Nicholls and General Reynells, at the head of their brigades, were respectively to mount the left and right breaches, the explosion of the mine being the signal for attack. The explosion took place at eight o'clock in the morning, carrying away the entire salient angle and a great portion of the stone cavalier in the rear. The troops immediately advanced with great order and determination; and shortly, notwithstanding the fury of the besieged, carried the breaches, and in two hours the whole rampart environing the town and the gates of the citadel were in the hands of the besiegers: very shortly afterwards the citadel itself was captured. General Hugh, who had been specially appointed to prevent the enemy's escape, so judiciously disposed his men that Durgoon Sal, his wife, and two sons, were, with a strong body of horse, made prisoners in their attempt to force a passage through the 8th Light Cavalry.

It was estimated that not less than four thousand of the besieged fell in this assault, and scarcely a man escaped through Hugh's cordon of cavalry. The whole of the military stores and ammunition being captured, the political and military power of Bhurtpore was annihilated, and the fortifications demolished, by Lord Combermere's order, on the 6th of February. All the remaining fortresses belonging to the rajah surrendered, and the rajah himself was reinstated; after which Lord Combermere broke up the camp, and returned to Calcutta on the 20th of February.

This gallant assault merited, and received, the thanks of Parliament and the East India Company; and what was still more gratifying, the prize-money which the king presented to the Company was ordered by the Court of Directors to be distributed among the troops.

In 1827, the whole of British India being in a state of tranquillity, Lord Amherst proceeded to the upper provinces, and visited Delhi, expressly to arrange the relations of the British government with the nominal king of that country; his negotiations were ended by setting aside the shadow of sovereignty which had nominally attached to the last descendant of the Mogul. At the end of March Lord Amherst embarked for England in his Majesty's ship *Herald*, leaving the Hon. Mr. Bayley to administer the government of India pending the arrival of his successor.

## CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK TO THE  
ANNEXATION OF SCINDE AND THE PACIFICATION OF GWALIOR.

A.D. 1828-1844.

THE administration of Lord William Bentinck, who succeeded Earl Amherst, was, unlike that of any of his predecessors, marked by no warlike demonstrations. The inroads of hordes of hill-tribes, the punishment and dethronement of the petty rajah of Coorg, and some other arrangements with various tributary powers, were not sufficient to disturb the general tranquillity which now pervaded India, and which it was his lordship's fortune to turn to profitable account. The state of the services received the governor-general's earnest attention, and many reforms were introduced into their various branches, which, however unpalatable to the members, were calculated greatly to improve their efficiency. Many concessions were also made to the natives of India; not the least valuable of which was an enactment freeing seceders from the Hindoo or Mahomedan faith within the Bengal Presidency from the penalties which had, under the old native laws, attached to such an act, viz. the forfeiture of their personal and family property.

Educational and other public institutions received his lordship's warmest support; and to this day the name of Bentinck is gratefully remembered by the inhabitants of British India. Two projects of national importance were at this time undertaken; of one of which the ultimate benefits can scarcely be over-estimated—the opening of communications between British India and the countries west of the Indus as far as the Caspian Sea, and the establishment of an overland steam communication between England and India.

The former of these projects had for its objects the extension of British commerce, and the ascertaining the feasibility of a Russian invasion from that quarter. This important and dangerous task was confided to

Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Alexander Burnes, who gathered and published some valuable information respecting the political condition, the commercial relations, and the geographical features of the countries lying between the Indus and the Caspian Sea. No commercial advantages have as yet sprung from his labours, with the exception of the complete navigation of the Indus by steamers; whilst, as regards political occurrences, the only result has been the disastrous Afghan campaign, which may truly be traced to this exploration.

Of far greater magnitude and solid advantage to Indo-British commerce was the rapid and safe communication, first commenced during Lord W. Bentinck's administration, between India and this country by way of the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Mediterranean. To Lieutenant Waghorn belongs all the merit of having conceived and thoroughly carried out this scheme in the teeth of all the constituted authorities of India, at home and abroad. Thanks to the enlightened man who at this time ruled India, Waghorn's efforts were rightly estimated, and in the end completely carried out, to the lasting advantage of every interest connected with our possessions in the East.

The navigation of the Ganges by steam-vessels was during this peaceful administration set on foot with the most complete success; and has since, under a completer system, afforded great facilities to the internal traffic of the Bengal presidency.

In the year 1833, the discussions in parliament on the renewal of the East India Company's charter led to some great and important changes in the functions of this powerful body. The principal of these changes may be placed under the following heads: The Company retained its political rights, and, in conjunction with the Board of Control, gave its entire attention to the government of India. It ceased to be a commercial body, gave up its monopoly of the Chinese trade, and abandoned that of India; the trade to both countries was declared to be free to every British subject. British subjects were permitted to settle in any part of the Indian territories. The shareholders were guaranteed a fixed dividend upon their capital of 6,000,000*l.*; and a sinking-fund was set aside for the purpose of redeeming the Company's stock at the end of fifty years, if deemed necessary. With these leading provisos, the charter was renewed for a further term of twenty years, expiring in the year 1853.

Lord William Bentinck resigned the administration of Indian affairs early in 1835, owing to the failure of his health; and in the month of March set sail for England, regretted by the native and a large portion of the European community.

The advent of Lord Auckland as governor-general of India was destined to prove a momentous epoch in the Anglo-Indian annals. On this appointment being made known, the public were somewhat at a loss to guess what peculiar quality of his lordship had formed the justification of the act. None knew what his administrative ability might amount to ; and all who took the trouble to form any opinion on the subject, were unanimous that the name of Auckland could by no human possibility become distinguished in connexion with the government of the vast territories over which it was decided that he should hold an almost uncontrolled sway. But these cavillers were mistaken ; they knew not their man. Before these sceptics in the achievements of an Auckland were three years older, they had the strongest possible reasons for according to his lordship a distinction and a notoriety as world-wide, and as indelible, as any achieved by a Clive or a Wellington. It was Lord Auckland's destiny to place the British arms in a position they had never previously occupied on the continent of India ; to carve out for the British forces a career as disastrous as its origin was unjustifiable and unworthy ; to peril our position in the East ; to sacrifice an army of brave men ; and finally, to clothe half the nation in mourning, and to overwhelm the other half with shame and indignation.

On the arrival of this amicably-disposed nobleman in Calcutta, he found India rife with rumours of Russian diplomacy and Russian intrigue. Every political occurrence of the day was set down to autocratic influence ; every foreign traveller in moustaches was believed to be a diplomat or officer of engineers from St. Petersburg ; and every Arab or Beloochee trader who crossed the western frontier was transformed by these political genii of the Company's service into a Russian spy.

Shah Soojah, the imbecile ruler of Afghanistan, had been expelled that country, in the ordinary eastern style, to make room for one far better able to rule such a turbulent people as were his subjects ; and the deposed chief appeared well satisfied to find himself with his head on his shoulders, eating the Company's "salt" within the walls of the British fortress of Loodianah, one of the north-western frontier stations.

The Punjab or "Country of the Five Rivers," which formed the barrier between our extreme frontiers and the turbulent Afghans, was at that time under the sway of Runjeet Singh, a chief whose valour and indomitable energy and activity had won for him the title of the "Lion of the Punjab." Between this chief and the Afghan rulers

a constant succession of hostilities took place with varying results, though most frequently in favour of the "Lion."<sup>1</sup>

The mission of Captain, afterwards Sir Alexander Burnes to Cabul in 1837, although apparently successful at the time, bore no fruit; and it soon became evident that the ruler of that country, with many promises on his lips, cared as little for our friendship and our commerce as for our hostility.<sup>2</sup>

Another party of diplomatists, military and civil, was dispatched to Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, with the view of forming a treaty with Runjeet Singh. So far as the signatures to a parchment were concerned, every thing was attained that had been hoped for; and the governor-general, who was already planning, at the instigation of others, the chastisement of Dost Mohammed, the restoration of the imbecile Shah Soojah, and the defeat of the so-much-dreaded Russian influence in that quarter, flattered himself that Lahore would prove a safe and accessible road by which to reach the walls of Cabool.

In October 1838 war with the Dost was proclaimed from the cool retirement of Simla; and so determined were the abettors of this ill-advised scheme, that before the close of the year the Bengal and Bombay armies were at the appointed rendezvous, Shikapore in Scinde. These forces amounted to 15,000 men, with a reserve of 4000 at Ferozepore, and a native contingent provided by Shah Soojah, but paid by us, amounting to 6000.

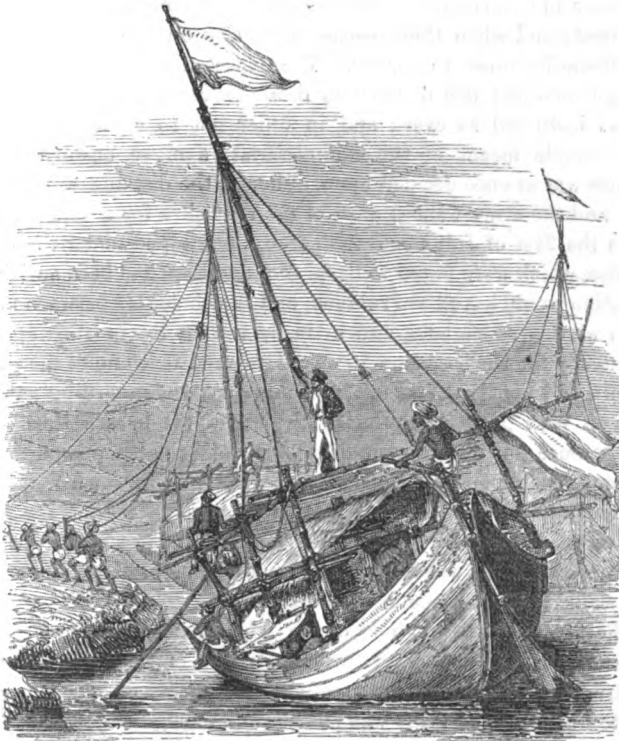
Our troops encountered disasters from the outset. The cholera, want of a sufficient means of transport, jealousy and heart-burnings amongst the commanders, and lastly, the trying season during the greater part of the march, all contributed to impart a prestige of no cheering character to the commencement of the campaign.

Sir John Keane, appointed to the command-in-chief of the army of the Indus, was seconded by officers as brave and energetic as any in the service. Among them were Major-General Nott, Sir W. Cotton, Brigadier Sale, and Colonel Dennie. The arrangements for the supply of the commissariat were, however, of the worst possible kind; and added to this was the enormous number of camp-followers, amounting

<sup>1</sup> The Sikh ruler appears to have been keenly alive to the process of absorption of native states by the English, although he felt it to be his policy to remain on friendly terms with so powerful a neighbour. It is related of him that in a conversation with a Company's officer, he pointed to a large map of India before him, on which the British territories were defined by a narrow red band, and exclaimed, "When Runjeet dies, Company's red line swallow up all Punjab country."

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Burnes' *Travels in Afghanistan, &c.*

to nearly 100,000; these had to be provided for amidst strange and unfriendly countries, upon a march of extraordinary length and of great physical difficulties.<sup>3</sup> It was not surprising, therefore, that these



TROOPS GOING UP THE COUNTRY.

circumstances, added to the want of unanimity in action amongst the divisions of the army, should have placed the invaders in a difficult and perilous position.

On the 6th of March the Bengal column, under Sir John Keane and Sir Willoughby Cotton, reached the foot of the mountains of Western Afghanistan, scarcely on the threshold of their journey; yet even then their provisions ran short, and the allowance of the troops was reduced to one half. The dangerous and difficult passage of the

<sup>3</sup> Buist's Outline of the Operations of the British Troops in Sindh and Afghanistan.

Bolan Pass, seventy miles in length, was effected after much suffering; and when the troops reached Quettah on the 4th of April, so reduced were they in all their supplies, that the camp-followers were under the necessity of feeding on roots, skins of beasts, &c.

Thence to Candahar the sufferings of the soldiers and followers were very great; and when they reached that city on the 4th of May, the latter dwindled down to 20,000. The expectation that supplies would be there obtained was doomed to disappointment. The army found itself as badly fed as ever; and, in order not to exhaust completely the miserable means of the commissariat, a move onward towards Ghuznee was at once decided upon, although the distance was fully 230 miles, and the army wanted most of the requisites for a long journey.

On the 21st of July the British troops encamped under the walls of Ghuznee, which were found to be far stronger than had been anticipated. Hesitation would have been ruinous; and the choice lay between making a dash at this stronghold, and a timely retreat to the starting point. Fortunately for the besiegers, it was discovered that one of the gates of the town had not been built up with masonry, and accordingly this was blown in with gunpowder during the night, the breach thus effected being at once taken advantage of by a storming party, seconded by all the troops available for an assault of the kind. The town was quickly captured; and, in spite of some desperate resistance from the Afghan garrison, the citadel fell within a few hours. The loss of the British in killed and wounded was but trifling; that of the besieged amounted to 1000 slain, and 3000 wounded and captured.

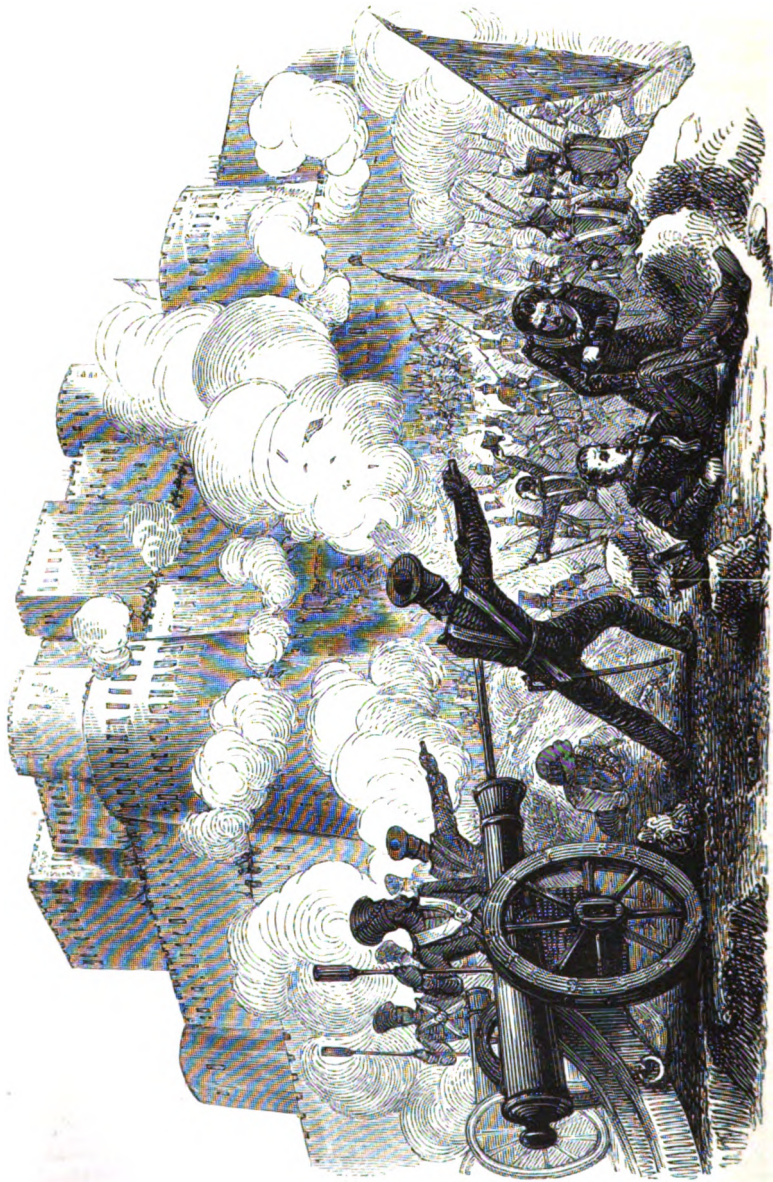
The fall of this stronghold of the Afghans was fortunate in many respects; for it not only afforded the troops much that was needed, but struck terror into the hearts of the enemy, and at once opened the road to Cabool. The army was not allowed a long halt; Colonel Wade, who was moving onwards from Peshawur, fought his way through the Kyber Pass and seized Jellalabad, driving before him Akbar Khan, the second son of the Dost, and capturing a large supply of arms, ammunition, and horses. On the 30th of July the main body of the army, with Sir John Keane, Shah Soojah, and Mr. MacNaghten, marched towards the capital; from which, as they approached, Dost Mohammed fled with a chosen body of horsemen, making his way to the west, beyond the reach of regular troops.

Deserted by their ruler and every chieftain of any consequence, the inhabitants of Cabool had little choice left them but to open their gates to the advancing columns of the British, who entered the Afghan capital, with Shah Soojah at their head, in all the pomp and circumstance of vic-

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STORMING OF GHUZZEE.

tory. There were none to oppose the placing the English nominee on the throne; and this was accordingly done; though it does not appear to have occurred to any of the actors how they were to manage to keep him there without the presence of an overwhelming military force.

Thus far the game had proceeded smoothly enough; despite the privations of the troops, every thing had succumbed to them; and if the miserable arrangements of a most defective commissariat had not involved the army in utter confusion, it was owing rather to good fortune than to any other contingency.

The commander-in-chief hastened from the scene of his hollow exploits; and scarcely resting at the seat of government, took his way home, to shew himself to the British public as the conqueror of Afghanistan, receiving, as the fruit of his splendid achievement, a title and a pension; the greatest exploit of the entire campaign having been the blowing open of a wooden door with a few bags of gunpowder.

The bulk of the troops followed their retreating commander; a small force being left behind in various positions, scarcely any of which were tenable against an enemy. Sir Alexander Burnes and Sir William MacNaghten were left at Cabool in a political capacity, with a garrison under the command of Major-general Elphinstone and General Sale, badly housed, and still worse provided with a commissariat. So miserably, indeed, was this department conducted, that it was frequently only by dint of hard bribing, that any provisions could be procured from the neighbouring country.

Matters remained tranquil through the first winter; which, in that country, proved a most severe season for our troops, both European and native. The spring ushered in a foretaste of what was in store for the British. Dost Mohammed was known to be at no great distance from Cabool, raising the people, and inciting them to vengeance on the unbelieving invaders of their country. Akbar Khan, his "fighting" son, was every where leading large bodies of Afghan troops against our outposts; cutting off supplies, and harassing the troops in every possible manner.

In the summer of this year (1840) some sharp encounters with the enemy took place, much to his discomfiture; the rude courage and brute energy of his wild troops being quite unable to cope with the disciplined bravery of English regiments. After many desperate engagements, Dost Mohammed surrendered himself a prisoner to the British envoy, Sir W. MacNaghten; and was, before the end of the year, sent beyond the frontier. A pension of 30,000*l.* a year was allowed him, and a residence for himself and his numerous family allotted at Mus-

soorie, on the north-western frontier, where he quietly remained awaiting the course of events.

They were not very long in casting their shadows on the foreground. Akbar Khan had been no party to his father's submission; and so far from contemplating a similar course, omitted no opportunity of falling upon any British force which came in his way. Month after month witnessed the same system of desultory warfare; always to our damage, and seldom to that of the enemy, who were completely masters of this art of campaigning.

Beyond this system of petty and vexatious warfare, and the evidently-growing dislike of the people to our influence and presence in the country, there was little to disturb the course of events at Cabool. At the same time there were not wanting those who could see below the surface of things, and who prophesied the approaching storm. Hints, warnings, and advice were alike thrown away upon the British envoy, who appeared to discredit all that did not coincide with his own previously-formed opinions.<sup>4</sup>

This strange infatuation clung to him up to the last moment; and when the 2d of November, 1841, ushered in a general rising of the people of Cabool, he was still unpersuaded of any real danger, and expressed a belief that "it would all blow over." It did blow over; but it swept with it the existence of the whole English force. From that fatal morning the record of events in Afghanistan is a sad and terrible recital, uncheered by but one single bright and stirring deed—the gallant and apparently hopeless defence of Jellalabad by its small and ill-provided garrison.

The massacre of Burnes, and every officer, woman, and child found with him in the city, was followed by the seizure of the commissariat, and the gathering of numerous bodies of Afghans within and about the walls. The energy and faculties of both officers and men seemed to have been completely paralysed by the suddenness, rather than the greatness of the danger; and in this manner many valuable days were suffered to pass, adding to the confidence and numbers of the enemy; and in proportion dispiriting our own troops. Resistance did not form a part of the tactics adopted by this most unfortunate body of men, who preferred trusting to negotiations with men who were proverbial for their utter faithlessness, rather than to their own energy.

Towards the end of November Akbar Khan arrived in Cabool with a chosen body of horse; and from that day matters drew rapidly to a crisis. Conferences were held between the chief and the British envoy,

<sup>4</sup> The Military Operations at Cabool, &c., by Lieutenant Vincent Eyre.

which resulted in an arrangement that the British should immediately evacuate Afghanistan, being guaranteed a safe passage to India and supplies of provisions. Dost Mohammed was to be permitted to return to his country, Shah Soojah to retire within British territories, and perpetual friendship to be firmly established between the two powers.

The troops began to prepare for their humiliating march on the 14th December; on the 23d, as the remainder of the forces joined the main body, Sir W. MacNaghten was invited to a final conference with the Afghan chief, and during a short interview was killed by a pistol-shot, as some have declared, fired by the hand of Akbar Khan.

The retreat of the English forces, amounting to 4500 men and some 12,000 of camp-followers, took place, as arranged, on the 6th of January; but no sooner had they cleared the walls of Cabool than parties of Afghans harassed their rear and picked off the stragglers day and night. The horrors of that humiliating retreat were heightened by the severity of the season and the difficulties of the country. First the wounded, and then the ladies and children, were given up to the Afghans as the only hope of saving them; finally, abandoning all further hope, the soldiers and camp-followers gave themselves to despair, and either lay down to die in the snow, or fell in the rear, and were despatched by Afghan bullets. From straggling shots the work of death proceeded until it became wholesale slaughter; and before many days had elapsed, of all that host of twenty-six thousand souls but one Englishman, Dr. Brydon, and a few sepoy and followers, escaped with the terrible tidings to Jellalabad, where the gallant Sale held his position with the courage and determination of a hero.

Meanwhile Candahar was held by General Nott and a strong body of troops; Ghuznee was kept possession of by Colonel Palmer and a mere handful of sepoy; whilst Shah Soojah contrived to make good his position in Cabool itself, despite the presence of Akbar Khan and the treachery or feebleness of nearly every Afghan chieftain.

Determined, if possible, to obtain possession of the fortress of Jellalabad, Akbar Khan invested it with an army strong in numbers, but deficient in every requisite for conducting a siege. With the old crumbling walls of the fort tottering at every discharge of cannon, with wide gaps in their defences, which any other enemy would have known how to avail himself of, Sale and his gallant little party not only bid the besiegers bold defiance, but sallied out for forage, and did no small mischief in the Afghan camp.

Whilst the above was transpiring, and when the English captives, ladies, officers, and children, were dragging on a miserable existence

in Afghan dungeons, General Pollock was making his way with a relief across the Punjab; and at the same moment, the instigators of all these disasters were issuing instructions for the withdrawal of our troops from Cabool, leaving the prisoners of course to their fate.

The winter of 1841 brought no hope for the pent-up garrisons or the captives in Afghanistan. The troops of Akbar continued to press hard upon every fort in the possession of the English; and though Jellalabad and Candahar held out gallantly, Palmer was compelled to evacuate Ghuznee, when, as was usually the case, nearly every man, woman, and child of the garrison was butchered as they marched out under the capitulation. Palmer was reserved for torture and imprisonment, with one or two of his officers.

At length brighter days dawned upon the army of the Indus. The nervous and imbecile Auckland was replaced by Lord Ellenborough, a man of other mettle, who, though pestered by the fears and phantasies of the incompetent Council of Calcutta, acted on the impulsive feeling of doing that which alone could retrieve our tarnished reputation, and rescued the British captives by the means alone consistent with our national honour. The word was given, and heard but to be joyfully obeyed. No second bidding was needed. Pollock continued to move forward with his troops to the relief of the gallant band in Jellalabad. The Afghans, under Akbar Khan, opposed the passage of the Kyber Pass in vain; driven from every point by the bayonet, the enemy fled before the British troops, and from the moment of emerging from that dangerous mountain-gorge the British forces met with no further resistance. The army of the Khan had melted away like snow before the noonday sun.

On the 16th April the troops of Pollock and Sale met under the tottering walls of Jellalabad, with what delight to all parties may be readily imagined. But all felt that the time was too precious to be wasted in mere rejoicings or congratulations. Both generals knew well the critical position of the remainder of our pent-up forces, the revengeful, impetuous temper of Akbar, and the imminent danger of the prisoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of Sale; and they felt that if any decisive blow was to be struck, it must be achieved at once, with the *éclat* of Pollock's recent victories still fresh in the minds of the enemy and their own troops. Had their own impulses only been consulted, Cabool would have been in their hands within a week; but unfortunately a reference was yet to be made to the Supreme Government!

It was thus the middle of August before a combined movement was made by the three generals, Nott, Pollock, and Sale, from Candahar

and Jellalabad. The former moved out with seven thousand troops ; and defeating one of the Afghan chiefs, who attempted to intercept his march, razed the walls and fortifications of Ghuznee, the scene of so much treachery and disaster to our countrymen. On the other side, the combined forces of Pollock and Sale did not proceed without force ; but in every case in which opposition was offered victory declared for them. Indeed every sword that was drawn, every shot that was fired, told in honour of the British, and served but to render the cause of the Afghans more desperate.

The final struggle for the mastery took place at the Khoord Cabool Pass, a most difficult and commanding position, where the enemy mustered in considerable numbers ; but to oppose in vain. Nothing could now restrain our troops, who seemed eager for the fray, and driving the foe before them from every defile and mountain-path, sealed the fate of that short and glorious campaign.

On the 15th of September, the forces of Pollock and Sale arrived at Cabool, where they found, as expected, that numerous changes had taken place. Revolutions and savage conflicts had succeeded each other with rapidity. The chiefs had been divided among themselves in the support of the two rulers, and eventually the assassination of Shah Soojah had to a degree paved the way to something bearing the semblance of amity. No sooner did the news of the junction of the British forces at Jellalabad reach the ears of Akbar than he prepared for flight, making arrangements at the same time for carrying his numerous prisoners with him into the wilds of Toorkhistan. On the notification of the advance of the generals towards the capital, the Afghan chief put his plans into execution ; and whilst he hurried off his own treasures and family towards the north-west, and himself hastened to watch the steps of the British, the English captives, to the number of one hundred and twenty-two, were despatched, in charge of an Afghan khan, towards Bamceen, where they were detained for upwards of a week, awaiting further instructions from Akbar. The orders of the latter had been to kill all the sick, wounded, or feeble, so as to prevent any delay in their march ; but although the khan shewed little regard for his charge, he hesitated to carry into execution these barbarous instructions.<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately for the prisoners, this chief was easily swayed by interest ; avarice was his ruling passion ; and the officers in his custody were not long in ascertaining that a bribe sufficiently liberal would induce their jailor to open the doors of their prison-house. The result of their negotiations was, that 2000*l.* were to be paid down to the

<sup>5</sup> Journal of Imprisonment in Afghanistan : Lieutenant V. Eyre.

khan and a pension settled on him ; for which he was to fling off allegiance to Akbar, and maintain the party in the fort against all enemies until relief could be obtained. The position of independence taken up by the old khan and his followers and British companions soon drew around them some of the neighbouring chiefs, who doubtless were aware of the present aspect of affairs at Cabool, and were able to make a shrewd guess at the probable course of events. These people guaranteed support and aid to the English party ; and at length, when news was brought the latter of the successes of Pollock and the dispersion of Akbar's forces, they moved boldly and rejoicingly from their prison-fort, and turned their steps in the direction of Cabool. Their party was, however, but a small one ; and they were not without apprehensions lest Akbar might still be hovering about to intercept any relief sent to them, the more so as some report reached them that a strong body of Afghan horse was following in their steps to hurry them off to the banks of the Oxus.

On the first evening of their bivouacking, they received decided intelligence of the complete successes of the various bodies of British troops, and of the dispersion of the Afghans and their chief Akbar. The glad intelligence was confirmed during that night by the arrival in their little camp of a native trooper, bearing a letter from Sir Richard Shakespeare, informing them of his near approach to their assistance with a strong body of Küssilbash horse. Before daylight the little party set forward on their way to meet their deliverers with beating hearts ; and at noon, whilst resting under the shade of a ruined fort, they were gladdened by the approach of Sir Richard and his cavalry, mustering six hundred.

Fears were, however, still entertained that an attempt at rescue might be made by the desperate Akbar, especially as a dangerous pass had to be traversed on their road to the capital. Accordingly, a messenger was despatched to General Pollock, requesting instant reinforcement ; whilst on their part every available means were used to push on their way, with but little rest or desire for halting. On the 20th they encountered an officer who had ridden on in advance of the approaching relief ; and from him they gathered the joyful intelligence that General Sale's brigade was but a mile or two in the rear.

The happiness of this day may be imagined. The long-lost wife and daughter were restored in safety to the man who had so gallantly maintained the honour of his country within the little fort of Jellalabad ; and many a missing one was met that day by friends or anxious

relatives.<sup>6</sup> It was indeed a joyful meeting, and gladly did the whole party set forward to retrace their steps to the camp outside the city of Cabool. This they reached by sunset on the 21st, the British artillery rending the air with the glad echoes of their thundering welcome.

The remainder of this eventful history may be soon told. By a proclamation issued at Simla, the governor-general declared, that having retrieved the disasters of the past, and taught the Afghans a lesson not likely to be soon forgotten, the British army should now evacuate that country and retire to Ferozepore. After a short period employed in interring the thousands of skeletons of our slaughtered countrymen that literally strewed the scenes of the massacres of Cabool; and after effectually demolishing the citadel, the walls, the Bala Hissur, and every building of any strength in the capital, the army of the Indus set out on its homeward march upon the 12th of October.

At Ferozepore the troops were received by the governor-general and his staff, and many and hearty were the congratulations given and received upon this happy termination to a sad and fatal campaign.<sup>7</sup> Rejoicings and festivities wound up that which had been begun in rashness and infatuation, and consummated in disgrace, bloodshed, and imprisonment. Heavy as was the retribution that descended on the actors in the Afghan tragedy, the remembrance of our errors and our disasters will live long and sadly in the recollection of this generation.

For a time it appeared as though peace was firmly established on the Indian continent; but to those who could see below the surface of things, the tranquillity was but a deceptive lull, a calm ushering in the tempest that was soon to burst forth in another quarter.

The treacherous conduct of the Ameers of Scinde during our Afghan campaign was not mended on the return of the army from that country, the Ameers judging that we should not have retired so soon unless we had met with further reverses. Our evacuation of Afghanistan was looked upon by them as a virtual defeat; and it soon became pretty evident that their feelings towards us were not improved, nor their disposition more friendly, in consequence of that impression. Grave doubts have been since entertained by many with regard to the propriety and justice of our operations in the Scinde country; but there appears to be no question, that whilst the rulers of that territory entertained the hostile feelings to us which they did, no security could for a moment exist for the tranquillity of the state, and that sooner or later the events which were then brought about must of necessity have occurred.

