

he yielded Ahmednugger to the Peishwa, and some extensive districts to the Nizam. But he regained the other places conquered from him in the course of the war. Finally, pressing offers were made to him of a treaty on the same terms as that concluded with the Peishwa, by which he should admit into his territory a subsidiary force that would relieve him to a great extent from the cares of government; but this courtesy was for the present positively declined.

Meantime Holkar, while witnessing the downfall of the other members of the Mahratta confederacy, had maintained a very uncertain and equivocal position. At first he gave them ground to suppose that he would join their league; but on the actual commencement of hostilities he remained inactive, and seemed to watch the opportunity when the other powers should have exhausted themselves by mutual conflict, to