<sup>6</sup> Journal of Imprisonment in Afghanistan: Eyre.

<sup>7</sup> Lady Sale's Journal.

Cautions, warnings, and every friendly means were employed towards the Ameers, to induce an amicable disposition, or at any rate a peaceful line of conduct; but all these means seem to have been employed in vain; and when it was evident that but one course must be adopted, Lord Ellenborough was not slow to order its execution.

The Ameers had during the entire winter season of 1842 been busily engaged in gathering their forces and taking up a menacing position; whilst the veteran Sir Charles Napier strengthened his own attitude, and made every disposition for acting so soon as the proper moment should arrive. That moment occurred in the early part of February. The British residency at Hyderabad was attacked with great fury by a large and desperate body of the Ameers' troops; and it was not without difficulty that the English officials were enabled to make good their retreat and join their friends within the camp at a short distance from the city.

Sir Charles, with his small but well-disciplined band of 2100 of all arms, moved across the Indus and approached the enemy's position, which was a remarkably strong one, near the village of Meeanee. Their forces amounted to fully 30,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with a train of 15 guns well served on the European system. A stronger position than that occupied by their main body could scarcely be conceived. A natural ravine of considerable depth protected them in front, whilst their flanks were well sheltered by extensive forests and broken ground. Formidable as their entrenchment appeared, the British general did not for a moment hesitate about the attack, but on the morning of the 17th of February gave the signal for the assault.

Moving rapidly forward from their open position on the plain, the English and sepoy regiments advanced gallantly towards the thickly guarded ravine, behind which bristled myriads of glittering weapons. Cheering each other on, regardless of the storm which swept their ranks from the Scinde artillery, they plunged into the dangerous ravine, and rushing up the opposite bank, which they strewed with their dead and wounded, made for the top of the embankment, where the enemy stood matchlock in hand to receive them. The gallant 22d, an Irish regiment, led the way; and quick as thought were on the summit of the entrenchment, behind which they found awaiting them with a glittering forest of steel and a barrier of bucklers, vast masses of Beloochee swordsmen, whose numbers and savage shouts must have struck dismay into the hearts of any but such as were opposed to them. Shout for shout was given, cheer for cheer, and lowering the queen of wea-

pons—the bayoneted musket—the little handful of heroes rushed upon the vast force opposed to them.

The conflict was long and bloody. Valour could but do its utmost ; and the sweeping discharges from the thickly, well-planted Scinde artillery on their flank told fearfully upon the courageous band who strove against this mighty host. For every score of Beloochees who fell before the British bayonet an English soldier was swept away by the murderous discharge of grape ; and although each gap was gallantly filled up from the rear, their numbers went on thinning hour after hour, whilst the multitude opposed to them seemed to be as numerous as ever, so little was the havoc amidst their ranks perceptible.<sup>8</sup>

Victory seemed about to declare against the small band of assailants : the greater part of their officers were killed or disabled ; and the sepoy, without a leader, more than once made a retrograde movement. At this critical juncture a charge was ordered to be made on the enemy's right by the small body of horse under Colonel Pattle, which had the effect of at once deciding the fate of the day. The British cavalry did their duty nobly ; and the Beloochees, finding themselves in danger on their flank, began to move slowly but defiantly from the field. Resistance was no longer thought of ; and the British guns in their turn swept all before them, whilst cavalry and infantry carried on the work of destruction until nature became exhausted, and they could do no more.

On the following day Sir Charles summoned the Ameers, who had remained safely within the fortifications of Hyderabad, to surrender their persons and their authority into his hands without delay, in default of which he threatened to storm the city. The mandate was obeyed by the entrance within his camp of six of these chiefs, who proceeded to lay at the feet of the British general their swords and insignia of royalty. "Their misfortunes," said Sir Charles in his dispatches, "were of their own creating ; but as they were great, I gave them back their swords ;" and doubtless he knew full well the utter uselessness of those weapons to men who looked on from their fortified walls whilst the brave but mercenary troops of Beloochistan were fighting their battle. One other action, that of Dubba, and the power of the Ameers was for ever annihilated ; and when one or two turbulent bands of marauders had been swept from the country, the British flag waved supreme to the borders of Beloochistan.

The immediate consequence of these decisive victories was the annexation of Scinde to the territories of the Company. In a pro-

<sup>7</sup> Major-General W. F. P. Napier's Conquest of Scinde.

clamation dated on the 5th of March, 1843, from Agra, the governor-general announced that the conquered territories had become part of our eastern dominions. On the 15th of the same month Major-General Sir Charles Napier was appointed governor of this province ; and a declaration was made relative to the manumission of all slaves within the boundaries of Scinde, the free passage of the Indus to the commerce of the world, and the abolition of all transit-duties.

Scarcely had this proclamation been made generally known, when troubles, though of far less magnitude, awaited the government in another direction, and nearer home. The independent Mahratta state of Gwalior had been for a long period the scene of great confusion and strife, giving ample employment to the British resident at its court, under whose protection the reigning family held their authority. The decease of the last rajah, and the consequent regency of his widow during the minority of his successor, opened the door to endless intrigues and difficulties. Ministers of pacific views, and favourable to the English policy, were rudely set aside by the widow for others of questionable character, and holding opinions directly opposite. Plots, conspiracies, and insurrections split the country from one end to the other ; until, determined that such an unquiet and dangerous neighbour could not be permitted, the governor-general ordered a force to enter the maharajah's territories, in order to assert his just authority, and give security to his person and power.

This army was conducted by Sir Hugh Gough, accompanied by Lord Ellenborough, and moved from Agra in the early part of December ; whilst a second division, under Major-General Grey, advanced from Bundelkund. The first and main division crossed the Kohuree river on the 29th December, and took up a position not far from the village of Maharajpoor, where the Mahratta army lay strongly encamped, mustering fully eighteen thousand men, a strong body of cavalry, and a hundred guns. The British troops amounted to fourteen thousand men, with forty pieces of artillery.

The attack was commenced by Major-General Littler's column charging full upon the enemy's front. The advancing regiments were received with a furious and deadly cannonade, which sensibly thinned their ranks, whilst the Mahratta troops gave them a warm reception from their matchlocks. Nothing, however, could stem the torrent that swept up to the mouths of the enemy's cannon, bayoneting their gunners and driving all before them. Flinging away their matchlocks, the Mahrattas fled to the village, where, sword in hand, they made a desperate stand, but in vain. The small but dashing brigade of cavalry,

under General Valiant, charged Maharajpooor in the rear, cut up the flanks of the enemy, and effectually sealed the fate of the now defeated and flying Mahratta force.

The loss of the enemy in this hard-fought battle was believed to have been from three to four thousand in killed and wounded, besides all their cannon and stores. The victory, however, was not purchased without cost on the side of the British. Upwards of one hundred killed, of whom seven were officers, and nearly seven hundred in the hospitals, told of the severity of the conflict.\*

Whilst the roar of the hundred and forty opposing guns at Maharajpooor sent forth their deadly echoes, and almost within sound of them, another struggle was maintained, equally decisive, though less fatal. General Grey's column, moving towards the capital from Bundelkund, encountered a strong Mahratta force at Punniar, but twelve miles distant from their destination. The action was sharp but brief. The enemy stood no more than the first charge of the British infantry, and fled to the heights, whence they were driven at the point of the bayonet, and finally scattered through the country.

The two armies united beneath the walls of Gwalior, where, having no alternative, the Durbar immediately made every submission to the terms imposed by the British. It was stipulated that Gwalior should in future be protected by a British subsidiary force, paid from the revenues of the country; that an English officer and garrison should hold possession of the fort of Gwalior; and that the state should pay all the expenses of the war.

Thus ended the brief but glorious military career of Lord Ellenborough, who, during the short tenure of his office, had accomplished more than any other man for the pacification of India; and when, through intrigues and jealousies, he was shortly afterwards recalled by the Court of Directors, his departure was deeply regretted by all who wished well to good government and the security of our Eastern possessions.

\* Sir Hugh Gough's dispatch.



## CHAPTER VIII.

THE WARS IN THE PUNJAB, AND THE ANNEXATION OF THE COUNTRY  
OF THE FIVE RIVERS TO THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

A.D. 1844-1849.

ON the arrival of Sir Henry Hardinge in India as governor-general, in the summer of 1844, he found the vast territories under the British rule in the most profound peace. This able and indefatigable man had ample leisure to make himself master of very many details of government, which he was not slow to discover needed much reform. He did his best to bring about a better and more friendly feeling between the services; he furthered the claims of the native army to many privileges; he promoted a stricter discipline amongst the troops generally; he aided in the organisation of railway companies in India; and, in short, did all that lay in his power, during so short a period, to promote the welfare of many sections of the community.

But the course of Indian events was not long destined for this pacification. One more storm of war and bloodshed was gathering in the north; another fierce struggle was about to overwhelm a vast tract of fruitful and populous country in its calamities and its sufferings; and Sir Henry, peacefully as he may have been disposed, could not avoid the career that was awaiting him.

The decease of Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, in 1839, had paved the way to an infinity of intrigues, plots, and counterplots at and around the capital of the Punjab. The death of the "Lion," soon followed by that of the grandson, not without suspicion of design; the struggles for the viziership; the intrigues of the ranee, or queen-mother; and the subsequent assassinations of rival chiefs which took place at Cabool, bore testimony to the absence of any controlling power in the state. Indeed, the only parties who appeared to be endowed with any faculty for directing the course of events were two French officers,

promoted to the rank of generals by Runjeet Singh, and who had brought the army of the Punjab into a state of high efficiency, more especially its ordnance department.

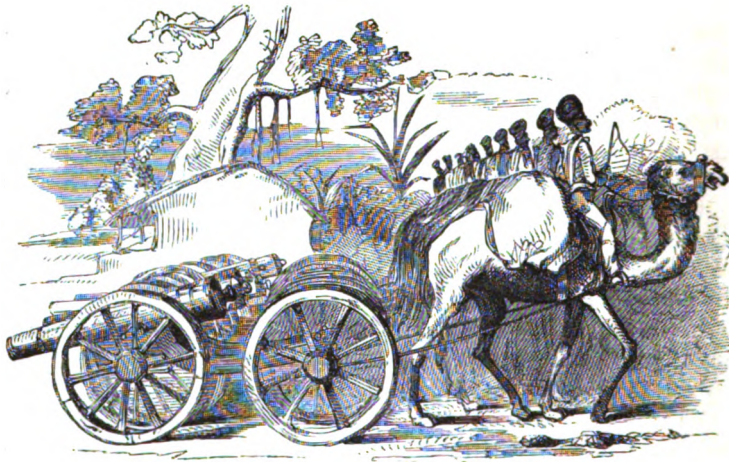
The young maharajah, Dhulup Sing, a child of four years, and his mother, although nominally at the head of affairs, were really in the hands of the Sikh soldiery ; these, clamouring for their arrears of pay, and anxious for some occupation which might bring with it a chance of spoil, sought to be led against their English neighbours, whom they considered their enemies. How far this feeling may have been fostered by the French officers, who, it was known, always possessed great influence amongst them, it is not easy to judge. This hostile passion was kept up, until at length the ranees became a party, unwillingly, to a demonstration in the direction of the Sutlej. Ghoolab Singh, brother to the late vizier of the "Lion," was pressed in vain, first, to accept the dangerous office of vizier ; secondly, to join the war-party against the British. It would have been equally dangerous to have openly opposed the movement ; Ghoolab therefore contented himself with taking no part in the preparations, and under various pretences absented himself from the scene of military activity. When at last the war had actually begun, and he could no longer avoid acting in some way, he prudently declined any command in the army, preferring to remain at the head of his own immediate followers, ready for any special service that might present itself.<sup>1</sup>

The preparations which were now being made at Lahore for the passage of the Sutlej could not be kept a secret ; and long before the public had any idea of what was going on, the governor-general had expeditiously but quietly concentrated thirty-two thousand men and sixty-eight guns in and about Ferozepore, Loodianah, and Umballa. In the early part of December, the intelligence forwarded to headquarters respecting the warlike preparations in the Punjab were of such a definite and unmistakable character, that Sir H. Hardinge at once made his way to the camp at Umballa, though without at that time having any belief in the intention of the Sikh army to invade the British territories in considerable numbers. From Umballa the governor-general proceeded onwards to Loodianah, inspecting the various cantonments, and generally making himself acquainted with the actual position of affairs.

On the 7th and 8th of December, intelligence was received by the governor-general from Lahore, of such a nature as at once to induce him to issue instructions to the commander-in-chief to move up the

<sup>1</sup> Macgregor's History of the Sikhs.

whole of his force from Umballa, Meerut, and other minor posts. On the 9th, a portion of the Sikh army had approached to within a few miles of Ferozepore; whilst further advance along the river-line shewed that the most active preparations were being carried on for hostile purposes. By the 12th of December the whole of the Umballa and reserve forces were in full march towards the appointed rendezvous; and at the same time orders were issued to Brigadier Wheeler, at Loodianah, to be prepared to move up with his force of five thousand men



CAMEL BATTERY.

and twelve guns at a moment's notice. During this day more precise information was received as to the Sikh movements; and on the following morning intelligence was brought in that the enemy had crossed the Sutlej, and were concentrating in great force on the left bank of the river.<sup>2</sup>

Affairs having arrived at this point, the governor-general issued a proclamation, setting forth the unprovoked nature of the Sikh invasion, declaring the territories on the left of the Sutlej annexed to the British possessions, and calling upon all friendly and well-disposed natives to aid in the restoration of peace, and at the same time cautioning all evil-doers as to the consequences of their acts.

Brigadier Wheeler was immediately ordered up with his force of

<sup>2</sup> Despatch from Sir H. Hardinge to Secret Committee.

four thousand five hundred men and twenty-one guns to cover Bussean, where a large depôt of stores for the army had been collected ; and by the afternoon of the 14th he was in position before that place. Two days later, the main column from Umballa, under the commander-in-chief, arrived at the same spot. At that moment, the Sikhs were completing the passage of the Sutlej with their heavy artillery and trains ; and on the 17th their main body, consisting of twenty-five thousand regulars and eighty-eight guns, under the command of Lal Singh, moved into position at the village of Forozshah ; whilst another force of twenty-three thousand men and sixty-seven guns encamped opposite Ferozepore. The Sikhs commenced throwing up earth-works around their camps, and preparing for a vigorous contest. The governor-general and commander-in-chief pushed on with their main column towards Ferozepore ; and at mid-day halted at the village of Moodkee, where they snatched some hasty rest and a little refreshment, after a long and harassing march.

The repose of the troops was soon broken by intelligence that at no greater distance than three miles a large body of the enemy were encamped, chiefly cavalry, with twenty-two guns. The troops were immediately called to arms, placed in position, and moved forward to meet the enemy.

The cavalry, under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, were advanced rapidly to the front, and occupying the open plain gave good cover to the infantry whilst forming. The horse-artillery speedily followed, flanking the cavalry. In a short time the Sikh artillery, which was well secured behind a quantity of low jungle, opened a brisk and rather telling fire upon the advancing columns, which was replied to with great spirit by the British horse-artillery and the light field-batteries, which had by this time moved up. These directed such a steady and judicious fire, that the enemy were for a time shaken, and, seizing the opportune moment, the commander-in-chief ordered a cavalry charge upon the left flank of the Sikhs, whilst a similar one was directed upon their right.

Both of these succeeded to admiration ; the charges of the British horse sweeping every thing before them, up to the very guns, and nothing but the irregularity of the ground and the dense cover of the jungle saved the enemy from far heavier loss.

In the meantime, the infantry was moved on to the charge, covered by the vigorous fire of the horse-artillery, brought close to the low jungle in front of their lines. Sir H. Smith, Sir John M'Caskill, and General Gilbert led on the troops in echelon of lines, and pouring in

upon their close ranks a murderous fire, soon taught the enemy the efficacy of the British musket. From position to position the Sikhs were driven; and so often as they stood, the bayonet was resorted to with fatal and unerring effect.

The day was thus won from the enemy; and making the best of their way from the field, with the loss of great numbers of their troops and seventeen of their guns, they sought shelter within their camp at Ferozshah. The slaughter was only stayed by the weariness of the troops and the spreading darkness, for the last two hours of the conflict had been carried on by a dim and uncertain light. When the British moved back to their camp at Moodkee it was midnight.

The loss on the side of the British was severe for the duration of the struggle, the chief execution having been from the Sikh artillery. The number of killed was sixteen officers and two hundred men; that of the wounded, forty-eight officers and six hundred men; and this was out of a force of twelve thousand rank and file. Amongst those who fell at this time, deeply regretted, was General Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad, who fell with his left thigh shattered by grape-shot.

This victory was at once followed up by preparations for further efforts; for it was well known that the enemy would not long remain inactive under their late severe discomfiture. Some heavy artillery was brought up from the rear, escorted by several fresh regiments. Sir John Littler was ordered up from Ferozepore with all his available force, in order to effect a junction with the main body, and, in concert with them, to attack the Sikh entrenched lines.

Accordingly Sir John moved off with one-half of his force, amounting to five thousand five hundred, together with twenty-one guns, leaving the remainder in Ferozepore, to maintain that post, and watch the movements of Tej Singh and his army encamped against it. This was early on the 21st: by eleven o'clock on that day the main body had advanced from Moodkee and taken up a position opposite the intrenched camp of the Sikh army, which contained a total force of thirty-five thousand soldiers and eighty-eight guns, whilst that of the British comprised less than eighteen thousand rank and file and sixty-five guns.

The Sikh lines were about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth, strongly placed, and ready to receive an enemy from whatever quarter it might advance. The ground in front of the army was flat, and interspersed with low jungle. The three divisions of the British army having been placed in line, the artillery was stationed in the centre, with the exception of three troops of horse-artillery, placed on each



BATTLE OF FEROPONE.



flank, and in support. The reserve, under Sir Harry Smith, with the cavalry, formed the second line.

The engagement was commenced by the British artillery advancing and pouring in rapid and well-directed charges upon the Sikh lines until within three hundred yards, when the guns were unlimbered, and a further heavy and continuous discharge kept up, until the word was given for the infantry to charge and seize the Sikh guns, which continued to be served with murderous effect. This heavy and bloody task was performed with matchless courage and rapidity, and the enemy's artillery in the centre was for the time silenced. On the left, Littler's brigade had done wonders; but the storm of grape and shot which fell amidst them caused them to stagger, and make a retrograde movement, which was, however, supported by a portion of the reserve under Sir Harry Smith. The centre and right divisions, under Generals Wallace and Gilbert, were successful at every point; and the battle seemed to be won, when unfortunately night fell so suddenly as not only to prevent the decisive blow being struck, but to cause not a little confusion and danger from the extreme proximity of friends and foes.

In this critical position the main body of the troops were withdrawn to a few hundred yards from the Sikh camp, where they rested during the remainder of the night under arms. About midnight, however, some of the Sikh guns which had not been taken possession of were brought to bear upon the British column as they lay on the ground, doing considerable execution. The governor-general mounted his horse, and calling on the 80th Regiment and a portion of the 1st Bengal Europeans, led them against the annoying guns, which were carried at a charge, and spiked.

That night was one of intense anxiety to the commanders: their loss had been most severe; they were within a few hundred yards of an enemy still formidable, with a heavy reserve under Tej Singh, no doubt on its way up from Ferozepore; whilst Littler's and Sir H. Smith's divisions had been compelled to retire from the left, and nothing was known as to their position.

The spirit of the troops was, however, admirable; and weary and harassed as they were by long marching and hard fighting, all seemed animated with but one spirit,—a determination to finish the work so gloriously begun, and drive the enemy beyond the Sutlej. At early dawn this portion of the army was put under arms, deployed into line, and led on at once against the Sikh entrenchments, without waiting for the other divisions. A few volleys, a round or two of grape, and the bayonet did the rest most effectually. The troops having

secured the whole of the seventy-six guns opposed to them, now wheeled rapidly round, swept past the village of Ferozshah, and in this way cleared the entire length of the enemy's works, who retired upon their reserve, which at that moment appeared in sight.

The remaining divisions of the army now effected a junction with the centre and right; and thus reinforced, ill provided as they were with ammunition, the British commanders would have had no hesitation in advancing against their new enemy, had there been any disposition shewn to await an attack. But such was not the intention of the Sikh generals: disheartened and alarmed, the discomfited troops of Ferozshah communicated to their comrades the panic which they themselves felt, and at once moving off with a few flourishes of their remaining artillery, made for the banks of the Sutlej, which river they quickly left behind them.

To follow up this decisive victory, as inclination would have prompted, was rendered impossible by the want of cavalry and ammunition, nearly the whole of the latter having been exhausted during the recent engagements; and the commander-in-chief was therefore fain to content himself with seeing the enemy fairly across the river, and await reinforcements from the rear.

That day and several following were fully occupied with the care of the wounded, numbering upwards of seventeen hundred. Ferozepore was converted into a hospital, until the sick could be conveyed to a place of greater security; and during the time of their sojourn there, the governor-general was most unremitting in his personal inspection of their comforts. The British loss in killed was heavy: 694 were found dead in the field; and of the wounded 595 died in the hospital, or were disabled from further service.

The same cause which had compelled Sir Hugh Gough to allow Tej Singh to recross the Sutlej unmolested, prevented him from marching on Lahore, and finishing the war under its walls. Nearly two months were spent in waiting for the arrival of a battering train, and reinforcements of both infantry and cavalry; during which period the Sikhs, recovering from the first shock of their disaster at Ferozepore, commenced preparations for the defence of their territories on an extensive scale, and with considerable skill. Throwing a bridge of boats across the Sutlej, the enemy took up a position of much strength on its left bank, and at once commenced forming entrenchments of great extent and solidity, under the superintendence of a French officer of engineers. At the same time a strong body of Sikhs, numbering about 15,000 men and fifty-six guns, crossed the river in the

immediate neighbourhood of Loodianah, and took up a position at the village of Aliwal.

As soon as the commander-in-chief was strengthened by the fresh troops ordered up, he despatched Sir H. Smith with a force of 7,000 men and 24 guns to relieve Loodianah, threatened as it was by the advance of the enemy in its vicinity. The object was speedily and most completely effected. Sir Harry, although harassed in his march by many rear and flank attacks, during some of which he lost much of his baggage, pushed on with determination for the main body of the enemy, which he knew was not far distant.

On the 27th of January the British troops found themselves opposed to the Sikh forces under Runjoor Singh, now reinforced by 4000 more regular troops and twelve field-pieces. On the morning of the 28th, Sir Harry Smith, having with him by that time nearly 10,000 men, advanced to the attack with his entire line, warmly received by the enemy's artillery. After a brief cannonade and a cavalry charge the infantry moved up in gallant style; and though opposed with a well-served artillery force, swept all before them. The village of Aliwal, the enemy's chief position, was carried at the point of the bayonet; the British cannon cut up the heavy masses of Sikh troops; and Her Majesty's 16th Lancers, by their brilliant charges, completed the triumph of the day by capturing every gun opposed to them, and driving the foe, with terrible slaughter, across the river.

The total discomfiture of this body of the enemy left the British at liberty to direct their full attention to the works carrying on by the Sikhs at Sobraon, which were rapidly assuming an importance that promised to render them truly formidable. But the much-needed heavy artillery had not yet reached the camp; and without it operations against the enemy's works would have been deemed most injudicious. On the 8th of February Sir Harry Smith joined the main army with his forces; and on the following day the long-expected heavy guns reached the camp. Not a moment was lost after the receipt of this much-needed arm of war. On the morning of the 10th, long before daybreak, the troops moved out of camp, and marched to the position assigned them, opposite the enemy's works. The British troops numbered somewhat above 16,000 rank and file, with 99 guns; the Sikh force consisted of 34,000 men within the entrenchments, and 20,000 of reserved troops, with seventy pieces of artillery.

The enemy's position was a most formidable one, and had cost them much labour during several months. It was, indeed, considered by them as perfectly impregnable to any force that could be brought

against it; and when it is considered how strong was the army posted within those massive fortifications, behind three lines of trenches, and how ably their artillery was served, the victory of the small British force which carried those vaunted works must be allowed to have been no ordinary achievement.

From six until past eight o'clock the artillery maintained an incessant roar of destruction, aided by that fatal weapon the rocket. At nine the command was issued for the troops to move forward to the attack; and supported on either flank by troops of horse artillery, the infantry advanced to test the vaunted strength of the Sikh fortifications. They were received by a tremendous fire from cannon, muskets, and camel-guns; and so murderous was the discharge from the entrenchments, and so completely exposed were the advancing troops, that it appeared impossible that any body of men could stand such havoc. If there was any halting or indecision under this fearful fire, it was but momentary; the charge was renewed, and in a few more short minutes the advanced troops of the column were within the fatal works. Other divisions of the army met with an equally desperate resistance on either wing, and in more than one place the attacking column was forced back several times, again and again returning to the charge with undaunted valour. At length line after line was entered at the bayonet's point; and to make victory still more decisive, a gallant charge of cavalry under Major-general Thackwell followed up the blow, silenced the Sikh guns, and drove the retreating mass over their bridge of boats and into the river. Great was the slaughter of the flying foe by the light field-pieces of the British; hundreds were cut to pieces by our horse-artillery in crossing the Sutlej, and many more drowned in the confusion.

The fruits of this victory were 67 guns, 200 camel-swivels, and a great number of standarda. But these trophies were purchased at a cost of 320 killed and 2063 wounded, including many valuable officers, amongst others, the veteran Sir Robert Dick.

This decisive battle was at once followed up by a movement on Lahore; and although endeavours were made by Ghoolab Singh to divert the governor-general from his resolution, the troops proceeded on their way, and encamped beneath the city walls. There a treaty was drawn up and formally executed, by which the whole expense of the war, amounting to a million and a half sterling, was undertaken to be paid by the Lahore government. The guns taken by us were to be retained, and all those which had ever been pointed against us were to be delivered up; whilst the Sikh troops and their leaders were to receive instant dismissal. Subsequently it was arranged that a strong garrison

was to be left in Lahore by the British, for the protection of the inhabitants and the security of the Maharajah's authority; and in accordance with this, Sir John Littler was left there with 10,000 men.

Thus terminated the first Punjab war, having occupied but sixty days, and beheld the complete dispersion of the Sikh forces. Upwards of 200 pieces of their best artillery had fallen into our hands; and of 100,000 fighting men, not 30,000 remained together. The cost of the war had been defrayed by the vanquished; and on the whole the campaign appeared to have been not only the most decisive but the most important in its results of any that the British forces in India had been engaged in.

At the close of 1848 the Earl of Dalhousie assumed the supreme government of India. On his arrival he found the most apparently profound tranquillity reigning; and there seemed for the time every probability of his rule being one of an entirely pacific nature. But, as with his predecessor, it soon became evident that he was destined to heighten the reputation of the British arms, and to extend our triumphs and our possessions.

The first indication of trouble came from Mooltan, the capital of a petty state situated between the Indus and the Sutlej. Moolraj, its governor, first shewed signs of unfriendly feeling towards us, and eventually assumed a hostile attitude by the assassination of the British assistant political resident, Mr. Vans Agnew, and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army. This treachery brought forward Lieutenant Edwardes and a party of Sikh horse, who, being reinforced by Colonel Cortlande's troops and some pieces of light artillery, and further aided by the auxiliary forces of the khan of Bhawalpore, attacked and defeated Moolraj on two several occasions with considerable slaughter.

The chief then fell back upon Mooltan, to which the troops under Cortlande and Edwardes would have at once laid siege had they been provided with the necessary guns; they were compelled, therefore, to sit before it and keep up a simple blockade until the 18th of August, when they were opportunely reinforced by General Whish with two regiments of native infantry, one of horse, and a troop of horse-artillery. Other forces reached at nearly the same time from Ferozepore with that which was most needed, a battering-train of considerable weight, and further horse-artillery and light horse. With these various reinforcements the besieging army amounted to 28,000 men, of whom about 6000 were British, and the operations were accordingly pushed forward with vigour. Early in September several successful attacks were made on the enemy's outworks, and one or two sallies

of the garrison repulsed with considerable loss to them ; but the aspect of affairs was suddenly changed by a large party of the Sikh allies under Shere Singh going over to the enemy. This compelled the British to abandon their operations, and retire to a strong position at a short distance from Mooltan.

The defection of the Sikhs had been doubtless brought about by the intelligence that Chutter Singh had collected a body of insurgents in the Hazerah district, and made an attempt upon the fort of Attock. Foiled in this, the chief pushed rapidly forward to Peshawur, where, the British force being greatly reduced in numbers, the resident, Major Lawrence, and his lady were compelled to fly to Kohat and put themselves under the protection of the khan of that place. They were, however, given up to Chutter Singh, together with Lieutenant Borrie.

Another Sikh war now became inevitable. The forces under Chutter Singh and Shere Singh united ; other chiefs flocked to their standards, and they were not long in mustering an army of 30,000 troops eager for plunder or any prospect of employment as preferable to a state of peace. The enemy now took up a position at Ramnugger, near Wuzerabad, having the Chenab flowing in their front, and strongly flanked by artillery.

Reinforcements having reached the British army at Ferozepore, the commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, moved forward to Saharun on the 21st of November, and prepared at once for action. At two o'clock on the following morning the troops moved forwards in the most perfect silence and with as much order as though on parade. Arrived at Ramnugger, the troops were placed in position, whilst our horse-artillery pushed on in advance towards the enemy's lines, which were then distinctly visible, and commenced a sharp fire upon them. This seemed to make but little impression ; and the heavy guns of the Sikhs beginning to return the cannonade, it became apparent that these two branches of the armies were most unequally matched.

The enemy, determined to act vigorously and on the offensive, pushed across the river a strong body of their best cavalry under the fire of their heavy batteries. These were immediately charged by the 5th Light Cavalry and the 14th Dragoons, and driven back to the entrenchments, though not without heavy loss being sustained by these two regiments, especially in officers. Amongst others who fell from the heavy cannonade the troops were exposed to were General Cureton, Colonel Havelock, and Captain Fitzgerald.

At length, after sustaining a furious fire from the British guns, and giving way to the infantry charges in several places, Shere Singh

thought it prudent to abandon his camp and works, and rapidly withdrew towards the Jhelum in tolerably good order.

Preparations were now made by Lord Gough to follow up this victory by advancing in the direction of Lahore, and driving the enemy before him. Whilst this was being carried into execution, events of a stirring nature were enacting before Mooltan, which was once more standing a siege from the British under General Whish; and fresh troops having arrived from the south, the siege was carried on with the utmost vigour, as Moolraj soon found to his cost. The cannonade kept up by the Bombay artillery was incessant and destructive. Wall after wall crumbled before the fury of the battering-train. The suburbs were taken, the powder-magazine in the fort blown up, breaches in the fortifications effected, and at last, in spite of desperate sorties and counter-works, the town was stormed, and the British colours planted on its walls on the 2d of January.

The citadel still held out, and the courageous Moolraj appeared bent on no surrender so long as a wall was left standing. By the 21st the huge works of the fortress were undermined and several practicable breaches opened in them, so that orders were given for the troops to be in readiness for storming the citadel at daybreak. The chieftain, however, saved them any further trouble by appearing at the gate of his fort as the troops were forming for the attack; and proceeding straight to the general's tent, he there handed up his sword.

The fort having been garrisoned, the army moved off to join the camp of the governor-general; and, to prevent any accident, Moolraj was conducted with them. This junction was effected too late for the Mooltan troops to share in the dangers of the battle of Chillianwallah, to which we must now return.

The preparations for marching on Lahore having been completed, the commander-in-chief proceeded, in the early part of January, towards the Chenab, where, as expected, he found the Sikhs strongly entrenched. On the 10th Lord Gough moved his troops forward, with the view, in the first instance, of at once attacking the enemy. This resolve, however, appears from some cause to have been abandoned; and the evening was allowed to draw on without any further demonstration being made on the side of the British. The Sikhs had, however, evidently made every preparation, and were bent upon an engagement. Throwing some flying artillery towards our centre, they brought out a few of our heavy guns, which at once silenced the others, but were in their turn responded to by a tremendous cannonade of heavy

guns from a quarter much nearer than had been anticipated. Under cover of some low but dense jungle, the Sikhs had planted their artillery in a commanding and safe position ; and the advantage of the ground was fully proved by the terrible havoc their guns committed in the ranks of the British army.

To charge in the face of a murderous storm of grape and shell was the only alternative known to British troops ; and, as had been the result at Ferozshah and other places, the bayonet and the spur wrested from the enemy their ruinous and fatal guns, and earned a dear-bought victory. This furious engagement lasted until after nightfall ; and on the morrow, when the troops were mustered and their loss ascertained, it was found that the killed amounted to 26 officers and 731 men ; whilst in wounded the numbers were 66 officers and 1446 men.

Great as was the loss on the English side, the carnage amongst the Sikhs must have been far more terrible. Nevertheless, they did not yet think of submission, but, being joined by a strong body of Afghan horse, prepared with undaunted determination to renew the struggle for supremacy.

Reinforced during the early part of February by the Mooltan troops, Lord Gough made every disposition for striking another and, if possible, a more decisive blow at the Sikh power in the Punjab. It was evident that nothing short of utter and complete overthrow, a perfect annihilation of their military power, could by any possibility restore tranquillity to that country or give security to the neighbouring states for the future ; and on this impression the commander-in-chief at once prepared to act.

The Sikh army had again strongly entrenched themselves in a most favourable position, within a few miles of the town of Goojerat. Hither Lord Gough marched his recruited forces, and on the 21st of February commenced a furious and most effective cannonade on the enemy's lines. Shere Sing was this time at the head of 60,000 men and 59 guns of heavy calibre ; but nothing could withstand the deadly fire of the British artillery-men. For three hours this arm of the force did its work ; and by the end of that time it was quite apparent that the Sikh troops were not only thinned, but making a retrograde movement. The whole force of the British infantry and cavalry were then let loose upon the enemy, and, relieving the heavy guns from further service, the bayonet, lance, and sword accomplished the remainder of the bloody task.

A more complete and effectual overthrow had never been given to the enemy;<sup>3</sup> that they felt it to be so was manifested by the surrender shortly afterwards of Chutter Singh, Shere Singh, and the other Sikh leaders who had escaped our bullets. The Afghans fled across the Indus; the Sikh forces were disbanded; and the Punjab was declared annexed to the British territories in India.

Moolraj was placed upon his trial for the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, found guilty, and had his sentence of death commuted to imprisonment for life.

<sup>3</sup> Punjab Blue Book : Despatch of Lord Gough.



## CHAPTER IX.

## THE SECOND BURMESE WAR AND THE ANNEXATION OF PEGU.

A.D. 1850-1853.

THE year 1850 was ushered in by a peace as profound as any hitherto witnessed during the British rule in India, and with every promise of its proving complete and lasting. During the decade of wars and insurrections which had just terminated, nearly all the most determined opponents of the British power in the East had been compelled to sue for peace, or had beheld their power irretrievably lost, and their countries permanently annexed to the territories of Great Britain.

Looking, therefore, at the state of India in the last year of the first half of the nineteenth century, it appeared difficult to imagine that any political event could occur to disturb the tranquillity of our vast empire in the East. But this security had not been obtained without considerable cost. Glory and conquest have their price, as well as other and more vulgar things. The Afghan retribution, the "Lion's skin," the Punjab trophies, the gates of Somnooth,—these, and a few other items on the scroll of fame, had cost the government, in round figures, twenty millions sterling. By their means, the public debt of India had been swollen from 32,000,000*l.* to 46,000,000*l.*, the difference of the twenty millions having come out of the current revenues of the state.<sup>1</sup>

Little occurred during this and the following year to disturb the deep calm which fell like a shade over the realms owning our sway in India. In the shape of aggression, indeed, there was literally nothing to record, save the harassing predatory inroads of the Affredees and some others of the hill-tribes on our north-western frontier, in the vicinity of Peshawur. These marauders had for ages been a source of annoyance to the Sikhs, and appeared equally disposed to find occupation

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta Review for 1851.

for our troops. One raid followed another in quick succession ; and although Sir Colin Campbell and his detachment inflicted severe chastisement upon them, it seemed to be in vain ; until at length, worn out and beaten at all points, these marauding freebooters agreed, on certain terms, to cease from further depredations upon the border villages or wayside travellers.

The year 1851 will long be memorable in Indian annals, as having witnessed the commencement of railways and electric telegraphs in two of the three presidencies. At Calcutta and Bombay the first sections of the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsular railways were put in train ; whilst an electric telegraph was begun between the former city and Diamond harbour, and is now in active operation,—the first of a series of wires which will eventually connect the City of Palaces with the various seats of government throughout that presidency.

Not the least notable occurrence of this year was the passing an act which effected for all India what Lord William Bentinck had done for Bengal alone, by abolishing all pains and penalties attaching, under the old Hindoo and Mahomedan laws, to any seceders from those faiths to Christianity, and who had hitherto, by such secession, forfeited all rights to family or other property.

Towards the latter part of the year the political horizon was dimmed by a small cloud in the direction of Burmah, arising out of sundry acts of cruelty and oppression to British subjects. These acts it was deemed by the authorities impossible to overlook ; and an expedition was accordingly despatched in November from Calcutta, under Commodore Lambert, to demand reparation for the past, and a guarantee for the future.

Early in January (1852), it appeared as though the sovereign of Ava was disposed to come to a friendly understanding with the governor-general ; but before long it was too evident that this appearance of amity was but a pretext in order to gain time. A new viceroy arrived at Rangoon, and commenced active preparations, by no means of a pacific nature. It was in vain that Commodore Lambert endeavoured to obtain an interview with this functionary ; at first his letters were treated coolly, but eventually with contempt ; and it became evident that, in order to bring the Burmese to terms, forcible means would have to be resorted to.

Matters being in this state, the commodore directed all British residents in Rangoon who valued their lives to seek refuge on board the fleet. This order was at once obeyed, though a number of Europeans and natives were detained on shore and thrown into prison. On

the morrow the fleet moved down the river, the steamers towing out some of the smaller ships. An insolent message from the viceroy, threatening to fire on our ships if they passed his forts, was disregarded; but as one of the steamers proceeded past the town with a Burmese man-of-war in tow as a prize, the garrison commenced firing upon her, which was at once so warmly returned by the guns of her Majesty's ship *Fox*, as to cause the immediate abandonment of the Burmese forts.

Upon this open rupture, Commodore Lambert, being anxious for more positive instructions from the governor-general, left for Calcutta in a steamer, first declaring the ports of Burmah in a state of blockade. Although not quite satisfied, it is said, with one act—the seizure of the Burmese ship-of-war—the governor-general ratified all that had been done at Rangoon, and at once resolved upon pursuing the most energetic and prompt measures for the adjustment of these differences. Orders were despatched to Bombay and Madras for the immediate preparation for use of all the steamers available, with contingencies of such troops as could be spared; whilst active measures were at once taken at Calcutta for despatching, by steamers and transports, a powerful body of European and native troops, as well as a strong accompaniment of artillery.

The result was, that, by the 24th of February, six steamers left Bombay for Madras, where they embarked the troops destined for the Burmese campaign, under the command of General Godwin, viz. two European and four native regiments, with four corps of artillerymen, chiefly Europeans. These left Madras on the 29th of March; whilst at Calcutta the armament had been equally hastened. The last of the force despatched there left the Hoogly on the 25th March; the total having been similar to the Madras force—two European and four native regiments, with their accompaniments of artillery, in four steamers and four transports. These amounted in the aggregate to about eight thousand men.

The 1st of April being the latest day fixed by the governor-general for the ultimatum of the Burmese sovereign, a steamer was despatched to Rangoon on that morning to ascertain if any reply had been received from Ava. In place of a letter, the British envoy received a shower of shot from the stockades lining the river, and was thus compelled to return.

Admiral Austin, in H.M. steamer *Rattler*, having now joined from Singapore, and the Bengal squadron arriving at the same moment, it was resolved to attack Martaban, the first Burmese town, without waiting for the arrival of the Madras force: this was accomplished

with little difficulty on the 5th. The Madras troops reached on the 7th, and within three days from that date the united force proceeded up the river, and commenced operations by a bombardment of the strong stockades, which were found well mounted with guns, and defended by 25,000 Burmese troops. During that and the four following days the troops were occupied in reducing the numerous out-works and fortified pagodas which studded the environs and heights. This was not accomplished without the loss of 17 killed and 132 wounded, besides the loss of two officers by *coup de soleil*. The force of the British in Burmah at that time consisted of two ships of war, 16 steamers, and 14 transports, with 2700 European and 3000 native troops, and about 1800 marines and sailors, making a total of 8000 men.

One of the first fruits of the capture of Rangoon was the quieting of the alarm of the natives, who perhaps, naturally for them, expected that our troops would retaliate the cruelties of the Burmese authorities on all British subjects who had fallen into their hands. Once assured of our friendly disposition, the inhabitants flocked back to the city in thousands, whilst the people of the neighbouring province of Pegu, at no time well disposed to their Burman conquerors, declared they were ready to place themselves under our protection. This becoming known to the native authorities, led to the exercise of great cruelties towards the unfortunate inhabitants, who were given up to the robbery and violence of the Burmese soldiers.

It had been the opinion of the British commander in the first instance, that our troops would be compelled to remain inactive during the whole of the rainy season, extending from May to October inclusive; but circumstances overruled this. It became evident early in May that the Burmese were mustering very strongly at Bassein, a town of some importance about sixty miles up one of the branches of the Irrawaddy, and bordering on the British territory of Arracan, which there was no doubt they intended to invade. General Godwin resolved, under these circumstances, to drive the enemy from that quarter, and place a garrison in the town.

On the morning of the 17th, a detachment, consisting of 400 European, and 300 native infantry, with 100 sappers and miners, and some artillery-men, aided by a party of marines, were sent off in four steamers. These descended the main river to the sea by the evening, and next morning began to round the smaller branch of the Irrawaddy, on which Bassein is situated. A number of large stockades were passed, which, however, offered no resistance, and the fleet arrived off

the town without interruption by the afternoon. Here it was evident the enemy mustered pretty strongly, entrenched behind some mud forts defended by stockades, and within a large pagoda. Their numbers were estimated at 7000 men.

No opposition being still offered, the troops were at once landed; but on a detachment under Captain Salter moving towards one of the stockades, they were greeted with a sharp volley of musketry, which did some mischief. The men were at once led against the defences, which were stoutly defended by artillery, the Burmese gunners being bayoneted at their posts; first, the pagoda, and lastly, the mud fort, was carried with a loss to the enemy of about 800 men, and on our side of a few officers and men wounded. The town, being deserted by the Burmese troops, was taken possession of, and a garrison of 500 men left in it.

On the 26th the Burmese made a sudden and desperate attempt to retake Martaban with a force of about 1200 men, but were so warmly received by our troops, that they were glad to retire, having suffered considerable loss, which on our side amounted to but one killed and thirteen wounded.

Although the weather was by no means favourable, the general dispatched a small force on the 3d of June, in a steamer, to capture Pegu, the former capital of the kingdom of that name, and now in possession of the Burmese. The expedition consisted of 100 Europeans, and an equal number of sepoy, with 30 sappers and miners. These arrived off the town early on the following day, landed, and at the first charge drove the enemy before them; who, flying in great numbers from their pagoda and stockades, left the town in the hands of the British, who were hailed by the citizens as their deliverers; but having accomplished this much, the expedition returned, leaving Pegu unoccupied. During the remainder of June the troops remained inactive, but, despite the unfavourable weather, in a good state of health. General Godwin availed himself of this cessation of hostilities to dispatch a steamer to Calcutta, with a request for an additional force of Europeans and natives, with a detachment of light cavalry, a field-battery, and some horse-artillery. These were at once prepared for sea, and dispatched from Madras and Calcutta with all celerity. Meanwhile the governor-general visited the seat of war, in order to examine the true posture of affairs, and consult with the commander of the forces as to future operations.

On the 9th of July a force was dispatched against Prome, which, after meeting with some slight resistance from river-defences, came

upon the rear of the Burmese general's army. After exchanging a few volleys, the enemy fled in all directions, leaving twenty-eight guns, the general's state-barge, and a quantity of standards and camp-equipage behind them. Prome was at once entered by the British without further resistance, but, owing to the insufficiency of the force, not retained in our possession. Consequently, as soon as our troops returned to Rangoon, the Burmese again took possession of the place, and commenced putting it in a state of defence. What General Godwin's motive may have been for such an empty display of conquest, it is difficult to tell, but the proceeding gave rise, as well it might, to considerable surprise and dissatisfaction amongst the troops.

August was opened in general inactivity, although the weather was by no means so unfavourable as usual at this season, and there was nothing to prevent our troops from at once proceeding by water to Ava, the capital of the empire, had the lethargy of the commander of the forces permitted such a movement.

The expected reinforcements having reached head-quarters, the force available amounted in the month of September to nearly 20,000 men, in the highest state of efficiency, and quite large enough to have at once swept all before them to the very gates of the emperor's palace. But this did not appear to be the view taken of the matter by General Godwin, who now made preparation for once more attacking Prome. In the middle of this month two regiments, a field-battery, with a detachment of sappers and miners, left Rangoon, followed within a few days by the general and a party of artillerymen. They ascended the river without opposition until the 9th of October, when, as they approached the stockaded defences of the city, they were fired upon from many sides. The enemy's gunnery was not of first-rate quality, and in less than two hours was entirely silenced, the ground being completely cleared of the opposing force by the shells thrown from the steamers. The troops were landed towards the evening, and advancing at once upon a pagoda and the few remaining defences, carried every thing before them at the point of the bayonet. Night fell before the town could be reached, and it was therefore not until the next morning that Prome was occupied for the second time by our troops.

A large body of Burmese troops, amounting to upwards of 6000 men, were known to be posted within a few miles of the town, strongly entrenched behind stockades, and out of reach of our steamers, the artillery practice from which appears to have impressed them with a proper sense of our superiority in that arm of war. To have

dislodged them with the force at his command would have been a matter of comparative ease; but so thought not General Godwin; who, fearful probably of terminating the war too quickly, determined to await the arrival of further troops before attempting any forward movement. He did not wait long, however; but within a day or two left for Rangoon in search of the troops considered to be requisite for further operations. This reinforcement was despatched towards the latter part of the month. By this time the Irrawaddy, which had been previously deep enough throughout for our largest steamers, sank so suddenly, and, as it appears, so unexpectedly, that several of the flotilla were left aground in the middle of the stream, with every prospect of having to remain there until the next rains should float them.

With a view to assist the intended advance upon Ava, the Calcutta authorities dispatched 250 elephants overland to Prome, by way of the Arracan province, and the Aeng Pass, leading from those territories into the Burman dominions. It being reported that the enemy were stockading the pass, a force was sent forward from Arracan to clear the way, and keep open the road to the south-east.

Notwithstanding that a second force was despatched to Prome, nothing further was accomplished in that quarter, save the occupancy of a few villages in the immediate vicinity, for the protection of the inhabitants against the Burmese troops. The general's attention was now devoted to making another of his famous second-hand conquests. He resolved that, inasmuch as the town of Pegu had been, like Prome, captured only to be abandoned, it should, like the latter city, be once more stormed. Acting upon this resolve, a force of 1100 rank and file, with 30 artillerymen, 60 sappers, and two 24-pounders, started for Pegu in four steamers, under the command of General Godwin himself, on the 18th of November.

On the evening of the 20th they arrived off the town, which it was now evident had been strengthened since its last capture. Numerous stockades were to be seen filled with troops, who made a show of stout resistance. During the night our troops effected a landing without molestation; and at an early hour next morning made an advance on the principal stockade, one party charging it in front, whilst a second effected a diversion on the flank. Its defenders contented themselves with one smart volley, after which it never appears to have occurred to them to reload; but flying from the rear of their defences, they mounted a troop of elephants and ponies, that were evidently ready for the purpose, and left us in undisturbed possession of the place.

This time the general decided upon placing a garrison in the town,

with a party of sappers and the two 24-pounders; and having arranged the completion of this almost bloodless expedition, he retraced his steps with the steamers and the greater part of the troops to Rangoon, which place he reached on the 23d. In three days the general was once more on the move upwards to Prome with another reinforcement of native troops, a field-battery, and some irregular horse; though with what object in view does not appear.

The Burmese, despite their many overwhelming defeats, were not disposed to leave us in quiet possession of our conquests. On the 8th of December the commissariat boats off Pegu were fired into; whilst at the same minute a body of 8000 troops attacked the town and its outworks, which were gallantly defended by the little garrison. Intelligence of these events being received at Rangoon, a reinforcement of 200 men were sent off towards Pegu; but meeting there with a powerful enemy at an advantageous position on the river, they were compelled to retire and fall back upon Rangoon. On this a force of 1400 men, the greater part consisting of cavalry, was started by land and water, which pushed on through every opposition, driving before them a large body of Burmese horse. In the neighbourhood of Pegu, the enemy, to the number of 8000, were encountered; and, as usual, completely overthrown at the first onset, leaving many of their force on the field. In this expedition the Sikh irregular horse behaved in the most admirable manner, shewing that a change of masters had in no way lessened their courage.

The various operations detailed in the preceding pages, led to that which might have been anticipated—the annexation of the conquered portion of the Burmese empire. By a proclamation bearing date December 28th, 1852, the governor-general declared the province of Pegu annexed to the British territories; and called upon all the inhabitants to submit themselves to the authority and protection of the government. He moreover intimated that no further conquests were intended; but that, in the event of the king of Ava refusing to hold friendly intercourse with the British government, or seeking to disturb their quiet possession of Pegu, further hostilities would necessarily ensue, which could have no other result than the total subversion of the Burman empire, and the exile of the king and his family. The effect of this proclamation was to bring about a revolution at the capital, headed by the emperor's brother, who appears to have been backed by a large peace-party holding friendly opinions in regard to the English. The sovereign was at once deposed and made prisoner, and the brother placed on the throne in his stead. In consequence of this altered state

of things, an embassy was despatched from Rangoon, backed by a steamer and a strong armed party.

Meanwhile our troops had not been idle. The stockaded defences of the Aeng pass, by means of which the Burmese had hoped to cut off communication between Arracan and Pegu, were carried by a small detachment of troops, without the loss of a single man; although the pass was of a most formidable nature, and considered impregnable. The enemy still continued hovering about our stations in force, watching for a favourable opportunity of annoying us, and plundering the villages; during the whole of January various detachments were employed in scouring the country, and chastising these bands of marauders. At the date of our last advices, extending to the middle of May 1853, the whole of the Burmese troops appear to have retired upon Ava, in consequence of the recent revolution in state affairs; an embassy had been dispatched by the new emperor to meet and confer with our representative, which at first promised to terminate in a friendly manner; but the Burmese soon intimated that no portion of their territories would be allowed to remain in our hands without a further struggle, which now appears inevitable.

From our knowledge of the antecedents of this people, and of the policy of their rulers, it is scarcely possible to calculate upon any lasting peace between the two powers. The final result will, no doubt, be the subversion of the Burman dynasty, and the annexation of that empire to our already enormous possessions in the East.

Before closing the present chapter, and with it the historical section of this volume, it may be well to notice the few events of the past year within the remaining portion of the three Presidencies. Throughout India, with the exception of the north-western frontier, the most profound peace has reigned. The only disturbance which broke this complete tranquillity was the periodical incursion of some of the hill-tribes, especially of the Momunds. Their forays were mainly directed against the inhabitants of the villages in their vicinity, where they frequently committed great destruction of life and property.

These marauders occupied the forces under Sir Colin Campbell from early in January, at various periods, until quite the end of the year, often falling upon our troops when not expected, and inflicting considerable loss. These freebooters mustered very strong in light horse, and by the rapidity of their movements and their intimate knowledge of every mile of the country, bore defiance to such of our troops as were brought against them.

In Scinde, the occurrence of the year was the deposition of Ali Morad from his principedom. The plots and falsehoods of this designing intriguer having been completely brought home to him, and it being made clear how nefariously he had deprived both his brothers and the British government of large tracts of territory, no time was lost in stripping him of his ill-gotten honours and estates, and reducing him to the rank of a simple chief.

An attempt was made during 1852 to establish an annual fair at Kurrachee, for the supply of the great commercial marts above the Indus with European goods, and the disposal of their produce in return ; but, as far as the first endeavour has gone, no success appears to have attended it, however praiseworthy its object. The supplies of merchandise and produce were considerable, but without leading to any extended dealings.

In February 1853 the first fifteen miles of Indian railroad were opened with some ceremony, between Bombay and Tamrah, and this small line has continued in active operation since that time.





**PART II.**

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**POLITICAL.**



## CHAPTER I.

### THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS OF INDIA FROM THE HINDOO PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME, WITH A SKETCH OF THE COVENANTED AND UNCOVENANTED SERVICES.

**B**EFORE attempting to describe the present constitution and functions of the local governments of British India, with their effects upon the industry of the people over whom their rule is established, it is necessary that the reader should peruse a sketch of the form of government prevailing in the early times of Hindoo supremacy, with a few notices of the modifications the system underwent during the Afghan and Mahomedan rule in India. This is the more essential, because by so doing I shall render this picture of British India more complete, and at the same time provide the means of rightly estimating the value and effects of the changes introduced in the government and taxation of the country by the legislature of Great Britain. We can but judge of men and things by contrast, and it is only by looking back to what has been done during times long since past in this vast but half-known country, that a right appreciation can be formed of the shortcomings of the present, and the hopefulness of the future of our Indian empire.

In the time of which the first records are handed down to us through the code of Menu, it appears that the government of Hindostan was founded on the relative positions of the four classes of society existing at that period.

It was vested in an absolute monarch, whose authority arose out of the necessity, and partook of the character of the extremely simple state in which the people of India lived in that remote age. He was apparently controlled by no human power, but yet was so limited in his dominance by the moral influence of the code, and the necessities of the

people over whom he was placed, that they were to a very great extent defended from any acts of tyranny on his part. For any breach of his high trust he was threatened with punishment in one part of the code, and is spoken of as subject to fine in another ; but no means were provided for enforcing any of the penalties to which he might be liable ; and neither the councils who were to assist him, nor the military chiefs who were to execute his behests, possessed any constitutional power which did not emanate from his will. The superintendence of a divine intelligence was felt and acknowledged, and the superstitious effect of the Brahminical priesthood pervaded the realm to the regulation of the subjects and of their king.

He appointed seven ministers, or councillors, who were generally of the military class, and who had above them all one distinguished Brahmin, in whom he was to repose his full confidence.<sup>1</sup> Another officer was also appointed, who was called an "ambassador," though his functions were rather those of a minister of foreign affairs than representative at foreign courts. All these officers were to be of noble birth ; and the ambassador especially was selected for his great abilities, penetration, and sagacity, and he was required to be honest, dexterous in business, to make himself acquainted with other countries, and the circumstances of the times.

The king's duties were those of every executive monarch, the defence of his own country, and the chastisement of its foreign foes. It was his duty to attend to the advice of his Brahmins, from whom he was to derive his notions of justice, policy, and theology, and who thus acquired almost the entire control of the state. He was also expected to possess a knowledge of agriculture, commerce, and some general acquaintance with the mechanical arts, in which the people at large were generally engaged.

Not only were the duties of the monarch prescribed, but advice was given to him in the code, which coming from such a source had all the authority of law. The capital was to be fixed in a fertile part of the country, but in a place difficult of access, and incapable of supporting the armies of an invader. These two injunctions may seem to imply conditions which it was frequently impossible to fulfil ; but it is remarkable how exactly they have to a great extent been carried out ; for, owing to the peculiar nature of the country, and the judgment with which the several sites have been chosen, few places are stronger in their natural defences than most of the great cities of India. The

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone's India, vol. i. p. 38.

monarch was to keep his garrison always well-provisioned, and in the centre of the fortress his own palace was to be placed, "well-finished and brilliant, surrounded by water and trees," in order that it might be equally accessible on all sides, and also of course more easy of defence.

His queen was to be chosen for her birth and beauty, and he was to appoint a domestic priest. The habits which the code directed the monarch to observe were all calculated to endue him with bodily health, and to enable him to exercise his faculties when in their clearest and most efficient state. He was to rise in the last watch of the night, and after sacrifices to hold a court in the public hall, dismissing his subjects with kind looks and words.

The precautions which contrast with this pleasing picture of fealty to the sovereign, and of parental care on his part for his dependents, were necessitated by the peculiarities of the Asiatic character. His food was only served by trustworthy persons, and was always accompanied, when placed before him, with antidotes to poison. He was usually armed when he received his emissaries, and even his female attendants were commonly searched, lest they should bear upon them concealed weapons; and whether at home or abroad he had constantly to be on his guard against the plots and attempts of his enemies.

The army was regulated by a commander-in-chief, but the actual infliction of punishment was committed to the officers of justice. The treasury was regulated by the monarch himself, and under his supervision the declaration of war or the arrangements for peace were committed to the ambassador, who was in all these affairs the king's supreme representative. Great power was thus necessarily intrusted to this important and often essential officer.

Foreign policy and war, as might naturally be expected, were the subjects of many of the rules of government in the code of Menu; and these rules are particularly interesting as affording numerous proofs in their construction of the division of India at a very early period into a number of unequal but independent states, disclosing besides the signs of a people who were already civilised and of gentle character. It would be foreign to my object to trace whence this civilisation arose; but it may not be impertinent to remark, that it must have arisen from a people far advanced in the codification of their laws. In Menu it was provided that the king should always care for the safety of his subjects by a vigilance that was unceasing, and a sufficient state of preparation to meet all emergencies; and this he was to do so far as in him lay without guile. The arts enjoined to be employed against

enemies were four : firstly—making presents, shewing friendship, and allaying hostility ; secondly—sowing divisions amongst his opponents, which was not quite consistent with the previous rule, and the observance of which was the great cause of all the after-misfortunes of India ; thirdly—negotiations, in which the inhabitants of that clime were always adepts ; and lastly—the force of arms, in which to a certain extent they were equal to their enemies. With a sagacity worthy of all praise they were recommended to prefer the last two courses.

The king was prompted to regard his nearest neighbours and their allies as hostile ; the powers beyond those as possibly amicable ; and all by whose enmity they could not be immediately reached as neutral, and only to be propitiated or subdued as circumstances might require. A natural result of a policy like this was an injunction that in ordinary cases a resort was to be made to the protection of a more powerful, if not a neighbouring prince, notwithstanding that this protection involved the necessity of unqualified submission to the power that had rendered the necessary assistance.

Great importance was attached to the use of spies, both in negotiations and in warfare, and minute instructions were given concerning the sort of persons who were to be engaged in that employment ; nor has the principle died out with the lapse of ages. They were to be artful active youths, degraded anchorites, distressed husbandmen, decayed merchants, and fictitious penitents.

The rules of war were simple, and having been drawn from the usages and maxims of the Brahminical priesthood, were little suited to the carrying on of conflicts in a widely extended country, and where large numbers of men were employed. The plans of their campaigns resembled rather that adopted in the contests between the Grecian republics and the early tribes of Italy, before Rome had attained to the state and empire which she afterwards wielded with so much effect upon the destinies of the world.

In order that the march of a hostile force might be as detrimental as possible to the inhabitants of the invaded district, each sovereign was directed to advance when the vernal or autumnal crop was upon the ground ; for it must not be forgotten that there are always two crops in the year in the most fertile districts of India ; and to shew how much “fenced” cities were relied upon, it is stated in the code that one hundred bowmen in a fort were equal to the ten thousand enemies who might besiege it. The army was composed of both cavalry and infantry, the great weapon of both arms of the force being the bow, aided by the sword and shield for close quarters. Elephants were

much employed then, as they have been ever since in every stage of warfare; and the chariots, such as were used in Arabia and Egypt, formed no unimportant part of the forces.

That the science of war was not altogether in its infancy was shewn in the fact, that precise directions were given for the order of march and the arrangement of the troops for battle; but above all, the king was enjoined to recruit his forces from the upper parts of Hindostan, where the best men are still invariably found for warlike purposes. Prize-property belonged of right to him that took it; but if of great extent, and not consequently captured separately, it was divided among the troops who either actually made or assisted in the assault.

The laws to be observed in war were humane in the extreme, and the settlement of a conquered country was conducted on equally liberal principles. Immediate safety was secured to all by proclamation; the religion and the laws of the country were to be especially respected; and as soon as it could be ascertained that the conquered people were to be trusted, a prince of the old royal house was to be placed on the throne, and to hold his kingdom only as a fief of, and doing allegiance to, the conqueror.

It is strange that, with all this minutiae of expression with respect to the orderly government of a conquered state, not a word was said with respect to the pay of the military by whom it was achieved. In all probability the members of an Indian army were secured by a donation out of the revenues of the state, or by an assignment of lands for their use and support. This assertion would appear to be founded on the fact that the civil officers are all, almost without exception, provided for by the assignment of lands.

These assignments were made in the first place for specific sums, generally equal to the necessity of the case, and amply sufficient for the services which were to be performed; but it was natural to simplify the arrangements by transferring the onus of the collection from the simple officer charged with that duty to the chief in the state where the military body was employed.

According to the plan adopted by the Mahrattas, the number and description of troops to be maintained by each chief was prescribed; the pay of each division carefully calculated, allowances to the several officers specified, and a certain sum allotted for the personal expenses and remuneration of the chief himself; the terms of service and the mode of mustering, and all the other arrangements, being carefully laid down in the directions.

Some portion of the territory was then selected, of which the share

set aside for the government should be sufficient, after all the other demands had been satisfied ; and the whole territory yielding that amount, and all above it that he could obtain, was then turned over to the military chief, to make the best he could of it, for himself, his family, or his successors.<sup>2</sup>

As time progressed, the art of war among the Hindoos became much more complicated ; and when the Mahomedan invasions from Ghuzni began, they had become acquainted with systematic plans, carried on through several campaigns, instead of the mere forays by which they were previously distinguished. The introduction of regular battalions entirely changed the face of war ; and the people of India began to shew a skill in the choice of ground, an activity in the employment of light troops, and a judgment in securing their own supplies and cutting off those of the enemy, which has seldom been surpassed by any other people.

The longer duration of the campaigns rendered their military life more marked than it had been ; and some of the Mahratta chiefs lived so entirely in the camp, that they had, apparently, no other capital. From this circumstance, the number of individuals assembled were out of all proportion to the fighting men ; and when they moved, they formed a disorderly crowd spread over the country, from ten to twelve miles in length, and from two to three in breadth, besides the parties scattered from the line of march in search of forage or plunder.

The main body was very unequally composed. In some places it constituted a compact force, but was in others thin and dispersed, consisting of elephants and camels, horse and foot, carts, palankeens, and bullock-carriages, loaded oxen, porters, women, children, droves of cattle, goats, sheep, and asses, all mingled together in the utmost conceivable disorder, and all enveloped in a thick cloud of dust, which, from its height, was easily discernible from a distance of several miles.

When there were regular infantry, they marched in a compact body, the guns forming long lines, and occasioning frequent obstructions from the badness of the roads or the breaking down of the carriages. Many of the troops, however, straggled among the baggage. The usual signs of assemblage were two tall standards, accompanied by kettle-drums representing a following body, which ought to comprise from five hundred to five thousand men, but which seldom consisted of more than from five to fifty ; the other horsemen riding singly or in troops, each with his spear poised upon his shoulder, as suited his pleasure, and the

<sup>2</sup> Elphinstone's India, vol. i.

whole array generally so loose that any one might have ridden at full trot from the rear to the front without causing any particular discomposure of the general mass. Yet, with all this disorder, they were not unprepared on the line of march; and it would be difficult, even in our wars, to find an instance of the baggage of a native army cut off, unless when fairly run down by a succession of hard marches.

When the troops reached their ground, a better arrangement occurred than might have been expected. Conspicuous flags were planted, marking the places allotted to the several chiefs, and every man knew therefore the part of the encampment to which he belonged. The tents were mostly white, but often striped with red, blue, and green, consisting sometimes wholly of these colours. The bazaars were ranged in long and regular streets, comprising shops of all descriptions, as in a city, while the guns and disciplined infantry also occupied regular lines, the other forces being distributed without any visible arrangement.

The common tents were low, and of black woollen cloth, sometimes being merely a blanket thrown over the heads of three spears stuck in the ground. Those of the chiefs, some of them especially, were extremely rich, formed of canvass screens, divided into courts, reception and sleeping rooms, which were quilted and adorned with most splendid damask or other hangings.

The armies were generally fed by large bodies of Banjaras, a tribe whose business it was to carry grain, bring it from distant countries, and sell it to the wholesale dealers, while smaller dealers went to the neighbouring villages and bought from the inhabitants; and though the government never interfered, the native camps were almost always well supplied, though the villagers around were generally rendered destitute by their visit.

The most important feature of an Indian battle in the present day consists in their cannonade, for in the management of large guns they are very skilful, and our troops have frequently suffered very severely in consequence. But their most characteristic mode of fighting, besides skirmishing, which is a favourite kind of warfare with them, consists in a grand charge of cavalry, which soon brings the battle to a crisis.

Nothing can be more magnificent than such a scene. The sea of horsemen, clad in all the panoply of war, advancing slowly at first, brandishing their spears and other weapons in the light of an Indian sun, shaking their banners, and then thundering along the ground apparently in an impenetrable phalanx against the opposing force. Their mode is generally to charge in front, and then, by a sudden diversion of a part of their force, attack the flanks at the same time; and the

mancœuvre has frequently called forth the admiration of European antagonists, and is certainly performed with surprising skill by a comparatively undisciplined body of men. These charges, however, though grand in aspect, almost always prove ineffectual against regularly trained soldiers.

Frequently there is a body of irregular cavalry attached to an Indian army, who are picked men, well mounted and appointed, of high courage and spirit, and who receive extra pay. The best infantry are men from the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, besides Arabs and Scindians, especially the former, who are superior to most of the other inhabitants of Asia in discipline, fidelity, and courage.

The internal administration of the country was conducted by a series of civil dependents, consisting of lords of single townships or villages, very much answering to our superintendents of hundreds under the Saxon wittengemote, lords of ten towns, lords of a hundred, and lords of a thousand towns. These were all appointed by the king, and each of these lords had to make a regular periodical report of all the offences committed, and of all the disturbances created, to his immediate superiors.<sup>3</sup>

Each lord of one town was entitled to the provisions and other impositions which pertained to the crown; the lord of ten towns was entitled to take for his emolument the produce of two ploughs of land; the lord of a hundred towns enjoyed the whole of the land attached to a village; and the lord of a thousand, that which was attached as public property to a large town or city; for the Indian officials had what was equivalent to our city demesnes.

All officers of this rank were subject to the supervision of state superintendents, who held their authority directly from the sovereign or the state. One of these had to make his residence where complaints might be made or whence orders might be issued; the object being to check abuses, to which, as was very naïvely said in the code, officials were very prone.

With regard to its military government, every state under the ancient regime was partitioned into divisions, in each of which there was a commanding officer, approved for his skill or fidelity, and most probably for both; but the limits did not at all times, as might naturally be supposed, correspond correctly with the bounds of the civil jurisdiction.

Under the Mahomedan rulers of India the form of government underwent a considerable modification. Whilst in the village communities and rural districts much of the ancient Hindoo municipal admi-

<sup>3</sup> Elphinstone's India, vol. i. book ii. ch. xi.

nistration was still maintained, in other and more important districts, as well as in all the large towns and cities, the government assumed a more monarchical form, and became far more centralised.<sup>4</sup>

The country under this new regime was divided into provinces, the affairs of which were administered by governors holding their appointments direct from the emperor ; and these again were, in some instances, as in the Deccan and Bengal, under the superior control of governors-general or viceroys. The governors had under them agents or kardahs, for the smaller divisions of the province. The supervision of the police and the collection of the revenue appears to have been under one management, except in the cities, where the police was maintained in a more distinct and independent form.

To the Mahomedans is to be traced the origin of the class known as zemindars, though in those days they were not precisely such as are to be found at present. They were not then landowners, though the term does signify a "holder of land," but were merely placed over a district or pergunnah, in conjunction with the kardah, with the same functions as those of the headmen of villages, whilst the village accountant was again duplicated in the districts by officers termed canoongoes, without detriment, however, to those ancient Hindoo officials who still continued to exercise their proper functions within their own limits.

The real value of any particular form of local government can be best estimated by its effects upon the social condition of the people under it ; and judging of the Mahomedan administration by this standard, we are bound to admit that it was not ill suited to the wants of the country. Whatever of despotism there may have been, whatever individual cases of suffering, there is no doubt that the lives and property of the people at large were well cared for. Watchhouses were placed along the main lines of road, and properly guarded by patrols ; whilst in the rural districts the inhabitants of each village were held accountable for any crime or offence against the laws committed within their limits. Harsh as this may appear in modern days, it nevertheless worked exceedingly well under the early rulers of Hindostan.

With the preceding sketch of the Mahomedan form of government before him, the reader will be prepared for an account of the local government of India as it at present exists.

The supreme government of India is vested in a governor-general, who is aided by a council, composed of the commander-in-chief, three civil servants of not less than ten years' standing, and one unofficial member, usually a barrister. The governor-general is also governor of

<sup>4</sup> Modern India, by George Campbell, p. 75.

the presidency of Bengal, with a deputy-governor to act in his absence, and a lieutenant-governor for the north-west provinces, whose station is at Agra. There is no Bengal council; but at each of the other presidencies the governor is assisted by the commander-in-chief and two ordinary civil councillors, as in the case of the supreme council at Bengal.

The government of India is centralised to a vicious degree. The subordinate governments of Bombay and Madras can make no law, nor expend any sum beyond 1000*l.*, without reference to the supreme government at Calcutta, which must also be furnished with copies of all their proceedings. The patronage of each presidency is exercised by the head of that government, which has also the direction of the military operations of the presidency.

The administration of the Bengal government in itself, and irrespective of the supreme functions of the governor-general, is by far the heaviest; extending over a much larger tract of country, including not only the vast densely-peopled provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and the Assam and Arracan countries, but likewise the Tenasserim, and recently the Peguan province. The governor of Bengal does not interfere with the administration of the north-western government any further than with that of the other presidencies; and looking to the wide difference which exists between the mechanism of these respective governments, that of Bengal being on the modern Anglo-Mahomedan plan, whilst that of Agra is almost purely on the old Hindoo system, there can be little doubt of the wisdom which has to this extent separated the workings of these two portions of this great presidency.

The Bombay government, though small, is not an unimportant one, having many petty states in connexion with it, as well as some political relations along the African and Arabian coasts, together with the charge of the Indian navy.

The Presidency of Madras is of considerable extent, comprising the whole of the east and south of the peninsula; yet the duties of its government may be said to be limited, as they are by no means numerous or complex. The European community here is far less than in either of the other presidencies.

The administration of the Punjab and of the Sikh states bordering on the Sutlej is vested, not in the government of the north-west provinces, but in that of the supreme government at Calcutta, and distinct from the administration of Bengal Proper.

Each of the three presidencies, as well as the sub-presidency of Agra, is divided into districts for purposes of revenue and judicial

administration. Under the government of Bengal there are fifty such districts, comprising an area of about 225,000 square miles, and a population of 41,000,000 ; the amount of land-tax derived from this territory being in round numbers 1,500,000*l*.

The Punjab and other provinces under the supreme government alone contain thirty districts, an area of 100,000 square miles, and a population of 10,000,000, with a land-tax yielding to the amount of 1,800,000*l*.

The north-west provinces, or government of Agra, with thirty-five districts, embrace an extent of 85,000 square miles, a population of 23,800,000, producing in land-tax 4,100,000*l*.

Madras is divided into twenty-one districts, contains an area of 144,000 square miles, with a population of 16,000,000, and yields for its land-revenue 3,400,000*l*.

Bombay, with its seventeen districts, comprises 120,000 square miles, 10,000,000 inhabitants, and yields in its land-tax 2,290,000*l*.<sup>5</sup>

The machinery by means of which the governments of the various presidencies are carried on does not differ in any sensible degree, with the exception of the north-western provinces and the Punjab, where the subordinate functions are almost all performed by the old village municipalities as existing since the time of the Hindoo sovereigns, and which are found to work remarkably well both as regards revenue and judicial matters.

Immediately under the authority of government, the revenue of each presidency is managed by a board similar in a great degree to our own Board of Customs. This, however, is not the case in Bombay. There are also military boards for the supervision of public works and buildings, and councils of education. These are the controlling powers. The real executive of the country consists of a great number of civil and military servants administering the affairs of each presidency by means of the district divisions already alluded to. At the head of each of these districts is a collector of revenue, who is also a magistrate; he is assisted by a deputy and an assistant-deputy, both of the privileged covenanted service, and by two or three uncovenanted assistants, either European or native: these latter are supposed to be entrusted with all work of too much minutiae or of too little importance to occupy the time of the covenanted servants, but who in reality perform by far the greater portion of the revenue work. Indeed, it is stated that ninety per cent of the real work of the country is performed by the uncovenanted servants of the Company.

<sup>5</sup> Modern India, by George Campbell, pp. 230-1.

Attached to each collectorate and deputy-collectorate are numerous native establishments, poorly paid, and with no hope of rising by integrity and energy. The working establishment of the collector is kept perfectly distinct from his magisterial department, and is often distantly situated. In Bengal Proper these offices are seldom combined in one person ; whilst in what are termed the non-regulation provinces, such, for instance, as the Punjab, one official will be judge, magistrate, and collector.

A civil judge is in fact a superintendent of the administration of justice, the original cases being tried by his many native assistant-judges, the moonsiffs ; whilst as criminal or sessions judge he tries, every month, all such cases as have been committed by the magistrate, or sits in appeal on the summary judicial decisions of that functionary.\*

The above constitute the machinery by means of which the government of British India is carried on. And here it may be worth while to state the emoluments drawn by the covenanted civil servants of the Company, i.e. of those who come out through the narrow portals of the India House and Haileybury College. In the Bengal and Madras branches of this service we find 43 offices with emoluments ranging between 10,000*l.* and 4800*l.* a year ; 156 ranging from 3900*l.* to 1900*l.* a year ; 157 between 1800 and 1200*l.* a year ; and 128 where the salaries vary from 1000*l.* to 600*l.* a year. Such being the rate of remuneration given to the elect of Leadenhall Street, it will be instructive to compare it with the emoluments of those who confessedly carry on, in the name of the European covenanted servants, by far the larger portion of the actual work of the country, the uncovenanted servants. These officials, numbering about 3000, are remunerated in the following proportion : 20 at from 960*l.* to 720*l.* per annum ; 137 from 720*l.* to 480*l.* ; 325 between 480*l.* and 360*l.* ; 1173 between 240*l.* and 120*l.* ; and 1147 between 120*l.* and 24*l.*

The totality of the Indian appointments rest in the hands of the Directors of the East India Company ;<sup>7</sup> and seeing that they amount in number to upwards of eight hundred, all of which are certain of entitling their incumbents to from 1000*l.* to 2000*l.* a-year, with the probability of attaining the higher emoluments of from 2000*l.* to 10,000*l.* per annum, the avidity with which a seat in the direction is sought, in spite of the humiliation and toil which it for a long period entails on the candidates, may be readily understood. Nominated between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one, the candidate is expected to pass a classical examination previous to admission at the Company's College

\* Modern India, p. 250.

<sup>7</sup> Appendix A.

at Haileybury : this is so slight that very few indeed require training for the occasion. At Haileybury the embryo civilian is located for two years, during which time he is supposed to be qualifying for the discharge of his future Indian duties by the study of Sanscrit, a language as likely to assist him in his after career as would be the dialect of the Ojibbeway Indians. To this very practical course is added a knowledge of the Persian alphabet. But the Sanscrit is the one thing needful, the alpha and omega of the Haileybury professors. At the public examination which takes place before the students receive their diplomas enabling them to be drafted off to the scene of their future Sanscrit exploits, there is a great show of orientalism, a strange jargon of unknown tongues utterly bewildering to the listeners; there is a total absence of any acquaintance with the ordinary affairs of the world, or the business of every-day life; and, amidst all the glitter and sound of oriental alphabets, nineteen out of twenty students are declared to have highly distinguished themselves, while the remaining one is stated to have passed with great credit.

The fitting sequel to this imposing exhibition is a carefully studied, carefully delivered oration by the deputy chairman to the highly distinguished candidates for eastern celebrity. He dwells upon their happy prospects; upon the vast and magnificent career to which they are destined; upon the magnitude of the British power, the glory of the British name; upon the high charge which will be placed in their hands, and bids them go forth to aid in ruling over a hundred millions of fellow creatures; he declares his conviction of the great utility of the Sanscrit language in developing the resources of that promising country; of the service the Persian alphabet will render them in ameliorating the condition of the Indian ryots; of the enormous advantage which an acquaintance with Paley will prove to them in the collection of the land-revenues; of the aid which the Greek authors will give them on the benches of the civil and criminal courts of India. Thus qualified and thus exhorted, the half-fledged civilian finds his way out to one of the presidencies, well stocked with Sanscrit, natural philosophy, and conceit.<sup>8</sup>

Arrived at Calcutta or Bombay, as the case may be, the "writer," for so he is termed until placed in some department, is supposed to be occupied for a year or two in perfecting himself in those studies in which he has already so "highly distinguished" himself. Armed with

<sup>8</sup> "All those who are at all idle, who are not inclined to serve two masters, stick to the Oriental languages, and despise the European sciences, because the one secures their appointment and their pay, the other only tends to make them efficient, which is quite another matter."—*Modern India*, p. 265.

the qualifications and credentials of Haileybury, the "writer" naturally feels somewhat hurt at the idea of another course of study within the College of Fort William, and accordingly passes the two or three years considered necessary for his sojourn there in spending in gaiety about thrice the amount of pay allotted him,—400*l.* a-year, or equal to the salary of two native judges of long service. As another examination is required, a few months spelling and reading over Persian or Urdu books by the aid of native pundits generally enables the young civilian to pass; when he is at once drafted off as magistrate, or assistant collector, or both, to some remote district, the language of which will be perfectly unintelligible to him.<sup>9</sup>

Once away from the Presidency College, all goes on swimmingly with the young civilian: he will be attached to the collectorate, or made assistant magistrate, and in either case rapidly falls into the ordinary routine of signing his name to reports, making out abstracts of documents, spelling over the native returns, or doing the preliminary drudgery of the magistrate's office. This latter functionary will be sure of promotion in less than three years, upon which the assistant is moved up as a matter of course to his seat, where, with a smattering of the dialect of the district, a slight acquaintance with the people, and a still slighter knowledge of their manners and habits, he contrives to get through the work which is allotted to him with not more blundering than did his late superior when first discharging the same duties. Two or three years in that office, and if he be not placed in some better-paid magistracy, he will be sure to be made a deputy-collector, for which, of course, his magisterial training will have peculiarly fitted him. His next step will necessarily be to the collectorate; and by the time he has become tolerably efficient in that department, he is once more moved up, and by way of a little change created a judge in civil

<sup>9</sup> The late principal of the Calcutta College was a colonel in the Company's service, who endeavoured, but vainly, to enforce greater attention on the part of the students. On one occasion he detected one of these distinguished youths in the act of copying the Persian exercise of a fellow-student, to save himself the trouble of rendering it. On being remonstrated with, the embryo collector fired with indignation, and told the Colonel that he had acted in a most ungentlemanly manner in looking over his shoulder. The Colonel reported this language; but it was passed over by the "proper authorities." Determined, if possible, to compel some amount of study, the principal, previous to an examination, gave each young gentleman an exercise to be rendered into Persian or Urdu, and had them locked up in separate rooms until the page was completed. The weather was sultry, and they prayed the indulgence of *eyces*, or native grooms, to pull the punkahs to cool them; the request was granted, and it was so contrived that each student was waited on by his pundit, or teacher, in the garb of a groom. This accomplished, they changed places; the young civilian pulled the punkah, whilst the *sham eyce* finished off a first-rate page of Persian.

and criminal matters, unless indeed he has evinced a more than ordinary ability and energy, when he will be considered far too good for the bench, and must remain in the collectorate, the rigid collection of the taxes being considered of much more importance than the proper administration of justice.

The duties of a collector, however multifarious they may appear, and however large his district, are not in reality of an alarmingly burdensome nature. He is, in fact, but a general supervisor, expected to be moving about a good deal, and which, during many months in the year, is indeed his most agreeable occupation. Many of the collectorates are as extensive as any two of our English counties; and over a great part of this wide range he has a little army of functionaries, who need an occasional visit from him, if only to assure himself that they are within their proper divisions.

The morning levee of a civilian, previous to mounting his horse for field work, is often a numerous and motley assemblage. Natives of almost every rank press round the great man's path, each anxious to prefer some prayer, or exchange a friendly greeting with the "Burra Sahib." Not unfrequently a good deal of business of a slight nature will be transacted at this moment between the collector and his many native petitioners and clients; and the Hindoo, ever alive to his own interest, reckons, and not untruly, that "master" is more likely to be in an amiable mood when just risen from rest, than at the end of a long and wearisome ride, or after the discharge of a string of vexatious petty duties.

From the office of collector, upon 2800*l.* a year, the civilian may look upwards to some of the better things to be met with at the Boards of Revenue, or in the Secretariat Department, worth 4000*l.* to 5000*l.* per annum, which in due time, should he not be promoted to the bench, he will, by the regular course of seniority, be certain to attain.

After a service of ten years, the East Indian civilian can claim a furlough of three years to Europe, on 500*l.* a year; but if he avails himself of this, his post is filled up, and on his return he must take his chance and wait his time for another appointment. He may, however, obtain leave to the Cape, Australia, and some other places, on one-third of his pay, and without resigning his office. At the end of twenty-two years' service he may retire on 1000*l.* a year, having in the meanwhile subscribed at the rate of four per cent to the annuity fund, and a further certain per centage towards the widow and orphan fund.

The uncovenanted service consists of the employes of government, nominated on the spot, for the purpose of filling certain subordinate posts, not worth the notice of the regular service, or requiring quali-

fications to which they cannot pretend. These consist indiscriminately of Europeans, Indo-British, and natives, and number amongst them 1805; but there appears to be no means of ascertaining the relative proportion of each class. These perform by far the greater part of the work of the country, and may not inaptly be termed the "boots" of the service, embracing a wide range of appointments, from the judicial office of principal suddur-ameen on 800*l.* a year, down to a patrol of the customs department on 50*l.* No especial length of service is required of them; but when a man becomes quite worn out, not before, he receives one-half or one-third of his salary as pension, according to the period during which he may have served.

The lower grades of officials are composed entirely of natives, generally the poorest and most unprincipled, who look to the speculation and bribery of such places as sure means of fortune. When it is remembered that the pay of some of these sub-officials does not amount to more than a few shillings a month, and that every means of adding to their emolument is considered as a legitimate consequence of their position, we can scarcely wonder that extortion and oppression are the universal rules amongst them. Men can be pointed out at the present day in Calcutta who have risen from the most menial posts in police-offices, places of ten shillings a month, to high station and wealth as banians or native money-lenders; and who have but too frequently a dozen or two of their former European masters in their books as their debtors. Once in the power of these men, and a magistrate or civil judge can no longer pretend to independent action. The relative position of the needy magistrate and the wealthy banian is notorious among the common people; and a native having a suit before the former has but to rank himself by bribes as a client of the latter, to insure the complete success of his case.

Such is a picture of the constitution of the present civil service of India, and its offshoot, the "uncovenanted." From the lips of all but civilians is gathered one unanimous verdict upon the civil service of India—that its exclusiveness should be swept away, and that it be made the *public service* of British India; that in place of the appointments to these eight hundred valuable posts being left in the hands of twenty-four elderly gentlemen, to be dispensed to relations and personal friends, they should be made available to the entire community of the parent country and of India, by being left open to public competition as prizes for the most talented youth of the day.

The efficiency of the judicial branch of the service will be examined hereafter. That the revenue-branch is not far in advance of

it, there is just ground to believe, except that all those civilians who possess any degree of ability are carefully retained for revenue purposes; and therefore there are in this department some creditable exceptions to the all-but-universal barrenness. The most able advocate of the service<sup>10</sup> cannot defend the general low tone of ability and acquirements amongst his confreres; and even their own masters, the Bengal authorities, in recently published documents, declare that their servants of the collectorate are grossly inefficient; for they are told that "it is unreasonable to expect a collector to be competent to review a settlement, if he does not know what a settlement is, or how it is to be made!" And further, "it cannot be right that the officer who has to review all the settlements made in his district, to administer every ward's estate, and to manage every estate that comes under his own immediate superintendence, should have no personal acquaintance with any part of his district out of sight of his own house; should never have any direct or intimate relations with ryot or talookdar, *or any practical knowledge of the rates, tenures, and common agricultural customs of his district.*"<sup>11</sup>

It is clear that, notwithstanding the Sanscrit of Haileybury and the Persian of Fort William, the exotics of the Company's service are but ill adapted for the tasks allotted them. They are not more vigorous or healthy than the productions of any other forcing-house. Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the mode of remedying this state of things, there can be no question as to the existence of the evil. Neither can it be denied, that whatever may be the future mode of distributing the patronage of the service in England, a fair share should be left for the native talent of India. That the necessary talent is to be found sufficiently abundant, there is most ample testi-

<sup>10</sup> Mr. George Campbell, B.C.S., in his *Modern India*.

<sup>11</sup> "The bulk of both services are below the average of educated men at home; and it is not difficult to understand why they should be. \* \* \* They settle down in some civil or military station, as the case may be, where temptations to idleness are always greater than inducements to exertion; their acquaintance is exceedingly limited; and they are throughout life absolutely without the stimulants that rouse ability in great communities; if they live, they rise, and in this conviction they remain in a state of mediocrity and contentment. It is worse with the soldier than with the civilian, because he comes out at an earlier age, and, as a rule, with an inferior education. It is not an uncommon thing to find officers in this country who cannot write a common letter with ordinary propriety, who cannot spell as well as a boy of twelve might be expected to do; who have the most confused idea of the use of capital letters, and of punctuation none at all. We have lately smiled when perusing some questions in history, ancient and modern, the classics, &c. &c. prepared for our embryo heroes, and wished that they had been replaced by moderate tests in reading, writing, and arithmetic."—*Indian Charter*, 1851.

mony; talent, too, combined with the most perfect integrity. India must not be judged by the vile offscourings of native society gathered about the courts of justice, as sheristadars, amlahs, &c., the merest jackals of the law. The large number of native gentlemen who ably and honestly fill judicial and magisterial subordinate situations—subordinate in emolument, though the very reverse in duties—testify to the abundance of native talent.

In the Bengal presidency the number of offices with more than 30*l.* a month, held by natives, does not exceed one hundred and five, and this amongst a population of forty millions. At the same time, the British foreigners in the same presidency monopolise amongst them three hundred and twenty-seven offices, the salaries of which vary from 600*l.* to 10,000*l.* a year!

There was, it is true, a great parade of doing justice to the natives in the charter of 1833, wherein it was especially enacted, that no disability from holding office in any subject of the crown, by reason of birth, religion, descent, or colour should any longer continue. No doubt the friends of India believed at the time that a most important concession was made in that very liberal clause. But the Court of Directors, in becoming parties to the enactment, did so in much the same spirit as that in which Pecksniff, when parting from his pupil, bade him "be jovial and kill the fatted calf." The Pecksniffian clause, like the permission of the sham architect, has proved a "polite compliment" rather than a "substantial hospitality:" the practice of excluding natives from all important and really remunerative offices remaining as universal in 1853 as it was in 1833.

It is monstrous to say that the natives of India are unfitted to carry on the work of the state. They do carry it on, and have done so for many years in the name of their English superiors, who get all the credit and nearly all the pay, leaving them the poor satisfaction of beholding their light exalted in another's candlestick. It has been truly observed by a most competent authority in Indian matters,<sup>12</sup> that it is absurd to suppose the native should be less able to do well when working on his own responsibility and for his own credit, than when he works on the responsibility and for the credit of his European superior.

Our Mahomedan predecessors may have been less enlightened in their theories of government than ourselves; but they were at any rate more just, and shewed more wisdom in their practice than we can boast of. They found it, as they believed it to be, best to employ the

<sup>12</sup> Lord Metcalf.

native talent of the country in the administration of affairs. There was no exclusive foreign service, no privileged exotic class, no hot-house civilians in those barbarous days. They were content to use the indigenous talent of the country, blended with a few Mahomedan governors of provinces ; and hence it was, that although they could afford to pay all liberally, there were no enormous civil lists; consequently we find that although the emperors of Delhi possessed not nearly the territory in the hands of the East India Company, and collected less revenue by a third than is raised at the present time, and were moreover always engaged in costly wars, they nevertheless found ample means for carrying out gigantic works of public utility, lived in a state of the most gorgeous orientalism, and yet contrived, notwithstanding all this, to accumulate many millions sterling in their treasuries. Well may it be said that our government of India is a "costly sham,"—a gilded mockery. It is time it was made a stern reality, a substantial good to a hundred millions of our fellow-subjects, dark-skinned though they be.

The relations subsisting between the East Indian government and the many native states comprised within the limits of the British territories require some notice in this chapter, not only from their connection with our rule in the East, but as testifying to the state of governmental morality in these distant possessions.

Within the red-line which marks the extent of the Company's dominions are many native states, varying as much in extent and condition as in their form of government. Amongst them may be found regions under the rule of Hindoos, Mahomedans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots. Together they comprise an area of about 700,000 square miles, with a population of 52,000,000, and yielding revenues amounting in the aggregate to nearly 13,000,000*l.* sterling. With the single exception of the small northern state of Nepaul, the whole of these are directly subject to our political power, and dependent upon us for their military protection. They maintain amongst them a large number of irregular troops, understood to be at our disposal on any emergency, and on no account to be employed beyond their own territories, unless with our express sanction. Besides these they maintain about 30,000 well-disciplined troops, commanded by British officers, also at our disposal, but ordinarily left for their own requirements.

The British government have guaranteed them full protection against all external enemies ; for which a consideration has been stipulated for, either in the shape of territory annexed, as in the cases of the Nizam, the king of Oude, &c., or by annual tributes, which latter amount to upwards of half a million sterling. This may appear a small

sum for their protection ; but the territories relinquished by them in addition were of far greater value, and the support of the native contingents must also form an important item during the year. Valuable, however, as were the countries ceded under these arrangements, they appear to have resulted in absolute loss instead of gain ; and whereas under their own native governments they yielded considerable sums to the local treasuries, now that they are ruled by the Honourable Company they are absolutely barren and unproductive as far as any revenue is concerned ; a poor return, the reader may imagine, for the great honour conferred upon them of British Company's collectors, judges, and magistrates, and above all British Company's law!

I cannot, I must confess, agree with those advocates of universal Indian annexation, who persist in attributing all our failures in these cases to stopping short of the complete subjugation of every independent state. Their advice is precisely that of the great quack vegetarian, when told by a patient that his pills were inefficacious, although his instructions had been most rigidly observed. The vendor of pills declared that the sick man could not have taken enough of them ; to which the other replied, that he had swallowed the largest dose prescribed in any case, viz. a whole boxful. "But," asked the impudent quack, "did you swallow the box also?" The patient was staggered, and declared that such a proceeding had not occurred to him. "Ah!" rejoined the bold vegetarian, "I thought not. Go home and try the box." Even thus our Indian quacks would have the state try the native "box," regardless of the consequences.

The loss of revenue, however, is not the only disadvantage we labour under in regard to our intimate connection with the native states. There is the loss of reputation to be taken into account ; a loss which although not as yet apparent in this country, has long been matter of notoriety in India, and cannot any longer be hidden even here.<sup>13</sup> It will reflect everlasting disgrace upon the British name that the most solemn engagements, the most formal treaties with many native princes, some of whom had long proved themselves our staunch and unfailing allies, should have been utterly disregarded and cast aside to suit the political or pecuniary purpose of the day ; that reputation should have been weighed in the balance against rupees, and made to kick the beam ; that the good faith of a Christian country should have been thought as nothing when placed against a few hundred miles of Indian territory !

<sup>13</sup> While these pages are going through the press, a very interesting and truthful pamphlet has made its appearance, which the reader will do well to peruse : *Indian Wrongs without a Remedy* (Saunders and Stanford, Charing Cross).

By those who are anxious to defend the existing state of things, a great parade has been made of the sums paid annually as pensions to the ex-rajahs and nabobs ; but all mention is carefully avoided of the obligations of the East India Company to make not only those payments, but others which have been shamefully put aside. Not a word is said of the immense tracts of country made over to the government, for which those pensions were a consideration ; nor is any thing said of the large extent of private landed property belonging to those ex-rulers, which, contrary to all plighted engagements, have been confiscated by the Honourable Company, and for which act of spoliation there is no redress ! Even worse than this, some of the stipulated pensions, after being paid regularly to the ex-princes and their families for a score of years, have been cut down to the merest pittance ; so that these descendants of the former rulers of India find themselves in danger of coming to beggary and starvation.

The case of the kingdom of Oude is a peculiar one, but not less revolting to all right-minded men. In that country a native force is kept up nominally as a contingent for our use when required, which it is never likely to be, and which is commanded by British officers. The government of Oude, unlike that of other native states of the present day, is in the hands of a weak and dissolute prince, who confides all power to the hands of his minister, a man of an avaricious and cruel disposition. The people of Oude are so ground down by the arbitrary taxation of this vizier's minions, that it rarely happens that some province is not in open revolt against the farmers of the revenue. It is not at all an uncommon thing for these creatures of iniquity to declare to the minister that the people of a certain province refuse to pay their share of taxation, when they have already received and squandered it. A force is accordingly sent into the unfortunate district to compel payment, and the people, naturally enough averse to pay a second time, oppose force by force. In this manner we see British officers heading the Oude contingent, and leading on the troops to seize cattle, tools, household property, &c. in satisfaction of claims long since settled. Many of our countrymen are quite aware of the real state of things, and are naturally disgusted at having to act the part of sheriffs' officers to an Indian despot. But protests are in vain ; and the Indian government, when it might well disclaim all participation in such transactions, rigidly acts up to the letter of its Oude treaty, although disregarding more honourable engagements.

## CHAPTER II.

THE FISCAL SYSTEMS OF INDIA, ANCIENT AND MODERN, AND THEIR  
EFFECTS ON THE INDUSTRY OF THE PEOPLE.

HAVING shewn the nature of the ancient political institutions of India as compared with those existing at the present time, it will be not less necessary to the right estimation of the modern fiscal system of the three presidencies, that an account of it be prefaced by an outline of the mode in which the Hindoo and Mahomedan rulers of India raised their revenues.

Commencing with the earliest records bequeathed to us,—the code of Menu,—it will be seen that the public revenue of the state was in those remote ages derived from a comparatively small number of sources. By far the largest portion arose from a share of the agricultural produce of the country ; next to this came certain taxes on commerce, a trifling impost levied on persons engaged in business, —small traders and shopkeepers ; and lastly, twelve days' service from every mechanic during each year.

On grain, from one-twelfth to one-sixth was levied, according to the soil, the labour, and the expense involved in its cultivation ; but this also might be raised in times of emergency to one-fourth, and must have been, in all ordinary seasons, the main dependence of the state. On the clear annual increase of trees, honey, perfumes, and the other natural productions of the country, not excepting manufactures, one-sixth was levied.

But the king had another means of obtaining revenue. He was entitled to one-fifth on the profits of all sales. Estates for which there were no ostensible heirs were dealt with as escheats to the crown ; and so was all property which remained for three years unclaimed after a proclamation of its vacancy. The sovereign was also entitled to half of the precious minerals contained in the earth within the bounds of his dominion.

It has been supposed that, in addition to the rights thus exercised

by the king, he possessed an absolute right in the soil of the country, since in one of the articles of Menu it is directed that where an occupier neglects to sow his land, he shall be directly responsible for the consequences to the king. It is, however, pretty clearly stated elsewhere in the code, "that land was the property of him who cut away the wood;" that is, of him by whom it was cleared and tilled. Yet it is strange that, although so many occasions must have called for it, little, indeed no mention is made of the property of individuals in land. It is true that there is something said of the boundaries of different properties; and in one place an argument is illustrated by supposing seed belonging to one man being sown in land which was the property of another. Gifts of land are spoken of elsewhere, as if it were in the power of individuals to confer them; and the division of inheritances, and the rules about mortgages, in describing the wealth of individuals, and for disposing of the property of banished men, are clearly laid down.

As time advanced, the form of Hindoo municipal government was modified, but never altered in principle.

Throughout all the convulsions of India, the townships still remained entire. In those days the district thus named was a compact piece of land; for the size of which, as in English parishes, there was no prescribed rule. The lands were divided into portions, the boundaries of which were as carefully marked as those of the township; and the names, qualities, extent, and proprietors were all minutely entered in the records of the community. Each township conducted its own internal affairs, had its regular coterie of municipal officers, levied the revenues due to the state from its members, was collectively responsible for the full amount, managed its own police; and though entirely subject, as a portion of the state, to the general government, was, in almost every respect, an organised commonwealth, complete within itself. This independence, with its concomitant privileges, though often violated by the government, was never denied.

A township, in its simplest form, was under the direction of an officer called the headman, considered to be the representative of the king, and formerly removable at pleasure; but the office finally became hereditary, and the headman in reality became the representative of the people; for although he had an annual allowance from the government, the greater part of his income was derived from fees paid by the villagers. He was held personally responsible for their state engagements, and was often thrown into prison in cases of resistance and failure of revenue from the township. He was the principal autho-

rity in all disputes; decided every point of public interest; consulted freely with the villagers, whenever the general welfare required it; let such lands as had no fixed occupants; and, in short, was the head and chief of the municipal government.

The headman had associated with him two other officers, called respectively the watchman and the accountant. The latter kept the village records, containing a full description of the nature of the lands of the village, with the names of the former and present owners, the rent, and other terms of occupancy. He also kept the accounts of the villagers both with the government and between themselves. The watchman was the guardian of the boundaries, both public and private, watched the crops; was the public guide and messenger, and, next to the headman, the chief officer of police; was bound to find out the possessor of any stolen property within the township, or to trace him till he had passed the boundary, when the responsibility was transferred to the next neighbour.

The money-changer may also be considered as an assistant to the headman, as he was the assayer of all the money, and also the silver-smith of the village.

This was the usual mode of village government, where there was no intervention between the actual occupier of the soil and the prince; but in some parts of India in the present day, especially in the north, and the extreme south, there is in each village a community which constitutes the township by itself, and which has the other inhabitants for its tenants. The persons constituting this community are generally regarded as the absolute proprietors of the soil, and are acknowledged to possess a heritable and transferable interest in the land wherever they exist. Such villages are sometimes governed by one head; but more generally each branch of the family composing the community, or each family, if there be more than one, has its own head, who manages its internal affairs, and unites with the heads of the other divisions to conduct the general business of the village.

Where there were village landholders, they formed the first class of inhabitants; but there were four other classes of inferior degree. They were termed respectively permanent tenants, temporary tenants, labourers, and shopkeepers, who took up their abode in a village for the advantage of a market.

The rights of the landholders pertained to them *collectively*,—and though they had more or less a partition amongst them, there was never any thing like an entire separation of the property. Their rights varied in different parts of the country; and where their tenure was

most perfect, they held their lands subject to a *fixed* produce-payment to the government.

In all villages there were two descriptions of tenants who rented the lands of the village landholders, where there were such proprietors; and of the government, where there were none. These tenants were commonly called *ryots*, and were divided into two classes—the temporary and the permanent. The permanent ryots were those who cultivated the lands where they resided, retained them during their lives, and transmitted them to their children at their death. They have often been confounded with the village landholders; but the distinction is sufficiently marked where any proprietary fee exists, for in that no tenant ever participates. The temporary tenant cultivated the land of a village to which he did not otherwise belong, holding by an annual lease, written or understood, the best description of land being occupied by the resident tenant; an inferior kind, for which there was little competition, fell to him; and for that reason, and on account of his other disadvantages, he held his land at a lower rate than the permanent tenant.

There was, however, another description of tenant who ought to be mentioned, though he held a very different position to the others. This grade consisted of men whose caste or condition in life prevented their engaging in manual labour; or their women from taking part in any employment that required them to appear before men. In consideration of these disadvantages, these tenants were allowed to hold land at a favourable rate, so as to enable them to avail themselves of their skill and capital by means of hired labourers.

In Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, the land is held in absolute property by single individuals, subject to a fixed payment to the state. The zemindars, or great lords of the soil, derive their property from direct grants by the king, who also frequently alienates lands for religious objects, or as rewards for military services.

In later periods during the rule of the Tartar conquerors of Hindostan, innovations of various kinds crept in, pressing more or less upon the industry of the people. These innovations, however, in no way affected the forms of assessment, or the machinery for the collection of the taxes; these were, doubtless, found to do their work too well to be interfered with. It was in the augmentation rather than the mode of levying the local taxation that the cultivators felt the hardship of the new order of things.

This increase was made not so much by openly raising the king's proportion of the crop, as by means of various taxes and cesses, some

falling directly on the land, and others directly or indirectly affecting the cultivator. Taxes on ploughs, cattle, &c. constituted the first kind; and those on music at certain ceremonies, or marriages with widows, &c., and new taxes on consumption, constituted the other.

Practically there was no regular limit to these demands but the ability of those on whom they fell to satisfy them, and consequently the villagers used every possible endeavour to conceal their incomes. For this purpose they resorted to all kinds of devices, understating the amount of their crops, and abstracting a part without the knowledge of the collector. Very often they concealed the stated quantity of the land under cultivation, and falsified their records, so as to render detection all but impossible. By these means, not less than by the connivance of such revenue-officers as were open to bribes, the actual revenues of the crown were at best an uncertainty, and a continual source of heart-burnings between the governing and the governed.

This unsatisfactory state of things was understood, and to a great extent remedied, by some of the Tartar rulers of India. Akbar Khan, the great reformer of taxation, probed deeply into the then widespread disease which threatened to eat into the vital prosperity of the country. From the published memoirs of his talented prime minister, Abul Fazl, we gather, that for a period of more than twenty years the exertions of this sovereign were directed to a complete examination into, and revision of, the taxation of land.

The result of this laborious and minute investigation was the compilation of a series of tables shewing the collection per *beegah* (a measure of land) on twenty articles of the spring, and thirty of the autumn crops, in the years 1560 to 1578 inclusive, in the vice-royalties of Agra, Oude, Allahabad, Delhi, Malwa, Moultan, and Lahore. From these an assessment was formed, not on the land but on the crops produced by it, shewing rates, which, taken in reference to the surface of the land under culture, gave averages of from 1s. 7d. for linseed to 14s. 2½d. for sugar-cane.

The settlement of these taxes on the above tables was for a period of ten years, when a re-assessment would take place. But, independently of these reforms in the fiscal administration of the country, Akbar appears to have kept up the integrity of native institutions of police, courts of justice, &c.; and, whilst he gave security to life and property, was not less attentive to the moral and social wants of his subjects, providing them liberally with the means of education, with good roads, bridges, and artificial means of irrigation, at all times of the utmost importance to the well-being of an Indian agricultural country.

If, then, as has been argued, though not proved, the Tartar rulers of India wrung as much from the inhabitants as has been taken by their English successors, the advocates of the former may at least maintain, what cannot be advanced by the latter, that they gave full value for what they took; that they administered a full measure of justice to high and low; that the agriculturist had most ample means of irrigation; that the trader could convey his goods many hundreds of miles along roads at all times safe and in good repair; and that, whatever fault may be found with this system, the bulk of the people lived in those times in comparative affluence and security. That all this must have been so, we need seek for no further proofs than are to be found among the remains of the magnificent public works of those days,—the noble aqueducts, the vast tanks, the interminable roads planted on either side with shady trees, the many wells and rest-houses for travellers, the splendid palatial dwellings of the rich still abounding throughout the country, the mouldering ruins of once-busy cities, the desolate market-places, and the jungle-grown towns and villages. The moss-grown marble terraces, the stagnant water-courses, the owl-inhabited mansions and temples, the solitary pillar and arch, the tiger-swamps that engulf whole cities of the dead,—all these bear silent testimony to the once-happy working of that system which we of the civilised West—of Christian England, have rooted out from the land, to replace with a miserable mockery, a governmental fraud of such enormous magnitude, of such wicked viciousness, that future generations, without ample testimony to the contrary, may well discredit the possibility of its existence, even in the very worst days of the worst types of bureaucratic imbecility and red-tapeism.

The subversion of the ancient order of things was not the work of a short period; it was not the earlier administrations which undertook this crusade against existing institutions.

As in religious matters, the British rulers of India have swept away heathenism and its morality, and replaced it by infidelity and no morality,—as in the administration of justice, they have rooted out the old simple codes and effective establishments, and substituted for them a legal patchwork administered by functionaries of whom nearly all who are not incompetent are corrupt; so in the more important part of their fiscal system, they have overturned the labours of many ages, scorning the lessons of dear-bought experience, and, except in the countries on the north-west, have supplanted the righteous taxation of Hindoo rulers by the most impracticable and the most ruinous systems which it ever fell to the lot of politico-economical quacks to hazard.

Before discussing the present amount of and mode of levying the land-tax of India, I will place before the reader a general statement of the revenues of the three Presidencies, from which he will at once perceive that the tax above alluded to forms by far the largest item of the whole income of the government. The following table presents a comprehensive view of the entire taxation of British India as it exists at the present time, the amount being stated in pounds sterling for convenience sake, taken at 2s. the rupee.

| Source of revenue.                             | Gross revenue. | Nett revenue. | Cost of collecting per cent. | Per centage on total revenue. |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
|                                                | £              | £             |                              |                               |
| Land revenue . . . . .                         | 15,178,676     | 13,551,752    | 10½                          | 58½                           |
| Excise and moturpha . . .                      | 1,088,254      |               |                              |                               |
| Opium . . . . .                                | 4,562,586      | 3,358,684     | 26½                          | 14½                           |
| Salt . . . . .                                 | 3,189,214      | 2,703,752     | 15                           | 11½                           |
| Customs . . . . .                              | 946,561        | 816,074       | 13½                          | 3½                            |
| Stamps, fees, and fines . .                    | 593,982        | 590,169       | 4                            | 2½                            |
| Tobacco . . . . .                              | 115,000        | 88,448        | 23                           | ½                             |
| Post-office, mint, and other sources . . . . . | 1,979,041      | 1,979,041     | .                            | 8½                            |
|                                                | £ 27,753,314   | 23,067,920    |                              |                               |

It is thus seen how large an item is formed by three of the leading taxes of India, viz. on land, opium, and salt, whence, indeed, are derived about eighty-five per cent of the entire revenues.<sup>3</sup> Deducting the sum received from native states in payment of military protection afforded them, we have a round sum of twenty-two millions sterling as forming the revenues of India at the present moment. By reference to the tables in the Appendix,<sup>4</sup> it will be seen in what proportion this is derived from the several divisions of the country, and in what marked contrast the charge of each presidency stands as against their income.

So much has been said and written about the taxation of British

<sup>1</sup> Of this sum, 566,694*l.* are receipts from native states towards the support of British troops for their protection.

<sup>2</sup> Cost of collection charged against general revenues, and said to be equal to the gross amount collected; actual nett revenue from these would therefore be *nil*.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell's Modern India, p. 427.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix B.

India, that it will be well, before proceeding any further, to examine the bearing which the above amount must have upon the actual resources of the people. The taxation of a country may be vicious in two very different shapes,—either by its excessive amount, or, being moderate, by the mode in which it is levied.

The bulk of the people of India, unfortunately, suffer from both these evils. Taking the gross revenue of the country, and deducting from that sum the amount of the opium-tax as really paid by foreigners, and the sums received from native princes for military protection, we have a total amount of 22,000,000*l.* levied upon the inhabitants of the three Presidencies. The population of British India at the present time is, in round numbers, one hundred millions.<sup>5</sup> These figures will therefore give an average of nearly 4*s.* 5*d.* a-head; not a large sum in itself, but when compared with the earnings of the great mass of people, a heavy and oppressive load.

In Great Britain the taxation gives, as nearly as possible, 33*s.* per head of the population, about seven times that of our Indian fellow-subjects. But the paying powers of the two nations widely differ. Fifteen shillings a week is a fair average, in the present day, for the earnings of the English labouring classes; accordingly, they appear to be taxed to the extent of thirteen days' labour in the year. To estimate the actual earnings of the great mass of Hindoos, wages in the cities and towns must not be taken as a criterion; for whilst in England the townspeople are the greater tax-payers, in India 70 per cent of the taxation falls upon the mass of the people not dwelling in towns. Some reliable official documents on this subject,<sup>6</sup> fortunately, leave no doubt upon the matter. These statistical returns shew, that in a rural district (that of Cawnpore) fairly representing the average of the agricultural part of the country, the greater portion of the cultivators realise but 5*l.* per annum; from this, one-fourth, at the lowest calculation, must be taken for government land-tax, and one-fourth as rent to the proprietor, leaving 2*l.* 10*s.* to defray cost of seed, tools, &c., and support the *ryot and his family* during the year. With the calculation of four persons to a family, and without any deduction for seed, tools, &c., we have something over twelve shillings per annum to support each individual! These are not extreme cases, but actually represent, I regret to say, the present condition of a very large portion of the agricultural population of British India. Striking an average between these figures and the wages of natives in the

<sup>5</sup> See Blue Book, 1852, p. 339.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Calcutta Review, vol. xvi. p. 87-8.

towns, a greater sum than 1*l.* 10*s.* a year, or one penny a day, cannot be taken as the general average earnings in India. It appears, therefore, that whilst the Englishman contributes sixteen days' labour in each year to the maintenance of institutions which provide him with the utmost security to life and property, the Indian ryot contributes an equivalent to the labour of fifty-three days for the support of institutions which, so far as they tend to afford him any security from oppression, or in any way to ameliorate his social condition, might as well be swept from the face of the earth, deep into the Indian Ocean.

If that unhappy land suffers from the amount of her taxation, the mode in which that revenue is raised presses with still greater severity upon her industry. The taxes which will now be examined are those on land and salt. The opium-tax is felt but little by the natives of India, and that only within certain districts, where the evil arises more from the temptations to smuggle, and the consequent vexatious nature of the government supervision.

In the early part of this chapter I have endeavoured to shew the nature of the tenure under which land was held in India and was assessed to the sovereign, as also the system which prevailed under the Mahomedan rulers of India. The former is still working to perfection, not only in the many native states of Hindostan, but in our own north-west provinces and the Punjab, where the Company did not feel it safe to overturn the existing order of things, as they had done in earlier acquired territories. In those districts, we are assured by a writer well qualified to give an opinion, that the old native system works admirably.<sup>7</sup> The people are thriving, the tax is easily collected, and there are no complaints.

It may be said that experience has taught the Indian executive wisdom, and they are giving the newly-acquired territories the benefit of it. An impartial mind might be inclined to think that it would be as well if some of the older provinces reaped a share of the advantage, especially as it has been purchased at their expense.

It will neither interest the reader nor serve any good purpose to dwell upon the many patchwork experiments, the numberless fiscal tinkering, which the unhappy land was made to undergo from the time of the first British occupancy of India until the famous "permanent settlement" of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, a year fatal to the peace and welfare of millions of industrious cultivators.

His lordship was one of those amiable men who contribute largely

<sup>7</sup> Campbell's *Modern India*, chap. viii.

to the stock of "good intentions" which are said to pave the way of a certain region; and truly his "intentions" have paved the way to beggary and death for myriads of Hindoo ryots.<sup>8</sup> In his endeavour to fix the land-revenues of Bengal upon a firm and profitable footing, Lord Cornwallis perpetrated one of the greatest wrongs, committed one of the most enormous blunders, that is to be found on record. He propounded a scheme by which the proprietary right in the whole soil of Bengal was to be vested in the zemindars or hereditary *superintendents* of land, not for one year, or ten years, but for ever. They had been the farmers of the land-tax for years past; they stood in that capacity between government and the village proprietors and cultivators; but to suppose that therefore they possessed any claim to the land yielding that tax, was a monstrosity reserved for the conception of this very amiable nobleman. The scheme, hollow and unrighteous as it was, seemed to promise such security to the revenue by creating this large class of landed aristocracy by a mere stroke of the pen, that the authorities at home were deceived into compliance, and the fiat went forth by which twenty millions of small landholders were dispossessed of their rights, and handed over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of a set of exacting rack-renters.

The injustice of this gigantic robbery, great though it seems, was not by any means the whole of the cruelty. Wrong upon wrong was committed; fraud upon fraud. It was ordered that the amount of the assessment should be made in conformity with the average yield of former years; but it was in reality laid at such a rate as would suffice to meet the pressing wants of the government, and that rate was above fifty to sixty per cent of the produce of the soil! More than this; although the regulations of 1793 expressly determined the rate to be paid by the newly-created Cornwallis-aristocracy as above stated, not one word was said as to the amount *they might levy on the ryots*. What that amount has been, there is unfortunately but too little doubt.\* The only limit to the exaction seems to have been the utter inability of the wretched people to pay any more. Lord Brougham, in speaking of this celebrated settlement, said that it wrung from the ryot eighteen shillings out of every twenty. His assertion was laughed at as a figure of speech; but unfortunately he spoke literally within the mark. Mr. Colebrook, well acquainted with the resources of the country, states<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> "The 'permanent settlement' has produced more distress and beggary, and a greater change in the landed property of Bengal, than has happened in the same space of time in any age or country by the mere effect of internal regulations."—*Fifth Report of Finance Committee of Bengal*.

\* Appendix C.

that a cultivator paying half his produce in tax is worse off than a hired labourer in the same field at three pence a day. The condition, therefore, of those from whom eighty and ninety per cent are wrung may be readily imagined.

The zemindars did not fail to use the new power given to them to the utmost stretch. Summary process was allowed them against the ryots, and this begat such misery, strife, and litigation, that the law-courts were literally overwhelmed with land-cases. In a single season there was in one district, that of Burdwan, thirty thousand suits of zemindars against ryots!<sup>10</sup> It is true the government regulations stipulate that the former shall not exact from the latter more than the local rate; but the difficulty is to determine what is the local rate, though that point is always settled against the poorer suitor, to his utter ruin.

Under this zemindari system the oppression of the ryots is aggravated by the custom of sub-letting the land-tax to various grades of middlemen, who, interposing between the zemindar of the district and the cultivator, adding their own shares of profit to that of the great man, and having no sort of interest in the matter beyond extorting as much as possible in a given time, press upon the means of the wretched tiller of the soil, until his case is so hopeless, that, worn out by years of toil and oppression, he flies from the scenes of his misery, and if he has not heart enough left to turn dacoit (gang-robber), in all probability dies of starvation in the jungle.<sup>11</sup>

Ever in poverty, the ryot is compelled to seek aid from the mahajun or money-lender. This man will usually be one of the sub-renters of the land-tax; and availing himself of that position, demands whatever rate of interest he pleases, and which often amounts to one per cent per week—fifty-two per cent per annum. More than this, the accounts of these advances are kept only by the lender, who, aware of the utter ignorance of the ryots, falsifies his books without the least fear of detection. Thus at the end of the year, however favourable the season may have been, whatever the amount of crop, the mahajun, uniting his

\* Remarks on the Husbandry of Bengal.

<sup>10</sup> Calcutta Review, vol. vi. p. 318.

<sup>11</sup> That I am not dealing in fiction may be ascertained by reference to the evidence on this subject given before the Parliamentary Committee in 1830 by Mr. H. C. Christian, of the Board of Revenue of Lower Bengal; Mr. F. Fortescue, Commissioner for Civil Affairs at Delhi, and others equally beyond suspicion of overstating the case against the government system. The following evidence given on that occasion by Mr. Mill, the *Company's* historian, is worth noting. "They (the zemindars) take from them (the ryots) all they can get: in short, they exact whatever they please. They (the ryots) have no defence whatever but that of removal; they must decline to pay what is exacted and quit the land."

claim as money-lender to that as Talukdar or sub-renter, makes it appear, with the aid of fifty per cent interest, false entries, and increased rent, that the *whole* belongs to him. Should the ryot appear in sufficiently good health to toil on for another season, he may obtain from the mahajun further advances for seed, tools, and his own miserable existence, which is barely supported on pulse, roots, and wild herbs, with occasionally a little salt, taxed five hundred per cent by the government, and another five hundred per cent by dealers' profits and cost of transport !

To the above must be added the iniquitous practice of extorting *abwabs*, or presents, from the villagers upon every possible occasion.<sup>12</sup> These *abwabs* are of long standing ; and although the enactment of 1793 expressly declares them to be illegal, and punishable by fine, they exist to this day in pristine vigour. Every feast, festival, or visit received by the talukdar or zemindar is made the pretext for robbery. The herdsman furnishes a goat, the milkman milk and ghee, the oil-maker supplies oil, and so on through the community. Nor is it only the renters who thus extort ; every one of their subordinates, from the naib, or accountant, who helps to falsify the books, down to the paiks, or collecting and distraining peons, exact their own share of *abwab* ; and so long as the ryot possesses any thing worth drawing from him, so long is he a subject for oppression and wrong ; when the hydraulic pressure ceases to squeeze another drop from him, he is only then cast off as a useless object.

To seek protection in the local courts of *justice*, the poor wretch knows from sad experience is worse than useless. There the renter is all-powerful with the *amlahs* of the courts, and there *he* is powerless. He toils on, dispirited and hopeless, feeling certain that before long he shall be worn out, and then flung aside to make room for a younger and stouter ryot. There are doubtless exceptions to this sad state of things under some humane zemindars, but they are few indeed and far between. The rule is misery and starvation—the exception, a bare subsistence. The whole of this wretchedness may not arise immediately from the permanent settlement of 1793, but it has its origin in it. What that has left undone, the inefficiency of our local executive and the corruption of the courts have consummated, until trade has died away, agriculture become a desperate and hopeless struggle, and the

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Piddington, a civilian, in his replies to the queries of the Board of Revenue says, in reference to these extortions, "I fear to be discredited when I state, that from twenty to forty per cent on the actual jumma-bundi (legal rent) is yearly extorted from the poor ryot."

native community merged into two classes—a monied aristocracy, and a beggarly race of peasants, who, though nominally free-born British subjects, are more degraded and less cared for than the slaves of Cuba or the serfs of Russia. Yet these are the men through whose ill-requited labours the Indian government derive fifteen millions sterling of their annual income, about two-thirds of their entire revenue.

In strong contrast to the permanent or zemindari settlement of Bengal is the ryotwari system of Madras, which, though differing from the former so essentially in its machinery, has proved scarcely less fatal to the industry of a once thriving, happy country. I cannot do better than describe the nature of this system of assessment, as originated by Sir T. Munro in 1812, in the words of a civilian well acquainted with the workings of the various settlements :<sup>12</sup>

“The assessment is rather fieldwar than ryotwar. The government deals directly, not only with each ryot, but with each field. Instead of assessing each village, it assesses each plot of ground. A field is not, in India, a large piece of land fenced and hedged, but a minute portion, suited to the minute tenantry, divided from the rest by a little gathering together of the earth about six inches high. Fencing is not common ; and in a dry flat plain containing thousands of such fields side by side, it may be supposed that boundaries are only permanent when the fields belong to different owners on the spot, with different interests. Moreover, instead of assessing at a fixed sum for a series of years, there is fixed on each *field* a maximum rent to be paid for good seasons and good crops ; and it is undertaken, not as an incidental indulgence, but as an essential part of the system,” that this rent shall be annually reduced when necessary. “To effect then the commutation of the share of grain into money-rates, all the land was surveyed according to the native mode of measurement . . . there were no maps.”

Such is the mechanism of this system, and upon this the collector has to base his preliminary or standard settlement. After this first survey another and final inspection has to be made :

“When the crops are nearly ripe, the collector goes out into the district to look at them and make his annual settlement. The village accountant makes out a statement shewing the cultivation of each ryot, his crops and circumstances, the number of his cattle, sheep, and children . . . . At this time all who think they should not pay full rent apply for reduction. All these cases are settled, and *then only*

<sup>12</sup> Mr. G. Campbell, in his *Modern India*.

does the collector make up his annual settlement, grant formal leases, and take formal engagements for the crop, which by this time is *past*, and generally *paid for*. The settlement is not made up till *after* the crop is ripe, in fact, generally does not reach the collector's office till *after* most of the money has already got there, and after making all the remissions and reductions of the season from the standard assessment."

The suffering and poverty entailed by this ryotwari system of assession are admitted by every one at all acquainted with the existing state of things in the Madras presidency. It has been well known to the home authorities for many years past, yet no attempt has been made at reformation, although it is found most difficult to get ryots to cultivate land under it, and that the cultivation is only kept up by forcing, by government advances, &c.

The evils of this state of things are only equalled by the absurdity of supposing that any collector is really able to deal separately and efficiently with 150,000 tenants, as is often the case, "not one of whom has a lease, but each pays *according as he cultivates and gets a crop, and with reference to his cattle, sheep, and children*, and each of whom gets a reduction if he can make out a sufficiently good case. What a cry of agricultural distress and large families there would be in England or any other country under such a system! Would any farmer ever admit that his farm had yielded any thing, that his cattle had produced, or that his wife had not produced? If the collector were one of the prophets, and remained in the same district to the age of Methuselah, he would not be fit for the duty; and as he is but an ordinary man and a foreigner, and continually changed, it would be strange if the native subordinates did not do as they liked, and having the power, did not abuse it. Accordingly, it is generally agreed that the abuses of the whole system, and especially that of remission, is something frightful; and that the opportunities of extortion, speculation, chicanery, and intrigue of all kinds, are unbounded."<sup>14</sup>

The above, it must be remembered, is the testimony of a member of the Honourable Company's service, and given but the other day. What the results of that "speculation, extortion, chicanery," &c., are likely to be, the reader may imagine from what he has read of the effects of the Bengal settlement.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Modern India, chap. viii. p. 361.

<sup>15</sup> "In many instances the earnings of a ryot are not sufficient for his family; and his wife and sons are obliged to betake themselves to some pursuit, and assist him with all they can get. He lives generally upon coarse rice and *dhol* (pulse); vegetables and fish would be luxuries. His dress consists of a bit of rag and a slender

The system pursued in the Bombay presidency, although based on the ryotwari, has been so modified, contrary to the wishes of the home authorities, as to be comparatively a harmless affair. Its chief evil, indeed, is one that more nearly concerns the government—that of the enormous cost of collection of the tax. This tax, within the division I am now referring to, produced in 1849-50 a gross sum of 2,290,969*l.*; against which were placed allowances to district and village officers, *mosques, temples, &c.*, 982,684*l.*, and a further charge for collecting of 280,000*l.*, in all 1,262,684*l.*; considerably more than 100 per cent on the net revenue from this source!

I will now briefly touch upon the salt-tax, than which no more impolitic or unjust impost could well be devised. The climate, not less than the vegetable nature of the food of the population, renders the free use of this article one of imperative necessity, if due regard be had to health. Yet we find a tax laid on it amounting to five shillings the *maund* of 82 lbs., being nearly four hundred per cent on its prime cost in Calcutta, and which, with all the profits of the wholesale and retail dealers, the cost of transport up-country, and the further profits of the country licensed dealers, who, of course, require a profit on the duty as well as the original cost of the salt, brings the selling price to the consumer to something like a thousand per cent on the original value. This is on an article, it must be remembered, which the poor ryot needs more of than the wealthy dwellers in towns, who can obtain other condiments with their food, and who require far less, owing to the difference in their dietary.

The enhanced price is, however, not the only evil inflicted on the poorer consumers. Every dealer through whose hands the article passes mixes with it a portion of sand, to add to its weight. The first or wholesale vendor in Calcutta will blend ten per cent of its weight of sand; the agent who buys from him for transmission up the country adds another ten per cent; the up-country dealer follows his example; and by the time it reaches the ryot through the bazaar vendor, the salt will be nearly half impurity, dark in colour, and flavourless to a degree.

*chudder* (sheet); his bed is composed of a coarse mat and a pillow; his habitation a thatched roof; and his property a plough, two bullocks, one or two *lotahs* (brass pots), and some *bijghan*. He toils 'from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve'; and, despite this, he is a haggard, poverty-smitten, wretched creature. This is no exaggeration; even in ordinary seasons, and under ordinary circumstances, the ryots may often be seen fasting for days and nights for want of food. The inability of the ryot to better his degraded condition, in which he has been placed by the causes we have named, is increased by his mental debasement. Unprotected, harassed, and oppressed, he has been precluded from the genial rays of intellectuality. His mind is veiled in a thick gloom of ignorance."—*Indian Petition presented by the Earl of Albemarle*,

So systematic is this fraud, that should any more scrupulous dealer dare to sell a clean, wholesome article, the whole trade will league against him, and by means of the bribed aid of the native police, soon effect his ruin.

The only defence for this tax is, that it yields an amount of revenue that cannot be spared; precisely the reason given, for centuries past, by all upholders of vicious taxation in every part of the world. Of a truth, it can hardly be spared, when we look at the costly establishment of the Honourable Company. This tax, which in the early days of our sway in India produced but 100,000*l.*, is now made to yield nearly three millions and a quarter sterling. Whilst such wickednesses as the Afghan campaigns are permitted; whilst commanders-in-chief are allowed to pocket half a million sterling in a few years, for civil duties never performed nor expected to be performed; whilst the salaries of Indian officials obtain, on a scale of regal extravagance, out of all proportion even in a highly civilised and prosperous country; whilst the mockery of the home government is continued at its present cost,—it is of course impossible to forego the proceeds of a tax, however iniquitous, however fatal to the industry of the country.

To attempt an enumeration of the privations endured, of the oppression, the extortion, and the robbery practised by the subordinates engaged in the salt department of the government, would carry me far beyond my limits in this volume. Enough has been said as to the use made by those who, clothed in a little brief authority, have it in their power to tyrannise over the poor of the land. It may afford a tolerable idea of the extent of these iniquities, to mention, as a known fact, that natives frequently pay largely to their *European superiors* for the most trivial appointments in this branch of the service. Places with a salary attached of thirty-five rupees a month have been thus disposed of for five hundred rupees, paid monthly to the European; the probability being that the native clears another five hundred of net profit!

All this is humiliating to know. It is humbling to the honest pride of an Englishman, to feel that we, who have so long pictured ourselves as the apostles of freedom, as a pattern of national integrity amongst the kingdoms of the earth, should have been for ages, even up to the present moment, abettors of all these crying iniquities.



PART III.

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P H Y S I C A L.



## CHAPTER I.

### HINDOO ART AND SCIENCE.

**A**LTHOUGH the nations of the West have far outstripped the Asiatics in art and science, no less than in other branches of human skill and ingenuity, the craftsman of the East can point to ages long past, when as yet the people of European countries were unknown, even by name—when the Christian religion had not been proclaimed to the nations of the earth—as to a period when his country shone as a bright luminary amidst the darkness around ; when intellect and skilled labour had their home in his fertile and beautiful land ; when all that was intelligent, and rare, and excellent, was to be found within the limits of Hindostan.

Every wreck that we meet with pertaining to this wonderful country tells the same tale of departed greatness and excellence. Perhaps with few things is the modern student of history more struck than with the architectural remains of the Hindoo period.

The great antiquity of the works of extruction or excavation, which are to-day met with in many parts of India, bears testimony to the fact of superior skill having been employed upon them. If we find few objects of construction remaining to attest the position of this science in the early days of Hindooism, a ready reason may be found in the numberless successive invasions of the land which took place, and during which havoc and ruin were but too frequently the accompaniments, prompted by bigotry and religious fanaticism. The stupendous rock-cut temples of Ellora, Ajunta, and Elephanta, have, from the peculiarity of their structure, defied these agents of destruction ; and, in the case of the two latter at any rate, are witnesses to the skill and industry of the Hindoo craftsmen in an age when what we term civilisation was as yet unborn.

Although we possess a multitude of pictures and plans illustrative of the architectural remains of Hindostan, the subject does not appear to have engaged the attention of any professional man on the spot: I am therefore under the necessity of dwelling on this topic in a brief and general manner, wanting any connected detail of the styles practised throughout India in the various periods during which architecture may be said to have flourished in that country.

There is, however, one exception to this general neglect of the study of Eastern architecture: an enterprising officer of the Indian army has shewn, by a connected series of drawings, that in Cashmere a style prevailed as regular and severe in its details as those of Greece and Rome. It may therefore reasonably be conjectured that similar results will attend like inquiry in other parts of India, and that at no distant date we may be in possession of a perfect system of Indian architecture as practised in the early part of our era.



ANCIENT COLUMN.

From the limited data we possess of the raised edifices of Hindostan, the Indian architects would appear to have indulged in the most fanciful and grotesque vagaries, agreeing neither with taste nor propriety. The Hindoo columns, for instance, are met with of all shapes and all dimensions. Sometimes we find them tall, slender, and thickly placed;<sup>1</sup> again they are found ponderous and massive, with the lowest fourth of their height square; the next kind is eight-sided, the third sixteen-sided, and the upper part round. In many instances we meet with columns having a double capital with a low flat base; and others, again, forming perhaps a portion of the same temple, with shafts of only one fourth of their

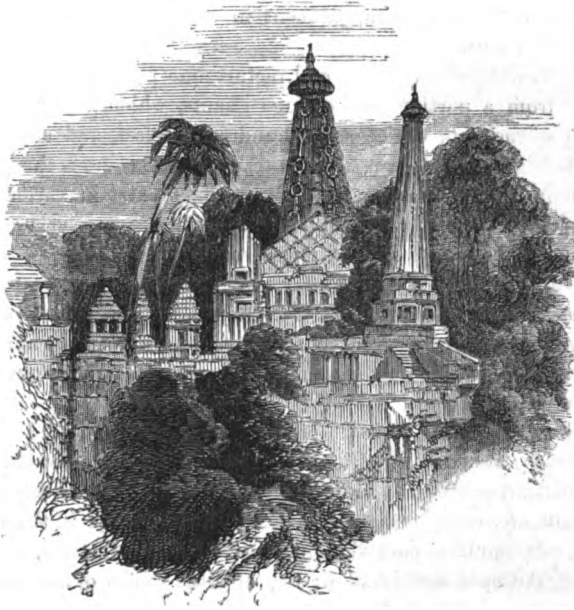
height, the remaining three-fourths being all base and capital.<sup>2</sup>

As many as twelve distinct kinds of mouldings appear in these temples, some few of which bear a close resemblance to our own, but they are mostly quite original in their character. The Hindoo style, so far as it is known, is believed to bear an affinity to that of the Egyptian;

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xvii. part ii. p. 242.

and in the hugeness, the massiveness of some of the works still extant, a degree of resemblance may perhaps be traced; but in most other respects the two would seem to be widely different. In many of the Hindoo buildings there is a great profusion of ornamental work about the panels, door-posts, and other parts, not inelegantly formed, and frequently blended with a considerable degree of taste.



REMAINS OF HINDOO ARCHITECTURE.

In many cases the walls are covered with representations of the wars of the gods, and groups illustrative of ancient legends. But the temples of Hindostan are all deficient in boldness and grandeur, and frequently wanting in their due proportions of height and breadth. Such faults are not, however, observable in the caves and subterraneous structures, which are remarkable for their regularity, not less than their sublime vastness. These gigantic excavations are very numerous throughout India; the mountains of Cashmere are said to contain twelve thousand of them. The caves of Ellora are of Buddhistical origin, and are not supposed to be very ancient indeed; they are known to have

been executed as late as the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era.

The prodigious extent of most of these rock-cut temples astonishes the spectator not less than the elaborate finish of their complicated details delights him. The ingenuity and skill, equally with the labour of the architects, must have been called into active demonstration in the excavation of these extraordinary places. Perhaps there are none more celebrated and truly magnificent in their solemn vastness than the caves of Ajunta.

They are situated in a wild and picturesque part of the peninsula, excavated from a portion of the huge ghauts, which, to the south of the valley of the Taptee, rise some hundreds of feet, and support the great table-land of the Deccan. The entrance to the caves is through one of the many narrow and winding ravines which exist in various parts of these ghauts. They are twenty-seven in number, and vary as much in their size as in their form and degree of ornament. A few of them are vaulted without cells; but by far the greater number are monastic in construction, having cells and flat roofs. In one or two of these caves there exist no ornaments whatever beyond a reeded course over each of the cells; whilst in shape they are square, and about thirty-six feet each way.

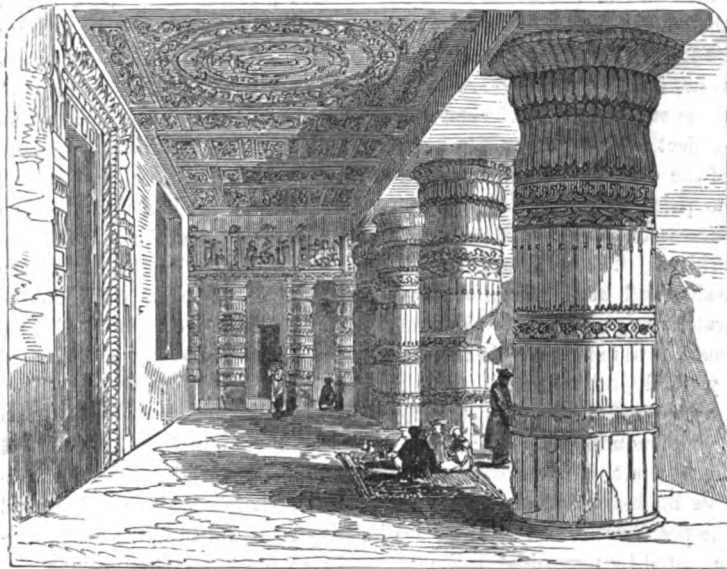
In others pillars are found; and here they have been used standing on the cills for the purpose of dividing the windows into three lengths. On the walls are sculptured various figures of lions, antelopes, and boys in attitudes of prayer, executed in the very best style of the ancient Hindoos. It would appear that in more than one instance the walls have been stuccoed and painted; but of these works of art little now remains, not more than sufficient to determine their nature.

The largest of these cave-temples had at one time as many as twenty-nine pillars surrounding the nave; they are simple octagons, without either capital or base; and have been at one time elaborately decorated.

The aisles in this cave are of stone; whilst the nave had evidently been ornamented with wood, which has now disappeared, with the exception of some of the pins and battens which served to fasten it to the rock; as also the fastenings of the ribs, which, having been sunk to some depth in the solid rock, still remain. The whole of the walls appear to have been covered with ornamental stucco-work; and on some of the pillars, as well as in the panels of the roof of the aisles, a few of the paintings still remain in tolerable preservation. There are

also the remains of several inscriptions; but, with the exception of one on the exterior of the cave, high above the entrance, they are too imperfect to be of service. The external inscription alluded to is of some length, and in the Lath character; from which it may be inferred that these excavations were the work of the first or second century before our era.

There are others of these temple-caves of later date, richly orna-



CAVE TEMPLE.

mented, and in some instances in tolerably good preservation. The walls are covered with human figures, many of which are fully armed, and illuminated with scrolls and wreaths of flowers; whilst the pillars are gracefully and artistically formed. Some of these groupings are executed with a high degree of art, bearing in mind the age in which they must have been executed; they certainly leave the works of Europe of the same period far behind in perspective, grouping, and general details. The human figure is especially well executed. The character of all these caves is Buddhistical, the figure of that deity being found in several of them.

There are still many noble remains of the palatial residences of the Hindoo and Tartar chiefs of India, some of them in good preservation. They are remarkable for their solidity rather than style; the roofs are terraced, the floors built one above another, frequently to an immense height. The state-rooms of these residences are on the upper floors, and open on one side; the stairs being narrow and steep, and dug out from the depth of the wall.

The tanks are very extensive, some of them stretching for several miles and of enormous strength; temples are frequently built round their edges, and shrines on the steps leading to them. Some of these useful public works more closely resemble lakes than artificial reservoirs, and frequently serve to fertilise an entire district. The value of these stupendous works can scarcely be over-estimated in a country so subject to droughts as Hindostan. The Hindoo and Mahomedan rulers of the country were well aware of their great importance, and spared no pains to keep them in good order. It was left for their English successors to neglect these and the equally valuable works of roads and bridges. The wells are both deep and broad; galleries run round the walls, and broad stone steps are carried beneath these down to the water's edge. Such of their bridges as remain are composed of stone posts, held together by beams of masonry, some of which are surmounted by small Gothic arches.

The order of architecture prevailing in Cashmere, and which has been denominated the "Arian order,"<sup>3</sup> exhibits undoubted traces of Grecian art, and is distinguished alike for its graceful outline, its massive boldness, and the happy propriety of its decorations. Amongst the peculiarities of this order are its lofty roofs, its trefoiled doors, surmounted by pyramidal pediments, and its wide intercolumniations.

The temples of Cashmere are of three kinds: the oblong, the square, and the octagonal; which are again subdivided into the closed and the open, the latter having doors on four sides; the former but one entrance. In their proportions the architects appear to have made the height of a temple equal to twice its breadth; and this has been but in few cases departed from. Their basements are divided into two kinds, the massive and the light, according to the character of their mouldings. The walls of the Cashmerian temples are made of huge blocks of gray limestone, secured together by iron clamps; their dimensions vary

<sup>3</sup> So called from the Greek architectural term *Archiostyle* applied to the intercolumniation of four diameters, and which is one of the distinguishing features of the architecture of Cashmere.

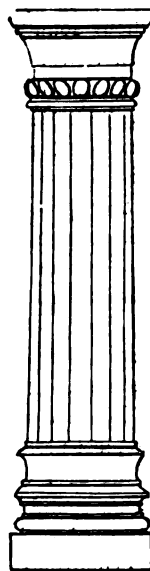
considerably, the older ones being shorter than those of more recent origin.

The roofs of these Cashmerian temples are of pyramidal shape, sometimes broken into two equal portions, divided by a broad moulding, and occasionally into three or four such divisions. The height of the portico varies in different localities; sometimes it reaches only to one-third of the height of the roof; in others it extends to the top of the roof.

The pillars in the Cashmerian temples are of two kinds, round and square; and, unlike the many varieties of Hindoo pillars, are always divided into the three distinct parts of base, shaft, and capital. The square pillars are only employed in corner positions; whilst the round pillars are used throughout the colonnades, and in porches. These are always fluted with from sixteen to twenty-four flutes; the numbers increasing with the diameter of the column. The shafts were usually three or four diameters in height. The capital seems to have been nearly always equal in its height to the upper diameter of the column. The heights and breadths of the bases do not appear to have been formed by any fixed rule. The distances between the columns were nearly always equal to two-thirds of the total height of the pillars.\*

The Hindoo paintings are generally accurate; but they seldom evince much attention to light and shade. Some of their walls are ornamented by mythological representations, as already stated; others by battles, figures of human beings, and animals, sometimes accompanied by an awkward attempt at a landscape. They have also pictures and illustrated manuscripts; but with the figures of these they were not very happy. The portraits executed by the Mussulmans are far superior to those of the Hindoos.

In the manipulation and laying on of their colours they were very successful; so much so, that at the present time many of the paintings to be found in the rock-cut temples appear as fresh and brilliant as though but the work of a few years since; whereas many of them must have existed for little less than 2000 years. In the paintings



ARIAN PILLAR.

\* Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xvii. part ii. pp. 241-327.

alluded to, especially in those of Ajunta, there has been far more attention bestowed on the grouping than is usually met with in Hindoo works of art; and at the same time a nearer approach to modern notions of perspective.

The Hindoo music consists of eighty-four modes, each of which possesses a different expression, capable of exciting emotions and feelings of various kinds.<sup>5</sup> These modes derive their names from the seasons and hours, to which they are supposed to bear reference in some way. Some of the airs are remarkable for their sweet and melodious sounds; some bear a striking resemblance to the Scotch and Irish tunes; whilst others are characterised by a native wildness peculiar only to this nation. For the due appreciation of their songs, a solo, accompanied by the *vicca* or Indian lyre, should be heard. The commonest music is performed with the fingers on drums or fiddles; it is noisy and discordant, particularly when the native singers unite in the uproar. It is said that the ordinary Hindoo musicians are looked upon by those of their countrymen who are versed in the art, in the same light as the street ballad-singer of this country is by a *prima donna* of the Italian Opera.

The fondness of the natives of India, especially the inhabitants of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, for this monotonous music is not less marked than their indifference to the most finished performance of an English band. A native who passes heedlessly a house in which the most perfect instrumentation may be heard, will pause enraptured at the door of a mud-hut wherein a party of women and children are seated round a huge tom-tom, or drum, beating it vehemently in utter disregard to the rules of harmony.

Tom-toms and small wheezy pipes are the invariable attendants at all Buddhistical festivities, during which a score of these discordant instruments will not unfrequently do duty night and day.

On the antiquity of the Hindoo medical system, oriental scholars are not agreed. The impression is, however, strong amongst those who have examined the question in all its bearings, that the Hindoos are in no ways indebted to the Greek writers for any portion of their medical knowledge; but rather that the latter may have derived some of their earlier data from an Eastern source.

The *Ayur Veda*, which is the most ancient of the Hindoo works on medicine, is said to have been the production of Brahma himself; whilst

<sup>5</sup> Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. pp. 55-87.

the works of Susruta and Charaka abound in details which furnish abundance of evidence as to the knowledge attained in India in those days. Anatomy formed an essential part of the Hindoo practice; and it does not appear that any prejudice existed in regard to their using the dead for the advantage of the living.

According to the Hindoo practice of medicine, life consists of a combination of the soul, the mind, the five senses, and the three qualities of goodness, passion, and meekness.<sup>6</sup> The soul is believed to be the animating principle of the body, and a shadow or emanation from God the Eternal. The vital principle is supposed to be situated in the centre of the chest, and to be the result of a mixture of the pure fluid; in the same manner as the bee sucks the juice from different flowers, and produces honey.<sup>7</sup> The vital parts of the body are one hundred and seven; and their medical writers were, moreover, well acquainted with the serious consequences attending a wound on the great toe, in the palm of the hand, or in the groin.

The Hindoo system divides the life of man into twelve distinct phases, each having its own peculiar characteristic, until that of decrepitude, in which the body resembles an old house, requiring many props in the rainy season. Death is believed to be the separation of the soul from the body, and is supposed to occur in one hundred and one ways, of which one only is natural. The body after death is by them likened to a house without a tenant, and is burnt, in order that it may be purified to join the mass of the elements of which the earth is composed.

Hindoo practitioners declare that diseases owe their origin to three causes: to sins committed in a former existence, and in this list they wisely place all those which defy their skill; to derangements of the humours, the only diseases which yield to their art; and lastly, to a combination of the two, which also are of the incurable class.

The materia medica of the Hindoos embraces not only a vast number of drugs and vegetable simples abounding in their country, but a variety of chemical compounds, as well as acids and some of the oxides, with the uses of which they appear to have been conversant from an early period. Their pharmacy, although embracing many matters of value, and in some parts much in accordance with European practice, is nevertheless so overcrowded with innumerable substances as to bewilder and perplex the student. They employed in their pharmacy prepara-

<sup>6</sup> Wise's Hindoo System of Medicine.

<sup>7</sup> Calcutta Review, vol. viii. art. Hindoo Medicine.

tions of mercury, gold, zinc, iron, and arsenic to a degree that could scarcely have been expected from people who blended so much of the fabulous and the absurd in their practice. In their measures of time they commenced with fifteen winks of the eye ; and their apothecaries might begin with four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun's rays as they enter a dark room. The rules laid down for the administering of medicinal doses are minute to tediousness ; and among other things it is expressly stated that the patient must not make faces when taking medicine, as by doing so he would be like Brahma and Shiva, and therefore commit a great sin.

However deficient we find the present race of Hindoo practitioners in the science of surgery, there is no doubt but that their ancestors possessed a skill in the performance of delicate and dangerous operations scarcely to have been expected in those days. The treatises still extant on these subjects are good proof of the state of their surgery, which, however, was evidently, as in other branches of the art, mixed up with much puerility and childish superstition. Certain times were to be selected for the performance of operations ; devils were to be driven away from the wound by burning certain sweet-scented flowers ; the patient and operator must be placed in certain relative positions, and other observances equally frivolous and absurd.

In the writings of Charaka, one of the oldest medical authors of Hindostan, we find the number three availed of to a great extent in the medical system. Thus it is stated that there are three general causes of diseases ; three sorts of medicine—one that cleanses internally, one that purifies externally, and another that includes the aid of surgical skill ; three objects of inquiry in this world—the means of preserving health, the means of acquiring wealth, and the securing of happiness in a future existence ; there are also three means of preserving life—"proper food, sleep, and the proper government of the senses and passions." The following instructions in the case of a patient suffering from some incurable disease, and which is therefore considered as the result of sins committed in a former state, will hardly be coincided in by European science. "If a disease be incurable," says the code, "let the patient advance in a straight path towards the invisible north-eastern point, feeding on air and water, until his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul becomes linked with the Supreme Being."<sup>s</sup>

Small-pox and measles appear to have been familiar to the Hindoo

<sup>s</sup> *Manu*, chap. vi.

practitioner in ages far remote; as, indeed, there is no doubt that it is to the East we are indebted for at any rate the former of these complaints. Inoculation seems to have been practised amongst them, but with limited success. The whole string of nervous diseases, rheumatic affections, leprosy, and epilepsy were all well known to, and written upon, by Hindoo physicians of an early date, as was also insanity.

We find, in their medical treatises, mention made of sixty-five diseases of the mouth, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, eleven qualities of headache, besides an infinity of disorders of the throat. Mention is likewise made of consumption, as though it were not only of frequent occurrence, but oftentimes fatal in its result.

The study of poisons and their antidotes formed by no means an insignificant portion of medical study among the Hindoo practitioners of all ages; a fact, considering the oriental fashion of getting rid of an enemy by this means, is not to be wondered at. There was also the study of animal poisons; the dissertations upon the bites of snakes, poisonous insects, &c. are numerous, and at the same time in accordance with the practice of experienced surgeons of the present day. Hydrophobia was also known, and prescribed for in a variety of forms.\*

That the science of astronomy was understood by the Hindoos at an early period there is strong evidence; though it is not so easy to determine at what precise time that knowledge first obtained amongst them. It is clear, however, that although the ability to calculate eclipses was possessed by the Hindoo astronomers at a distant epoch, their acquaintance with celestial bodies has made little if any progress during several centuries.

The astronomical works of the Hindoos are of two kinds, scientific treatises and tables. Of the latter, four are in existence; the most complete, and, it is believed, the most ancient of which is known to European astronomers as the Tirvalore Tables. The chief astronomical work of India, the *Surya Siddhanta*, upon which all their tables appear to have been founded, was for some time believed to have been of very extraordinary antiquity. Doubts were subsequently thrown upon the validity of this claim; and more recent inquirers have shewn, with some degree of plausibility, that this work can scarcely boast of any higher antiquity than about the tenth or eleventh century of the Christian era.

The astronomical system of the East, as contained in the above

\* *Wise's Commentary on the Hindoo System of Medicine.*

work, differs in very few particulars from that of Ptolemy. Their notions of the heavenly orbs appear to be, that the earth is placed in the centre of the celestial system, with the moon, the sun, and the planets revolving around it. The Siddhanta accounts for the irregularities in the motion of the sun and moon, by a theory that those bodies move in epicycles, whose centres revolve in circles; shewing an utter ignorance of the eccentricity of the earth's and moon's orbits. The main scope and object of Hindoo astronomy is, after all, the calculations of eclipses; which is admitted to be accomplished by their rules with a rare degree of accuracy. The process by which these results are arrived at is remarkably ingenious, but at the same time exceedingly tedious; and there are few, if any, of the native professors of the present day who are able to explain the theory of the system, however apt they may be in working out its details.

It is not a little remarkable that the Hindoos divide the Zodiac, and name those divisions, almost precisely as is done in our system; a fact which induces the belief that this, and the divisions of the Arabs, from which ours was derived, must at some very remote period have had one common origin. Their signs are twelve in number, and are termed:

|                             |                                  |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Mesha</i> , the Ram.     | <i>Tula</i> , the Balance.       |
| <i>Vrisha</i> , the Bull.   | <i>Vrischika</i> , the Scorpion. |
| <i>Mithunna</i> , the Pair. | <i>Dhanus</i> , the Bow.         |
| <i>Carcota</i> , the Crab.  | <i>Macara</i> , the Sea-monster. |
| <i>Sinha</i> , the Lion.    | <i>Cumbha</i> , the Ewer.        |
| <i>Canya</i> , the Virgin.  | <i>Mina</i> , the Fish.          |

In like manner they connect the seven planets with the days of the week, and name those days in reference to the planets precisely as is done by us.

Thus we find them to have the planets as follows: *Addila*, the sun; *Toma*, the moon; *Brahaspati*, Jupiter; *Mangala*, Mars; *Bonta*, Mercury; *Soucra*, Venus; *Sanni*, Saturn. Their week begins on Friday, and the days are thus named:

|                             |                       |            |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 1. <i>Soncravaram</i> ,     | or day of Venus . . . | Friday.    |
| 2. <i>Sanivaram</i> ,       | „ Saturn . . .        | Saturday.  |
| 3. <i>Additavaram</i> ,     | „ the Sun . . .       | Sunday.    |
| 4. <i>Somavaram</i> ,       | „ the Moon . . .      | Monday.    |
| 5. <i>Mangalavaram</i> ,    | „ Mars . . .          | Tuesday.   |
| 6. <i>Bontavaram</i> ,      | „ Mercury . . .       | Wednesday. |
| 7. <i>Brahaspativaram</i> , | „ Jupiter . . .       | Thursday.  |

It appears that the Hindoo astronomers were well aware that the

intersection of the equator and ecliptic is not always in the same point, leading to the difference called the precession of the equinoxes. This difference they reckoned at fifty-four seconds in a year, being precisely four seconds too much.

To find the latitude of a place, the Hindoos observe the length of the shadow of a perpendicular gnomon when the sun is in the equator, and compute the angle which their instrument makes with the line drawn from its top to the extremity of the shadow. The longitude is found by observations of lunar eclipses calculated from the meridian of Lanca, which passes through Ongein, in the Mahratta country.

The progress of the Hindoos in other branches of science may be considered as remarkable. Great geometrical skill was shewn by their demonstration of the various properties of triangles, especially of that one which expresses the area in the terms of the three sides, and which remained unknown for a long period in Europe, as shewn by their knowledge of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of the circle.

Beyond their own country the writers of Indian geography in the earlier ages appear to have been completely at fault, and the boldest of modern speculators have been unable to rescue any thing like sound information from the best of their books.

Few even of the neighbouring towns are mentioned; but they seem to have known something of the Greeks, their knowledge having, most probably, been obtained after the expedition of Alexander the Great. To the Greeks they applied the name of *Yarvan*; but this term was afterwards applied to all the conquering people who came from the north-west; and there is some reason to suppose that they knew the Scythians under the name of *Sacæ*. But it was within India that they became acquainted with both these nations, and they appear to have been totally ignorant of the regions whence the strangers came.

The first indication of any knowledge among the Hindoos of the inhabitants of the outer world, appears in a writer of the seventh or eighth century, who states that the barbaric tongues are called the *Parasica*, *Yavana*, *Raumaen*, and *Barbara*; the three first being supposed to mean the Persian, Greek, and Latin, and the last those of a number of nations whose languages they could not characterise.

China they certainly knew, for we have the travels of a native of that country in India in the fourth century; and the king of Magada is attested by Chinese authors to have sent embassies to China in the second and following centuries of the Christian era. There is a people spoken of in Menu as those of China; but they are alluded to as existing

among the tribes who lived to the north-west of India, and most probably were the enterprising community who took possession of the extensive country to which they afterwards gave their name. The term is evidently of Indian origin, though the name of *Chin* was not adopted until long after Menu's time.

The Hindoos, however, were never a navigating people, and from their ignorance of Egypt, and of the inhabitants of those countries in which enterprise had its seat, they seem to have been content with a meagre knowledge of the districts which they themselves inhabited.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE MANUFACTURES OF INDIA.

A NOTICE of the industry of the Hindoos would be manifestly imperfect without some account of their progress in the manufacture of textile and other fabrics, especially since, in at any rate one of these arts, that of cotton-weaving, they had arrived at a high state of perfection long prior to any extensive manufacture of the article in Europe. If it be also considered, in reference to this branch of industry, that the natives of India, whilst they so far, and for so long, excelled the skilled craftsmen of the West in the production of exquisitely fine muslins, richly worked and highly ornamented, possessed a raw material confessedly of great inferiority to the cotton imported into England from all other parts of the world, we cannot fail to award them a considerable meed of praise. It required the science of a century, the combined efforts of a Watt and an Arkwright, to compete successfully with the simple handicraft of the Indian village-weaver; whilst in some of the finer goods, it is still questionable whether the British capitalist can equal the patient productions of the simple Hindoo.

The actual date of the birth of cotton-weaving in India cannot be arrived at, though there is little doubt of its high antiquity. The cotton plant being indigenous to the country, we have every right to presume that the uses and value of this admirable production of nature would not have been long hidden from the early Hindoos, especially as the art of weaving flax and cotton was well understood by the Assyrians, Egyptians, and other nations of antiquity.

We learn that Joseph was arrayed by Pharaoh in fine linen; and indeed the knowledge of the Egyptians in this respect may be traced on the monumental remains of that country. Layard, in his Assyrian labours, has, amongst other things, demonstrated the degree of perfection to which weaving was brought in the days of Ninevite greatness; and we know, moreover, that the Jews, in the first years of their exist-

ence as a nation, employed cloths of various fabrics both linen and cotton, which undoubtedly came from the East.

The earliest records which we possess bearing upon the people and produce of India, inform us of the existence in those remote days of woven cloths of great excellence. One of the oldest Greek authors,<sup>1</sup> in speaking of the land of the Hindoos, says: "The wild trees of that country bear fleeces as their fruit, surpassing those of sheep in beauty and excellence; and the Indians use cloth made from those trees."

Amongst the goods which appear to have been brought to Europe from the Indian seas, in the days when Arab traders were the only medium of intercourse between the eastern and western worlds, we find mentioned cloths of silk and cotton of various colours and devices.<sup>2</sup> It does not appear, however, that there existed any great demand for cottons, the consumption of the Roman people, who were then the customers for all luxuries, being chiefly confined to cloths of silk and wool.

During the early trade of Europeans with India by the long sea route, the calicoes and fine muslins of that country came first into general notice; and from that date until the production of machine-made fabrics in England, they continued to rise in public estimation. It was deemed a great thing with our Lancashire manufacturers, when, by the aid of mechanical and artistic skill, combined with the potent agency of steam, they found themselves able to produce an article which was considered equal to that which the unlettered Hindoo had manipulated in his little mud hut on the remote banks of the Ganges, and which had been produced of like excellence by their ancestors, when the "father of history" penned his observations upon their country.

That the Hindoos paid considerable attention to the details of this manufacture, in the most remote ages, there remains sufficient proof on record. In the Indian work of highest antiquity, the *Rig Veda*,<sup>3</sup> believed to have been written fifteen centuries previous to our era, occurs the following passage: "Cares consume me, Satakralu, although thy worshipper, as a rat gnaws a weaver's threads:"—the temptation to the rat was evidently the starch employed by the spinner to impart tenacity to the thread; nor can there be any doubt that cotton was the thread alluded to.<sup>4</sup>

Again, in *Menu*, we find it directed as follows: "Let the weaver who has received ten palas of cotton-thread, give them back increased of eleven by the rice-water (starch), and the like used in weaving; he who does otherwise shall pay a fine of twelve panas."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian's Periplus.

<sup>3</sup> Hymn cv. v. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Royle's Culture of Cotton in India, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Menu, book viii. p. 397.

The cotton fabrics of India formed a considerable item in the exports from the East to this country during the early days of British Indian commerce; the delicacy of their fabric, the elegance of their design, and the brilliancy of their colours, rendered them as attractive to the better classes of consumers in England, as are, in the present day, the shawls of Cashmere or the silks of Lyons. So much superior indeed were the productions of the Indian spinning-wheel and handloom, to those turned out by the manufacturers of Lancashire in the middle of the last century, that not only were Indian calicoes and Indian prints preferred to the home-made articles, but the Manchester and Blackburn weavers actually imported Indian yarns in large quantities for employment in their factories.

It was about the year 1771-2 that the Blackburn weavers, taking advantage of the recent discoveries and improvements of Arkwright, Hargreaves, and others, found themselves in a position to produce plain cotton goods, which, if they did not quite equal the fabrics of the East, at any rate found their way very rapidly into general consumption in Europe.

The invention of the mule-jenny, in 1779, was the commencement of a new era in the history of the cotton manufacture of Great Britain; and when, six years later, Arkwright's machines were thrown open to the public, a revolution was effected in the production of all kinds of yarns; England found herself able, not only to supply all her own wants with cotton goods of every variety of quality, but also to carry the produce of her looms ten thousand miles across the seas, and placing them at the doors of the Indian consumer, undersell the goods made by his own hands from cotton grown in his own garden.

Nor is it only in the heavier goods that we in the West are able to beat out of their own markets the weavers of the East. There have long been masters in their craft who can and do produce fabrics more exquisitely delicate and light in texture than those beautiful muslins of Dacca, so long and justly celebrated with a world-wide fame; and although in some particulars these latter fabrics still claim a certain degree of superiority, and although many of the Hindoos prefer their own woven goods to those of Manchester and Glasgow, the cotton manufacture of British India, in spite of its supply of the raw material growing often close to its door, in spite of labour absurdly cheap, may truly be said to have ceased in favour of the far-off industry of Lancashire and Scotland.

The actual result of this revolution of half a century has been that, in place of our importing cotton goods and yarns from the East to the

yearly value of about 800,000*l.*, we are able, in the present day, to ship to the various ports of India cotton fabrics to the value of upwards of three millions sterling. The decay of this branch of our Indian imports has been steady and certain. In 1827-8, Bengal shipped but to the value of 275,000*l.*; in 1837-8, not more than 69,000*l.*; and at the present moment our supplies from the East are limited to about five thousand bales from Madras, solely for re-shipment to our western colonies, and various parts of northern and western Africa.

Calicoes and muslins, both plain and printed, formed a staple of the Portuguese and Dutch trade with India.<sup>6</sup> As early as 1628 these goods were taken by the English merchant to the value of 50,000*l.* Fifty years later they amounted to 160,000*l.* annually, and began to supplant the French goods in the English markets.

Early in the eighteenth century, the British legislature, anxious to foster the home manufacture of cotton goods, prohibited the wearing of Indian muslins and calicoes; but in vain; the latter were so far superior to any that were produced in Europe, that they continued in general use until the discoveries of the spinning-jenny, the power-loom, and the steam-engine flung the competition of the East far into the shade, and created a new era in the industry of mankind.

From the year 1771 to 1793, the annual imports into Great Britain of India piece-goods were, on the average, 1,250,000*l.* From that period until 1806 they appear to have increased to something over 2,000,000*l.*, but afterwards declined to the old figures, and eventually ceased altogether; to be supplanted, in the place of their manufacture, by the produce of the steam-engine.

The French were, previous to the war of the Revolution, large consumers of both calicoes, prints, and muslins, frequently taking as much as their English neighbours. The Dutch purchased these goods to the yearly value of about 100,000*l.*<sup>7</sup> To America, Denmark, Portugal, and Germany, there were also exports of India cottons of about 700,000*l.* annually; and to these may be added as much more for the various ports to the eastward of the Bay of Bengal.

Dacca was the seat of manufacture of the muslins known by that name, and spoken of by the ancients as "woven webs of air." The most delicately worked and highly ornamented scarfs and dresses are wrought at Delhi, Benares, and Ahmedabad. Fine goods were also

<sup>6</sup> Amongst the numerous articles found in the vessels captured by the English in 1592, were "book calicoes, calico lawns, broad white calicoes, fine starched calicoes, and brown broad calicoes; also canopies and diaper towels, quilts and calico carpets, like those from Turkey."—Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, p. 230.

<sup>7</sup> Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*,

produced at Allahabad, Hurripaul, and Santipore; whilst the more substantial and useful fabrics were wrought chiefly at Patna, Luckipore, Lucknow, Balasore, and other places in the Bengal presidency, as well as at Pondicherry and Cuddalore, in the presidency of Madras, and in Surat.

Few textile articles require such delicate manipulation as lace; and in this the Hindoo women highly excel, so much so, that their beautiful goods have been considered equal to any of Brussels or Valenciennes.

Highly as the silks of India were at one period esteemed in Europe, whether for dresses, for hangings, or coverings for furniture, they are now scarcely, if at all, used in this country, with the exception of handkerchiefs, known as Corahs and Bandannas. The beauty of design and richness of colouring which have from the earliest time distinguished the shawls of the East, appear at no time to have found a place in the getting up of the ordinary silken goods manufactured in India. On the contrary, the decay of this branch of trade with Europe takes its origin altogether in the absence of all taste and propriety of colouring in such goods as were for a long time tolerated in England, but which, with the growth of a more suitable manufacture at home, went rapidly out of the market.

The Bengal silk handkerchiefs, however, being either quite plain, and therefore capable of receiving dyes and patterns, or containing simply a few spots or cheques, continue to find favour, and up to the present time form a considerable item of our eastern import trade. These goods are almost exclusively from Bengal; and although there are some shipments to countries and states to the eastward, by far the bulk of the exports find their way to this country.

There is, besides the above, a manufacture of cloths composed of silk and cotton, exclusively for the use of Asiatics, either as garments or head-dresses, and, in addition to large quantities of this description of goods used by the inhabitants of the cities and large towns of India, shipments take place to the Persian and Arabian ports, the coasts of Coromandel and Pegu, and some of the eastern islands, to the yearly value of thirty or forty thousand pounds sterling.

Although in so many branches of textile manufacture England has outstripped her oriental teacher, we still find amongst the workmen of the East a degree of taste in the adjustment of their designs, an amount of skill applied to the getting-up of the fabric, and the blending of patterns and colours so aptly combined, as to leave nothing to be desired, but rather to shew that what we are now arriving at in art-

design by the aid of scientific teachings, has been practised amongst that ancient race during the last thousand years. The correct principle which science has laid down in the schools of the West, that the patterns and colours of woven goods should diversify plain surfaces without disturbing the impression of flatness, has evidently been known to them from the earliest times. Nor is it in this alone that the workmen of the East excel: they are equally celebrated for the rich and varied beauty of their patterns, and the strict appropriateness of these to the colours employed.

Foremost amongst the woven fabrics of India are the world-famed shawls of Cashmere, the finest of which, in spite of many imitations in this country, are still produced in the "Vale of Cashmere," whence continues to come the supply of the most valuable wool employed in the manufacture. The Cashmere goat thrives nowhere so well as amidst the grassy ravines and shady clefts of the Cashmerian hills; and from the neck and under part of the body of the animal is taken the fine, flossy, silk-like hair, which is worked up into these beautiful shawls with an exquisite taste and skill which all the mechanical ingenuity of Europe has never been able to imitate with more than partial success.

Mention may be found of these shawls in the *Mahabharat* and other ancient works of the East. The people of the countries adjacent to Cashmere are there spoken of as bringing skins and cloths of wool embroidered with gold as tribute to the sovereign.

From the *Ayeeen Akberry*,<sup>8</sup> written in the sixteenth century, we gather that the Emperor Akbar encouraged the manufacture of these shawls by every means in his power, even designing some himself, and introducing a greater and richer variety of colours in their patterns. The same work informs us of the extension of this manufacture to the state of Lahore, where it is said there were then a thousand manufactories employed on them.<sup>9</sup> A mixture of wool and silk for turbans is also spoken of; and some space is occupied with an enumeration of the various qualities of shawls and turbans, and the mode of classifying them for value.

Since the above period, the many troubles and political changes in the position of the country have materially affected this branch of industry; and we accordingly find that from 30,000 looms, which was at one time the number at work in Lahore, there were, some years since, but 16,000. Doubtless the more settled state of the country,

<sup>8</sup> Vol. ii. p. 140.

<sup>9</sup> Vol. i. p. 105.

and the increasing demand for the article in various parts of the world, will now help to revive this manufacture. In all eastern countries the shawl is ever considered the most essential and graceful part of ornamental dress; and even in Europe, with our many beautiful imitations, the true Cashmere shawl is still sought and paid for at enormous prices. Even in India it is by no means unusual for a rajah to pay ten thousand rupees (1000*l.*) for one of the finest of these productions; and which, in all probability, will have cost the labour of a whole family for a life-time.

The annual value of these shawls imported into Great Britain does not exceed six or seven thousand pounds, and forms no sort of criterion as to the yearly produce of the Cashmerian looms, since by far the most valuable are taken by native kings and rajahs, and large quantities are also dispatched to Russia, Turkey, Greece, America, and continental Europe. Previous to the imitation of these goods at Paisley, the imports had amounted to as much as 16,000*l.* annually.

In embroidered shawls, scarfs, handkerchiefs, &c., in silk, cotton, and mixed fabrics, India stands pre-eminent. Here also, as in the make of Cashmere shawls, the Hindoos, by their skilful and delicate manipulation, are able to produce fabrics of such exquisite fineness, as to defy the more scientific labours of European nations. Their scarfs of brocaded gold and silver, laid upon red, white, and green grounds, and worked in and interspersed with beetle's wings, and other ornaments, are at once the wonder and admiration of the world.

The Indian carpets most commonly met with are of cotton, in blue, red, and white; and although durable, possessing no other good quality. Some few made of cotton and silk for great potentates are extremely beautiful.

Another manufacture carried on in India is that of rope and bagging, chiefly from the fibre of jute (*Corchoris capsularis*), the trade in which has of late years grown to considerable magnitude.

The common gunny-bag of Bengal is a miserable article; so thin, weak, and open, that it is generally used double. In past ages the inhabitants were doubtless content to employ for this purpose the supple bark of various kinds of trees, as may be still observed in use in some remote districts; the transition from the use of this primitive description of package, to that of a rudely-manufactured article, such as the ordinary gunny-bag, could not have been a work of great time or difficulty; but there appears to have been no attempt at improvement in the working of these fabrics, until, as in most other cases, European intelligence and energy came to the task; and we find at the present

moment an admirable sacking made in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, equal in durability and appearance to those of Dundee.

Not only is the manufacture of this article carried on with great imperfection, but in the first preparation of the fibre the utmost carelessness and want of attention or system is observable. From this cause the raw material often comes to market in very inferior condition both for appearance and strength. A very useful kind of common rope is also made from the coarser parts of the fibre; though in no way equal to the Coir rope manufactured from the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk.

This latter branch of industry is confined to the Malabar coast, along which for some hundreds of miles the cocoa-nut palm flourishes in great abundance. The process by which the fibre is removed from the outer shell is very primitive; and like that observable in the preparation of jute, open to much objection. The husks or skins are laid in deep pits, and covered with water frequently of great impurity, which, of course, imparts some of its quality to the fibre. They are often left in the water until quite offensive; when removed, they are beaten roughly until the covering of the husk separates from the fibre, which is then slightly washed and dried, and afterwards twisted by hand into yarn for a great variety of purposes, from ships' cables to sewing-thread.

The coir rope and yarn of the Malabar coast are greatly esteemed in all parts of the East, not less than in this country; and a considerable trade is carried on from the vicinity of Cochin and Cannonnore to nearly all parts of the Eastern seas, as well as to Great Britain and America.

The importance of the fibrous materials of India may be partly estimated by a glance at the annual value of the exports from Calcutta to all parts of the world, of the raw material, and of the cloth and bagging made from jute.

In 1848-9 the value of the jute shipped in its natural state was 69,000*l.*; and in the following year it amounted to 89,000*l.* The shipments of bagging and cloth manufactured from this article amounted in the former year to 140,000*l.*, and in 1849-50 to 277,000*l.*, chiefly to North America and the eastern ports and settlements. This, however, can be but a fraction of the bagging manufacture of India; for not only are these packages employed universally throughout that vast country for the local transport of grain and other dry goods, but the whole of the shipments of sugar, cotton, rice, saltpetre, seeds, &c. &c., are made in bags or wrappers of gunny cloth; and looking to the great extent of the internal and external traffic of the three Presidencies in every direc-

tion, the consumption of this article must be one of enormous magnitude.

In scarcely any part of the world, England excepted, does iron ore abound to such an extent as in Central and Northern India. In the peninsula also it is met with in considerable quantities; and of such fine quality has it been proved to consist, that a company with English capital has, in the Madras Presidency, supplied the public of India with this useful metal for a number of years past.

Experiments made with the iron ores of India shew them to be far more productive in metal, and much more valuable, than those of Britain. Indeed, the pure ore obtained from them equals in value that of Sweden and Russia. Thirty to thirty-three per cent is the amount of metal obtained from the Welsh iron-stone; the generality of Indian iron-ore contains from thirty to fifty per cent of metal; and in the northern Himalayan district of Kumaon as much as sixty-five per cent is proved to exist in the ordinary iron-stone of the locality.

The native process of smelting ore is most primitive and wasteful. A miserable little forge of sticks and clay, with an inflated skin for bellows, worked by a boy, or perhaps a woman, is the only provision for this work. Charcoal is invariably employed, which, of course, goes far to give quality to the metal produced; yet even in this great unnecessary waste of timber occurs. With the rude implements, the imperfect process, and the want of ordinary care and attention on the part of the native smelter, it is but seldom, indeed, that this rich ore, which is known to contain sixty-five per cent of metallic iron, is made to yield more than *nine* per cent.

It will be interesting to compare the yield of the rich ore of the Himalayan districts with that of the Welsh iron-stone, as the result will most forcibly demonstrate the vast benefits arising from enterprise and scientific skill in this branch of industry.

To produce a ton of metallic iron in Kumaon from the rough ore of that district, containing sixty-five per cent, would require one ton, fourteen hundredweight of ore, at two shillings the ton = 3*s.* 4*d.*, with one ton and six hundredweight of charcoal, costing 14*s.* 8*d.*—total cost 18*s.* per ton, without labour, which is there three pence per diem. To obtain a ton of this metal, inferior in quality to the above, would require, at thirty-three per cent, three tons of clay iron-stone, costing at 8*s.*, 1*l.* 4*s.*; with three tons of coals, at 3*s.* 6*d.* = 10*s.* 6*d.*; total cost, 1*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* without labour, which, in Wales, is at the rate of three shillings per diem.

In working up the pure ore into malleable metal, the difference is still more marked. Thus we find that the Hindoo, by his rude process

and unskilful manipulation, obtains from one hundred tons of his rich ore thirty-five tons of crude metal, and of bar-iron 8 tons 16 cwts. The iron smelter of Wales, on the other hand, with the same quantity of iron-stone, containing little more than half the material of the Indian stone, contrives to extract from it every ounce of metal; in other words, thirty-three tons of metal, which he works into 26 tons 10 cwts. of bar iron.

Without a knowledge of these facts, it would appear incredible that, whilst the north-western provinces of British India possess, at their very door, an exhaustless mine of iron wealth of almost unequalled quality, with labour of the cheapest, and an abundance of water and excellent fuel, they should still look to England for their general supplies of this metal, which, despite the cost of labour, twelve times that of India, the long sea-voyage and the inland transit of a thousand miles, can compete with the native article in the bazaars of Delhi, Lahore, and Cashmere.

It will cease to be matter for surprise, having the above in view, that the quantity of iron used throughout India is most insignificant

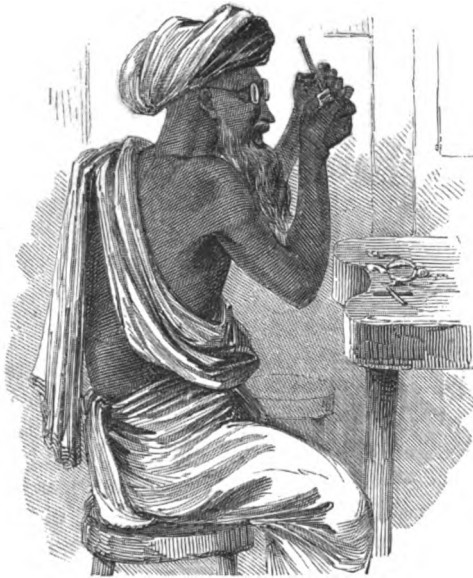


WORKING SILVERSMITH.

when compared with the population, and the employment of this necessary metal by other nations. The quantity of imported iron into India averages 18,838 tons annually, which does not give more than six ounces and a half for each inhabitant. Assuming that an equal quantity

of native metal is used, we have still but *thirteen ounces* per head per annum, whilst in England it is known that the yearly consumption amounts to an average of 112 lbs. for each individual.<sup>9</sup> The dearness of the metal, added to the abundance of fibrous materials throughout all parts of India, will fully account for the natives employing coarse yarns in place of nails whenever it is possible to do so, whether in boat-building, or the erection of huts, or the construction of bridges, or other large works.

The same manual dexterity which has ever distinguished the unlettered Hindoo in the production of fine textile fabrics, has enabled him with equal success to produce some of the most exquisite specimens of gold and silver work. The rose-chains of Trichinopoly may be cited



NATIVE GOLDSMITH.

as illustrative of their delicate workmanship in the precious metals; whilst the inlaid work of gold and silver upon iron and steel, as practised at Benares and others of the cities of Hindostan, shew their skill and taste in this more useful branch of industry.

<sup>9</sup> Asiatic Review, December 1852.

Scarcely equal to their other productions are the works of the Indian jewellers: the setting of precious stones forms an exception to the general good taste and high finish of Eastern artificers. There is invariably a heaviness and total absence of propriety in the jewelled ornaments of India, which, despite the rare beauty of the gems and the richness and profusion of the ornamental work lavished upon them, cannot fail to strike an European eye as singularly in contrast with their other mechanical productions, whether of the loom, the forge, or the crucible.



DIAMOND-CUTTER.

The taste and skill of the Hindoos are in few things more apparent than in the graceful pottery-work to be met with in Bengal; of these there were some beautiful specimens in the Indian department of the Great Exhibition, both painted and gilt. Equal in every respect to these were the carved marble works and productions in *pietra dura*, in the shape of vases, garden-seats, &c., some of which rivalled the most finished performances of the Italian artists, and elicited general admiration.



## CHAPTER III.

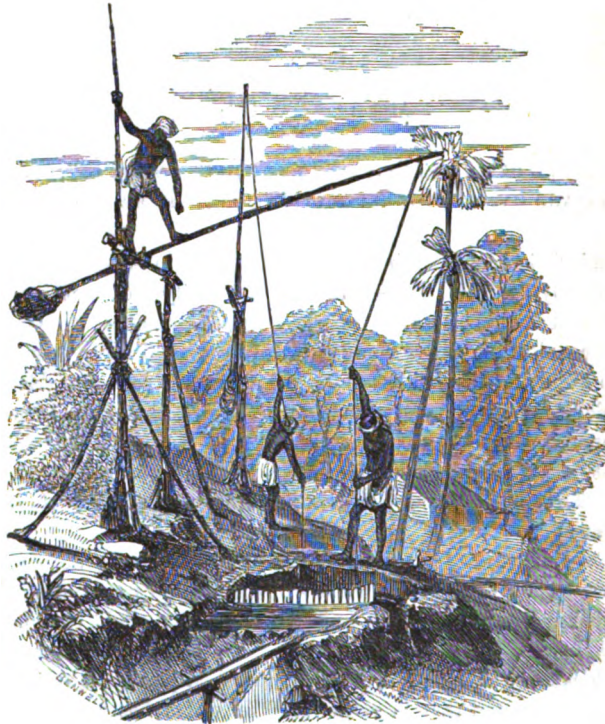
AGRICULTURE OF THE HINDOOS, AND THE APPLICATION OF EUROPEAN  
SKILL AND CAPITAL TO THE CULTIVATION OF INDIAN PRODUCTS.

THERE is little doubt that in their agriculture, as in many other matters of daily life, the Hindoo pursues identically the same system as was followed by his ancestors at the commencement of the Christian era. The soil of his native country is in the most densely peopled districts so highly fertile, and the climate and seasons so favourable to the fullest development of every function of nature, that man is scarcely called upon to do more than scatter the seed and gather the harvest. A bountiful Providence does for him in that genial clime what the utmost efforts of skill and energy alone can accomplish in more temperate lands.

The agricultural implements of the natives of India are simple to rudeness. Their ploughs are usually of a light and fragile description, only calculated, and indeed only required, to make a slight entrance into the friable soil. These are of hard wood, and drawn by one or at most two bullocks or buffaloes. A heavier iron-shod plough is occasionally employed on ground that is rather stiff, or which has perhaps become weedy or less fruitful, and therefore requires somewhat deeper ploughing. Their harrows consist of a mere board pierced with rough pegs, or more frequently of the bough of a tree, on which one or two children will be seated to give it the necessary pressure. These, and a hoe and mattock, comprise the entire stock of farming implements of the Hindoos.

Generous as the Indian soil usually is, and favourable as are the seasons, there are times and places when the husbandman is called on to exercise some degree of skill and industry. In the plains and valleys rain is frequently absent for many weeks, and without some artificial means of supplying the soil with moisture, no crops could be taken off the ground at those periods. In the chapter on "Roads and Rivers" will be found an account of the great public works of irriga-

tion in India. What is there described as accomplished on a large scale by the local governments, is throughout many parts of the country performed by the villagers themselves. For miles the patient Hindoo will carry his tiny stream of water along the brow of mountains, round



RYOTS IRRIGATING RICE-FIELDS.

steep declivities, and across yawning gulfs or deep valleys, his primitive aqueducts being formed of stones, clay, and hollow bamboos. Sometimes, in order to bring the supply of water to the necessary height, a bucket-wheel is employed, worked by oxen.

It is but seldom that manure is employed, nor indeed is it often needed, although some few plants, such as the sugar-cane and tobacco, require such stimulus to bring them to maturity. An agricultural district in the East bears but small resemblance to such a tract in England. No hedges mark the boundary of every field or the possessions of each cultivator; no stacks of corn greet the eye; no well-filled

barns stud the country. A row of stones, or a small ridge of earth, defines the extent of the ryot's possessions; while rice, cotton, fine grain, and tobacco, may be seen growing in close proximity, as though the seed had been scattered over the land by the merest caprice.

Harvest-time is a season of anxiety to the Indian cultivator; for there are many destructive foes ready at this time to prey upon his little field. His sugar-canes may be swept away in one night by the ravages of the elephant, the wild boar, or the porcupine; his tobacco may be uprooted or trampled down by herds of wild swine; and his grain may be devoured in the ear, in open day, by flights of birds, which are every where most numerous and harassing. To guard against all these calamities, the ryot is compelled at the critical season to mount guard over his little tract of produce, which he usually does perched up in a sort of jungle-stage, open on all sides but covered at the top, whence he is able to watch the whole extent of his field, and by dint of cries and sundry artificial sounds he is enabled to scare away all unwelcome intruders.

The harvest being secured, the grain is trodden out by the feet of buffaloes, and the little that may remain, if indeed it be any, is carefully stored in deep pits lined with straw; but in too many cases all that the ryot retains possession of will be just sufficient for seed for his little tract of land at the next sowing time.

With such a soil, and at the same time with so few inducements to exercise any agricultural ingenuity, the Hindoo raises most of his vegetable productions in a very imperfect and inferior condition. Indifferently grown, often taken from the ground before reaching maturity, imperfectly cured, badly housed, and taken to market in a slovenly and dirty condition, the agricultural productions of Hindostan are all highly susceptible of improvement. That this is so, there cannot be a greater proof than in the vast changes effected in some articles which have been taken in hand by Europeans. Wherever their skill and capital have been brought to bear, we find a perfect revolution effected in the quality and value of the productions grown or manipulated; and, although in the article of cotton not nearly so much has been accomplished as in other produce, an improvement is still visible in that valuable staple.

Within the province of Bengal, as well as in the Madras districts, the principal cultivation is that of rice. In most other districts this vegetable is comparatively rare. There is a great variety of the grain, differing widely in colour, shape, and weight; but the ordinary description grown does not extend beyond three or four varieties. The first

sowing takes place between the end of March and the latter part of May ; and as it matures and ripens within a period of about ninety days, it follows that the harvest takes place between the end of July and the middle of September. This crop is taken from sloping ground not subject to inundation, and is by far the safest, though not by any means the most abundant.

Another sowing takes place on low alluvial tracts between the middle of May and the end of June, and requiring five months to reach maturity, will be cut between November and January. This is usually the most profitable harvest, although, from the position of the land, liable at certain times to be seriously damaged by inundations ; when, indeed, it is not an unusual thing for entire fields to be swept into the rivers.

With some cultivators a practice prevails of *planting out* their rice from nurseries reared near their dwellings. In this case the corn is removed when about eight or nine inches high, carried carefully to its destination, which will be some spot that was, perhaps, not available at the proper sowing time ; and there the young stalks will be planted in rows, and pressed down about the roots with an inclination towards the direction whence the prevailing wind blows. These plants are said to thrive remarkably if properly placed, and to attain maturity in an incredibly short space of time. Sometimes a heavy flood will unexpectedly sweep away his first planting, in which case the ryot, nothing disheartened, sets to work, and repeats the task, knowing well that if it thrives it will amply repay him for his labour by its heavy crops.

After the rice-harvest the ground will be sown with some of the innumerable grains met with in India ; in some cases with barley, in others with gram, a kind of pea admirably suited for the food of horses.

With indigo, sugar, tea, coffee, and opium, the success of the English cultivators has been most complete. The article of silk, although not coming under the head of agricultural products, is still so intimately dependent upon the culture of the mulberry, that it may well be classed with the above, and will therefore find a place with them in this chapter.

In the history of the indigo trade of India, we meet with a most instructive lesson upon the great advantages arising to a country from the application of skilled labour and scientific knowledge to an ordinary and indigenous product. In no other case has the energy and skill of the European been applied with such marked results as in

that of indigo. From being an article greatly inferior in quality to that produced by other countries, and leaving a considerable annual loss upon its manufacture, we see it in the present day forming one of the most valuable, if not the most valuable of Indian products, bidding defiance to the utmost efforts of the manufacturers of other countries in quality and price.

Indigo is indigenous to India, as indeed its former name of *Indico* would shew. It was known to, and in constant use amongst the Greeks and Romans; and is mentioned especially by Arrian in his *Periplus* as imported by way of Egypt from the country in the vicinity of the Indus. The Venetians, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and subsequently the English imported indigo amongst other articles of the dye and dry-saltery trade. Early in the seventeenth century we find this article becoming one of increasing consumption among the dyers; so much so indeed as to interfere seriously with the trade in woad. So jealous were the authorities of that age of any commercial innovation, of any encroachment upon vested rights, that, in the year 1654, the use of this article, which was called "the Devil's dye," was strictly forbidden within the Austrian dominions, by imperial proclamation. Not content with this extremely conservative measure, the good people of Nuremberg compelled the dyers of their city to take oath each year, that they would employ no indigo in their work.<sup>1</sup>

Despite imperial edicts and Nurembergers' oaths, this Devil's dye continued to find favour generally throughout Europe; and indifferent as was the article produced in those days, the trade became one of considerable value until the close of the seventeenth century, when they were driven from the European markets by the active competition of the West Indian planters and the colonists of America. Subsequently, however, when the States declared their independence, and the culture of the West Indian plant was neglected for other articles, the Company resumed their dealings in it, and by giving all the encouragement in their power not only to native but to European planters, they succeeded, after a number of years, in establishing the manufacture of indigo on such a firm footing, that the Bengal article now ranks the highest in public estimation, having fairly driven all competition from the field. It is highly problematical, however, if the manufacture of indigo in British India would have arrived at its present state of prosperity but for the spirit evinced by the Directors of the East India Company, who, in the teeth of losing markets, continued to make extensive purchases of the article from the European

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft's Permanent Colours, p. 168.

planters, shipping their investments to a certain loss, until, after a series of years, the agriculture of the plant, and the chemistry of the manufacture, became so thoroughly investigated, and received so many improvements, as to place the trade beyond the necessity for any further fostering.<sup>1</sup>

The first, or London East India Company, carried on a very profitable trade in this dye for upwards of a century; purchasing it from the native makers at about a shilling the pound, and selling it at five times that price. Between the years 1664 and 1694 their imports of the article into Great Britain did not exceed 60,000 lbs. annually.

In those days the seat of the native manufacture of indigo of the finest quality was at Agra. Lahore contributed a good article, as did the Golconda country. The inferior sorts came from Surat, Berampoor, Indore, Oude, and Bengal. At the present time the finest indigo is manufactured in the Bengal presidency, where it has been found that both soil and season are highly favourable to the culture and development of the plant. A considerable quantity, about 4000 chests, is produced in and about the vicinity of Madras, some of which is of superior quality.

Towards the close of the last century, say in 1786, the shipments of indigo to Great Britain amounted to 245,000 lbs. Shortly after that period the attention and capital of English cultivators were turned towards the article, as already related; and we find the results of this enterprise in the statement of exports to all parts of the world, but mainly to this country: this gives the quantity for 1795 as 2,644,710 lbs.; for 1799, at 4,571,420 lbs.; for 1810, at 5,520,874 lbs.; and for 1848-9, at 9,920,000 lbs., of which three-fourths were to Great Britain.

The dye known in commerce as indigo is obtainable from several varieties of the plant, though that of the finest quality is made from the *Indigofera tinctoria*. It grows to a height of three or four feet, with a hard and woody stem of a grey colour about the root, green in the middle and reddish in hue towards the top. It is divided into a variety of knotty stalks, with small sprigs terminating with about eight pairs of leaves each, of an oval shape, thick, and of a deep green on the under-side. The flowers make their appearance on the extremity of the branches, of a rich reddish colour, but devoid of any smell.

It is in these leaves that the colouring-matter forming the dye is found; and it is obtained by macerating, beating, and washing them,

<sup>1</sup> Royle's Productive Resources of India, p. 101.

and afterwards passing the highly-coloured liquor into boilers, where it is subjected to a certain degree of evaporation, and eventually run off into moulds, pressed free from moisture, and dried ready for the market.

It is estimated that there are at the present time not fewer than three thousand Europeans engaged in the indigo manufacture in different parts of Bengal and Behar. The finest quality of dye is produced by factories in the Jessore and Kishnagur districts. An ordinary plantation comprises 4000 acres of land, which may yield on an average 1000 maunds of 82 lbs. each. The annual outlay for labour, seed, &c., on this one branch of industry is seldom less than a million and a half sterling, of which fully nineteen-twentieths are expended by Europeans. The cultivation is generally one of hazard, as the fields are always liable to be swept of their produce during any heavy or sudden fall of rain, when, as it happened in 1852, one-third of the entire crops will be lost. Should this not occur, the plant often suffers from long drought. With a few good seasons, favourable soil, a thorough knowledge of the business, and a certain degree of industry, an indigo-planter may reckon on realising an independence in less than a dozen years. This is, of course, supposing him to have started with ample means.

The life of an indigo-planter, however successful it may be, is by no means one of pleasure. He has many drawbacks to his good fortune, even if he chance to miss the fatality attendant upon floods and droughts. From the first onset of indigo-planting, European settlers in India were regarded with the utmost jealousy, and were only permitted to reside in Bengal by an act of courtesy on the part of the government; and even in the present day, although all restrictions to free residence have long since been withdrawn, and the Company derive great advantages from the employment of so much European capital in the country, the planter is still looked upon as an interloper by the civil service, and treated as such.

It is matter of notoriety that in any suit instituted between an indigo-planter and a native before any of the local officials, judgment is invariably given in favour of the latter. So far is this feeling carried, that a judge has been known to tell the planter that "he had no right to come there;" and such would appear to be the impression on the minds of these dispensers of *justice*. On one occasion, when an indigo-factor ventured to expostulate with the judge in open court, the brutal dignitary ordered his peons to gag him; and the order was actually carried into execution by a brace of the native police pinion-

ing the Englishman, whilst others of their fraternity forced a huge wooden gag into his mouth. This occurred within the last three years, and at no greater distance from Calcutta than a few hundred miles.

The unfair position in which the indigo-planter of Bengal has been thus placed, added to the jealousy with which he has ever been regarded by the zemindars of the country, who feel in him the presence of a dangerous rival for the labour of the ryots, have between them given birth to what is known in India as the "lattia" system; in other words, "club law."

In a country where there exist no hedges, nor other artificial divisions to mark the boundaries of various properties, disputes in regard to fields and crops must frequently occur. In all these cases the zemindars urged on the villagers to acts of aggression and trespass; and at length they went so far as to assemble in large bodies, and, armed with sticks, or "lattials," drove off the planter's people as the indigo was ready for the knife, and seized the produce. The Englishman was not likely to stand quietly by and submit to this injustice. To take the matter into court, supposing him to be within fifty miles of a magistrate, he well knew would be unavailing, worse than useless; he therefore profited by the lesson taught him by the zemindars, and met force by force. Henceforward the "lattia" warfare became a general practice, and, as may be imagined, usually resulting in favour of the planter. Once feeling the necessity for this feudal mode of protection, the English factors spared no pains or cost to perfect themselves in this mode of warfare; and where the zemindar mustered his tens, the planter brought forth his scores. A rupee a head is the usual fee for lattials, who are always to be hired in any number, and who are quite indifferent for whom they fight, so long as the rupee is forthcoming.

This system is, of course, never acknowledged by any concerned; and as regards the "blood-money" for the "lattials," the amount is invariably placed in the planter's monthly account under the head of "cases in court." These affrays do not perhaps occur quite so frequently as of old, nor are they so sanguinary. In the good old days, it was not unusual for half a dozen lives to be sacrificed in such encounters, to say nothing of a hospital full of wounded; and planters are still alive who can relate strange escapes from waylaying parties, or from amidst the flames of a burning bungalow.<sup>3</sup>

Few if any articles of East-Indian produce have formed the basis of such reckless speculation in the commercial world, both in Calcutta

<sup>3</sup> Calcutta Review, vol. vii.

and London, as this one dye. Having almost the entire supply of the manufacturing world dependent upon this article, it follows that any unlooked-for or sudden falling off in the supply of the plant must be sensibly felt; and with a commodity so valuable, the room left for profit in any emergency of this sort is necessarily ample. For many years past speculative men on both sides the world have been in the frequent habit of turning these periodical disturbances in the supply to account; sometimes to their enormous advantage, but as often only to bring ruin on themselves and many others around them. The tone of Indo-British commercial morality we have attempted to illustrate in a separate chapter; and it may suffice in this place to mention, that where natural causes for a rise in the indigo-market did not occur sufficiently frequent for the gambling propensities of some of the Calcutta merchants and bankers, aids were put in requisition, in the shape of false reports of inundations and short crops, or by what is technically termed "working the market," which is simply making speculative purchases of the article, and by these means running up the price sufficiently high to leave a large profit on the transaction; and having done that, selling out by degrees at the ruling rate. It not unfrequently happens that these speculators burn their fingers; and when that is the case, it is fortunate if they have not gambled with the funds of other parties, entrusted to their care, or obtained possession of by some process peculiar to the Calcutta commercial world.

Coeval with the use of other vegetable products for domestic purposes in India appears to have been the employment of the juice of the sugar-cane; though it would not seem that the ancients possessed any knowledge of the process by which this saccharine matter is converted into a crystallised substance. Every mention made of it, from the various passages in Scripture down to the commencement of the Christian era, is simply that of a "sweet cane," or of a "fine kind of honey found in an Indian reed." Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great, was the first who made known the existence of the sugar-cane, in the western world; and from his time we find frequent allusion to this vegetable product, by Theophrastus, Varro, Dioscorides, and others. Herodotus alludes to "honey made by the hands of men;" but enters into no details. Lucan speaks of the sweet juice expressed from reeds, which the people of India were fond of drinking, and which Pliny calls "saccharine." Still later, Arrian, in his *Periplus of the Red Sea*, alludes to the honey from reeds called sacchar, as an article of trade between the Indian ports and the countries of the Red Sea.

The sugar-cane was found growing in the meadows about Tripoli in

Syria; and mention is made by a writer of that day of eleven camels loaded with sugar being taken by the Crusaders. Marco Polo, who travelled in the East in the year 1250, found abundance of sugar produced in the province of Bengal; and from the almost universal growth of the cane in that presidency at the first occupation of the country by the British, there is good reason for believing that its culture had rapidly extended at a very early period. From the earliest European intercourse with India, sugar in a great variety of forms was met with in daily use. No Hindoo lives without it, either as sugar, in its natural state, or in cakes called "jaggery."

Upon the first possession of Calcutta by the Company there was a flourishing export trade in sugar to the Indian coasts, some of the Eastern islands, and a few ports in Arabia and Persia, to the extent of about 1500 tons; whilst the local consumption of the article was enormous.

The quality of this sugar was, however, very inferior; and about the year 1776 some attempts were made to introduce into India the Jamaica mode of growing the cane, and manufacturing the sugar; but at that time these efforts were not attended with any success. The culture of the cane was nevertheless greatly extended; and by the year 1792, when the British duties on tea were reduced, and a consequent increased demand for sugar arose, not only in England but in many parts of Europe, so as greatly to enhance its price, the Company made large shipments of the article home; although all endeavours to get it rated for duty on the same scale as that from the West Indies failed. The price realised in the English market for the Company's sugars was at this time 88s. 6d.; but it rose gradually until it reached 156s. per hundred-weight: a figure which, in spite of discriminating duties and high freights, left to the importers a clear profit of eighty or ninety per cent.

The first agitation against the slave-trade and slave-grown produce helped to bring East-India sugars into more favourable notice; and the result of this growing demand, met by increasing culture in Bengal, was, that from 100 or 200 tons shipped home in 1790, the imports into London from Bengal in 1805 and 1807 amounted to 5000 tons.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The following were the exports of Bengal sugar to Great Britain between the years 1803 and 1810 :

| Years. | Cwts.   | Value.  | Years. | Cwts.   | Value.  |
|--------|---------|---------|--------|---------|---------|
| 1803   | 27,608  | £56,789 | 1807   | 105,755 | 199,873 |
| 1804   | 78,619  | 208,060 | 1808   | 48,499  | 88,016  |
| 1805   | 102,732 | 295,814 | 1809   | 33,617  | 68,750  |
| 1806   | 67,455  | 150,250 | 1810   | 43,236  | 101,040 |

From this time forward the sugar-trade with British India steadily increased: the throwing open of the Indian ports to private ships; the final cessation of the Company's trade; the reduction of the imperial duties on sugar the produce of the British possessions in the East; the failure of the West India plantations, aided by the growing demand for sugars of all kinds,—were all causes that had a sensible influence in bringing this branch of commerce to a degree of importance, which fifty years since could not have been anticipated by the most sanguine.

In 1844 the imports of Bengal and Madras sugars into the port of London alone amounted to 31,000 tons; in 1846 to 44,000 tons; and in 1851 to 43,000 tons; of which 30,000 were from Bengal, and 13,000 from Madras.

The great importance to which the tea-trade of China has attained, and the almost universal employment of the article amongst European nations, as well as the prominent part it plays in yielding large revenues to the government of the various countries consuming it, have for a long period attracted to tea more than an ordinary degree of attention. During the last thirty years much valuable information regarding the natural history and culture of the plant has been placed before the world; and it has been made evident that it is not nearly so delicate or so limited in its geographical distribution as has been generally supposed.\* It has been shewn that it thrives equally well in the vicinity of Canton, and the milder climate of Nankin, as in the northern latitudes of Peking and Japan; embracing, therefore, a distribution over twenty degrees of latitude.

The knowledge of this fact led to an inquiry in India, so long since as 1827, as to the practicability of introducing the culture of the tea-plant into the northern regions of that vast country; and the result was an opinion of the Company's botanist, Dr. Royle, that it might be successfully grown in the north-western portion of the Himalaya districts. He pointed out some localities particularly suited to the experiment in the district of Kumaon, a portion of the province of Delhi, and situated between the 29th and 30th degrees of north latitude, to the north-west of Nepal. This opinion was afterwards backed by the investigations of others, who agreed in the belief that there was no impediment to the successful introduction of the tea-culture in the Himalayan regions beyond the difficulty of obtaining a supply of plants, and some details relative to the Chinese mode of cultivation and curing of the article.

In 1834 Lord William Bentinck formed a committee, with the view of adopting measures for attempting this cultivation in India; and the

\* Royle's *Productive Resources of India*, p. 258.

first step taken was the dispatch of agents to the tea-districts of China, whence a supply of seeds and plants, and much valuable information was brought. Nurseries were formed in Calcutta, and some ten thousand plants were reared, the greater portion of which were dispatched to Kumaon, though but a small fraction of them reached the Himalayas; whilst a quantity was forwarded to the hill districts of the Madras presidency, but without any good results. The plants dispatched northwards were distributed in several directions, and so well did they thrive, that in the year 1838 many of them had produced seed, which was at once sown, and thus formed fresh nurseries.

In the meantime the existence of the tea-plant in a wild state had been ascertained in the upper districts of Assam, one of the north-eastern provinces of the Bengal presidency; and inquiries having been directed to it, evidence was not long wanting to shew that the plant was growing in not less than a hundred different tracts amongst the dense jungles of that country. In 1837, samples of tea, prepared from the wild plants of the Assam district, were forwarded to Calcutta, and favourably reported on.

Observations and researches instituted in the Assam country went to shew that the district really possessed most of the requisites of soil, position, altitude, and climate. Some valuable reports upon the peculiarities of this district, and the results of a number of experiments in the culture of the indigenous plant, were published at intervals between 1837 and 1840; and from these it appears that the best seasons for the manipulation of the tea-crop are in March, May, and July. Every inquiry goes to prove that the greatest success has been attained whenever the culture has been attempted on hilly slopes, or in the vicinity of rivers, with a temperature ranging from  $27^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$ ; indeed, it appears certain that the latter consideration is of far more importance than that of soil.

The China tea-plants introduced into Upper Assam by the instrumentality of the Company's servants have not only thriven remarkably well, but attained a size and vigour unknown to them in their native soil. The first parcels of tea from these districts were highly approved of on their arrival in England, and realised enormous prices, partly owing, in all probability, to their novelty. The result of these sales, however, placed it beyond a doubt that the cultivation of tea could be profitably carried on in that part of India; and, in consequence, a public company, entitled the "Assam Company," was formed for the purpose of carrying on the culture and manufacture of British Indian tea on an extensive scale. The East India Company having thus acted

the part of pioneers, handed over their experimental plantations and establishments to the new company, who have since greatly enlarged the plantations and works, and have succeeded in producing a tea superior to any imported into this country from China, and equalled only by the fewer samples which, under the old company's system, used to be occasionally obtained.

During the first years of their operations, the Assam Company encountered many obstacles, arising from the difficulty of procuring labour in sufficient quantity, from the want of skill of their first managers, and, above all, from the extreme remoteness of their property from all supervision. The formation of a Calcutta committee had obviated the latter evil, whilst the remaining difficulties have been successively overcome by patient perseverance; and the company is now on a most solid foundation, having increased their extent of plantation to twelve hundred acres, with a crop in 1853 calculated at 300,000 lbs., which has hitherto realised fully a third above the China teas.

The produce of the company's tea-crop of 1847 realised 9,728*l.* nett; that of 1848, 12,552*l.*; that of 1849, 16,628*l.*; that of 1850, 18,153*l.*; and that of 1851, as above stated, 22,151*l.* The nett average price per pound in the those years was, for 1847, 1*s.* 4*d.*; 1848, 1*s.* 5½*d.*; 1849, 1*s.* 6¼*d.*; 1850, 1*s.* 6½*d.*; and 1851, 1*s.* 8½*d.*

In the Himalayan districts the labours of the tea-experimentalists have been equally successful with those carried on in the more easterly province of Assam. About the year 1842, the aid of some of the Chinese cultivators, who had been introduced in the Assamese plantations, was obtained for the tea-farmers in the Kumaon district of the Himalayan country; and by their instrumentality a quantity of black tea was produced and dispatched to Calcutta, whence it was shipped to this country, and pronounced superior in strength and flavour to the generality of Souchongs. By the end of the year 1844 these experimental plantations contained upwards of a hundred thousand plants; and two years later they covered nearly two hundred acres, at various altitudes, varying from 2500 to 6500 feet above the sea-level.

In the year 1848 this cultivation was still further extended, reaching to an extent of 1000 acres, not in one immediate neighbourhood, but stretching through many miles of country, and in some parts reaching the recently acquired Sikh territories on the north-west frontiers.

The quantity of tea produced from these plantations must now be of some importance, and although the great distance of these districts

from a port of shipment will always be a barrier to any successful competition with more favoured tea-producing countries, the supply of the local demand, already largely on the increase since this culture has commenced, will of itself prove a trade of no small value. So deeply impressed was the local government with the importance of this new branch of industry, that a grant of ten thousand sterling a year was voted to carry out the experiment until it should, as in Assam, be taken up by private enterprise.

In 1850 the East India Company, determined to lose no opportunity of fully testing the value of this cultivation, dispatched an agent to China to glean all possible information regarding the tea-plant, its natural history, and the manipulation of its leaves; and, if possible, to bring away from the Chinese dominions a fresh supply of plants and seed of the best varieties, as also some experienced cultivators and work-people.

In all these objects their agent was singularly fortunate, having but recently returned to India with a supply of all that was desired, in plants, seed, work-people, and, better still, in accurate data regarding the various processes of the cultivation and manufacture of this article.

The cultivation of coffee in the Indian continent, although frequently and successfully attempted at various periods since 1820, has not until very recently been carried out on any extended scale. In the government botanic gardens in Bengal, and, further south, at Sahrum-pore, the berry has been produced in abundance and of good quality; but, from a variety of causes, no European capitalists appear to have undertaken the cultivation of the plant until the complete success of coffee-planting in the neighbouring island of Ceylon tempted several persons possessing the means, to carry out an enlarged experiment on some of the elevated land of the south-western ghauts of the peninsula. Favoured with a rich and deep soil, abundance of cheap labour, and a suitable climate, the operations of the planters of the ghauts have to this date been eminently successful. Several thousand acres of land have been thus brought under cultivation; and the few samples already grown have been considered equal to much of the ordinary plantation sorts imported into this country.

Coffee is grown by the natives in many parts of India, in Bengal, Arracan, Mysore, Malabar, &c.; but in nearly all instances the article is as inferior to the plantation-grown as are the other native-reared productions of the East, and approaches little nearer to it in quality than does the wild crab approximate to the English garden apple.

The culture of opium is still monopolised by the Company, and, together with the manufacture and sale of salt, forms a striking exception to the unrestricted liberty accorded to private enterprise in India on the renewal of the charter in 1833. Both these monopolies are retained on the plea of revenue ; and certainly, as regards the former little can be said, as it does not belong to the same list of necessaries as salt.

This drug—the produce of the poppy plant, from which it freely exudes under the great heat of the sun when an incision is made in the capsule—is chiefly in demand amongst the Chinese and the inhabitants of Penang and other eastern settlements, where it is used for purposes of intoxication. Indeed, the trade almost entirely depends upon these places ; for nearly nine-tenths of the opium exported from Bengal is shipped to the eastern ports. It has been in vain that the Chinese authorities interdicted the introduction and use of the article under severe penalties ; it was in vain that large quantities of the drug were seized on board British vessels some years since, and destroyed, leading, as this act did, to subsequent hostilities between the two nations ;—the trade flourishes as of old, in all its wonted vigour.

The opium of Patna is more highly esteemed in Europe than that produced at Benares, although both kinds are made up under similar European inspection. The cultivation of the poppy is now restricted to the above two districts, under a system of license from the government, who alone can purchase the produce from the native growers, and have the power of fixing the price at which it is to be sold to them. The interest of the Company is, however, limited to the sale of the opium in Calcutta, where regular periodical auctions are held, and the drug is disposed of to the highest bidders, who ship it on their own account and risk. The difference realised by the government between their fixed purchasing rate from the native growers and the sale-price in Calcutta forms a considerable item in aid of the revenue. Between the years 1792-3 and 1809-10 the amount of revenue from this source varied from 179,950*l.* to 801,467*l.*<sup>6</sup> How vastly the consumption of this drug must have increased in the East may be judged from the fact, that the amount of opium-revenue was, in 1835-6, 1,399,009*l.* ; in 1845-6, it was 2,628,140*l.* ; and in 1849-50, the latest year for which any official returns exist, it was not less than 3,309,637*l.*

The continuance of this monopoly is chiefly defended on the ground that the revenue arising from it does not come out of the pockets of the Company's subjects, but from those of foreigners ; and so far as this goes,

<sup>6</sup> Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 220.

it would appear to be a just ground of defence ; but exposed as the trade ever must be to the interference of the Chinese and other authorities, and so entirely dependent as it is on the fancy and caprice of a people whose rulers prohibit its sale, it must be confessed that the Indian government has placed itself in a critical position by depending for a seventh part of its revenues upon such a hazardous traffic ; and the more so since there is not only no surplus to fall back upon, but a constantly recurring deficiency in the Indian exchequer. Taking this view then of the opium monopoly, it certainly does appear, that the sooner the Company can relieve this portion of its income from such a position, the better will it consult its true interests. A recent mail from China informs us that the emperor, in order to replenish his exhausted treasury, and enable him to prosecute the war against the Chinese rebels, had consented to admit opium through his customs on payment of a certain tax. This, then, legalises its sale within his dominions ; and should he continue the relaxation, there can be very little doubt but that the Chinese cultivators will shortly undertake the growth of the poppy in some of the many districts suited to its development : when this shall be the case, the East India Company may bid adieu to fully two millions of their opium-revenue. Indeed the monopoly will not then be worth the up-keep of the establishment necessary for its preservation.

The opium-revenue is under the supervision of two opium-agents stationed at Patna and Ghazepore, having assistant-agents under them to take cognisance of the culture of the plant and the manufacture of the drug by the ryots, to whom advances have been made, as also to watch that there be no smuggling or illicit production carried on. Extensive stores at both the above places are kept for the reception of the drug, where, previous to its being dispatched to Calcutta for sale, it undergoes a purifying process and careful packing to fit it for the China and European markets.

During the opium-war in China the price of the drug fell so low in Calcutta that the revenue arising from its sale declined from nearly two millions sterling to about three hundred thousand pounds, and there were not wanting those who predicted that, as a matter of income to the government, the cultivation of the poppy would not for the future be worth attending to. Experience has, however, shewn that this was a hastily formed opinion ; for at no period of the history of this article has the trade in it to China been carried on so successfully and so extensively as during the few last years.

Equal in antiquity, though not in extent, to the growth of cotton,

was the production of silk in the countries of the East. Its limited extent, however, and the monopoly of this valuable traffic in the hands of the Phœnicians, and afterwards by the Persians, restricted its employment within the most confined limits. Until the time of the Roman empire, its very existence appears to have been unknown in the West; and when Dionysius, the imperial geographer, who visited the East in the first years of the Christian era, wrote an account of this new and beautiful product, he speaks of it as a precious web, finer than that of the spider, combed by the natives from flowers, and spun into rich garments of great price.

Of the precise period when silk was first introduced into the West we are not informed; but that it must have been excessively dear, and limited in use to but a few persons of great wealth, may be judged from the fact of the Emperor Aurelian refusing to purchase a single dress of purple silk for his empress on the plea of its great cost, as it could not be bought at the price of gold. The very jealousy with which the silk-trade of the East was guarded, proved in the end fatal to its prosperity. Its extreme scarcity and dearness induced two travelling monks, despite the danger of the act, to bring away from the country of their production, a quantity of the eggs of the silkworm, which they contrived to conceal within a hollow cane; and from this first supply were at length produced the vast broods of those valuable worms, whose labours have enriched not only Italy and France, but the manufacturers of many other countries.

Previous to the middle of the eighteenth century, Indian raw silk formed a very inconsiderable portion of the trade from the East. Its great inferiority to the Italian and French article was for a long period a great barrier to the profitable extension of this branch of Indian trade. The factors of the Company did no more than purchase the silk as it reached their hands from the three filatures, whence alone it came in those days. At Cossimbazar, Rungpore, and Commercolly, the natives grew large tracts of the common mulberry-plant, reared their worms, and reeled the produce of the cocoons; but with so small regard to the exigencies of the worms, and so little care bestowed upon the preparation of the silk, as to render it a most unprofitable and troublesome article in the hands of the European manufacturer; so much was this felt, that until the latter part of the last century, Indian silk was employed but for the manufacture of certain inferior minor articles of haberdashery, and never entered into the composition of satins, or silk piece-goods of any kind. One great cause of this inferiority was to be found in the careless method of winding the

silk from the cocoons, which produced such inequality in the thread as to render it all but unserviceable. Besides this, it was loaded with gummy and other extraneous substances, and reeled without the least attention to colour or quality; so that it reached the buyer's hands in hanks comprising all sorts of shades.

This part of their trade proved so annoying, and was attended with such fruitless results, that the Company were at one time on the point of issuing orders to cease all purchases of the article. Instead of acting on this first impulse, the Directors wisely made an effort to remedy the evil complained of, by sending to Bengal one or two persons acquainted with the Italian mode of reeling and assorting silk; these instructors were placed in the heart of the silk-districts, and appear, from after results, not to have laboured in vain. Inducements were at the same time held out to the ryots to extend the cultivation of the mulberry-plant, by allowing them all lands so used free of rent for two years, and afterwards assessing them very moderately. In this manner the silk-trade received an impulse hitherto unknown to it, and the exports of the raw article rose from 80,000 lbs. in 1750, to 320,000 lbs. in 1770.

The partial success which had attended the introduction of a better mode of reeling silk induced the Company to attempt still further reforms; and we accordingly find that in the year 1771 a second supply of practical silk-reelers and mulberry-cultivators from Italy were dispatched to Bengal; proper filatures were established; a better mode of rearing the insects and growing the plants was introduced; and, in addition to these measures, steps were taken to secure a supply of eggs from China, with the view of improving the breed of the Indian worms. Several years elapsed before these improvements were beneficially felt in the quality of the silks imported from Bengal; but that such was the case may easily be seen by the steady increase in the quantity taken by the manufacturers of England, which in 1785 amounted to 576,175 lbs.

The greatest improvement effected by the Company at this period was the total abolition of the contract system, and the substitution for it of agencies throughout the silk-districts, by means of which supplies of the cocoons were constantly obtained from sub-agents called pykars, who received advances in money, and who, in their turn, engaged by similar means for the supply of silkworms from the rearers in the different villages.

The vast improvements effected in England towards the end of the last century in the manufacture of cotton goods tended in a great

measure to check the consumption of the more costly article of silk; and we find that from 500,000 lbs. weight of raw silk sold in 1785, the Company did not dispose of more, on the average, than 300,000 lbs. weight in the years 1800 to 1805.

So much better were the silk transactions of the Company managed at this time, that in spite of this decline in the demand for their goods, their yearly profits gradually increased from a few thousands to the enormous amount of 132,982*l.* in 1801. The gradual decline to a certain date, in the imports of Bengal raw silk, from the cause already assigned, may be seen by the following list of exports to Great Britain, taken at intervals of ten years; and in the same may be observed the effect of the gradual relaxation of the Company's trading monopoly in favour of private merchants. In 1782 there were shipped to England from Bengal, 611,071 lbs.; in 1792, 401,445 lbs.; in 1802, 114,744 lbs.; in 1812, 982,427 lbs.; in 1822, 1,042,617 lbs.; and in 1832, 956,453 lbs.

Some idea of the commercial value of this branch of Indian trade may be formed from the fact, that between the years 1776 and 1785, the raw silk imported by the Company, and in the privileged tonnage by private traders, was worth 3,446,757*l.*; from 1786 to 1803, it amounted to 5,221,596*l.*; and from 1804 to 1810, to 3,115,044*l.*; being during these thirty-five years almost equal to 12,000,000*l.* sterling.

Upon the last renewal of the East India charter in 1833, which provided that the Company should no longer engage in mercantile operations, their extensive and well-organised filatures were put up for sale, and after some delay disposed of to private parties.

These establishments were eleven in number, of which the following gave their names to the particular kinds of silk produced by each of them, and by which those varieties are to this day known in commercial circles; they are Bauleah, Commercolly, Cossimbazar, Hurripaul, Jungypoor, Radnagore, Rungpore, Santipore, and Surdah. Besides the above, the Company possessed a number of hired filatures of less note.

The exportations of Bengal raw silk in 1814-15 amounted in value to 231,271*l.*; in 1827-8 to 855,398*l.*; and in 1837-8 to only 465,451*l.* Bringing down these figures to a more recent date, we find that the silk exports of Calcutta were, during the years 1848-9 and 1849-50, to the value of 714,000*l.* and 655,000*l.* respectively.

Besides the China, or mulberry silkworm, there are several varieties of silk-spinning worms indigenous to India, of which mention is made in some of the earliest records of that country. These have been

described by several scientific writers, and are known amongst the natives as the mooga, the armidy, the tussah, and the joree worms, all producing fibres, which, if not equal in commercial value to those of the mulberry-worm, are nevertheless esteemed and largely employed amongst the inhabitants of the districts in which they are found. These insects inhabit vast tracts of forest in Upper Assam, in the Madras Presidency, and in that of Bombay; and the cloths made from the raw material are in extensive use amongst not only natives but Europeans, who find them most economical and durable for many purposes.

Some idea may be formed of the extent to which these kinds of indigenous silk are produced, when it is stated that in 1837 there were in one district alone not less than 318,772 pieces of tussah silk manufactured. The food of the wild silkworm is obtained from the trees of the forests inhabited by them, and amongst those known as affording them nourishment are the leaves of the jujube, the castor-oil plant, the peepul, or banyan-tree, some of the laurels, and a few other plants.

So early as 1795, some attempt appears to have been made at Bombay to introduce the silk-worm, but evidently without effect; for until 1823 we hear nothing more of the matter, and then it seems to have been attempted at one of the public jails by the labour of the prisoners, the result of which appears to have been the preparation of a few bales of silk for local consumption. Later still, the zeal and industry of an Italian gentleman were brought to bear upon the subject, and under his directions a better cultivation of the mulberry plant, and an improved method of feeding and reeling was introduced, with slow but perfect success.

In Madras this branch of industry met with great encouragement so long since as 1791. No efforts were spared to induce the natives to enter fully into the rearing of the worm and the growth of the plant; and, as the result shews, the success was, if not so great as in Bengal, still sufficiently encouraging.



## CHAPTER IV.

## THE COTTON INDUSTRY OF INDIA, ITS HISTORY, EXTENT, AND PROSPECTS.

FEW subjects have occupied so much of public attention of late years,—have been so frequently discussed in books, in newspapers, and in parliamentary debates, as that of the production of cotton within the territories of the East India Company. None will be disposed to question the great importance of the subject. Whether we regard cotton in its broadest aspect, as affording ample employment to vast numbers of persons in its growth, transport, and shipment; whether we look at it as furnishing food for gigantic manufacturing establishments in the parent country, scattering wealth and happiness in its path; or whether we view it as an article of social moment, ministering to the health and comfort of the entire human race; whether we consider it as a source of revenue, as a staple of trade and manufacture, or as a great help to civilisation and progress,—we cannot but feel that we have to deal with a most important subject.

India was unquestionably the birth-place of cotton cultivation and cotton manufacture. It is mentioned in the institutes of *Menu*, a work composed eight centuries before the Christian era, with many details relative to its manufacture and uses; and although not named in the *Rig Veda*, of still higher antiquity, there is no doubt that in more than one place the thread alluded to was composed of cotton.

Possessing, therefore, so much antiquity, we need not feel astonished that, until the last half century, the culture, trade, and manufacture of cotton in India should have occupied a most important position in the commercial annals of the world. That the production of cotton goods in India would still have stood forward pre-eminently as a branch of industry, had not the modern improvements of machinery in Europe snatched from it all its ancient prestige, there can be but little doubt; although, as regards the cultivation of the raw material, other causes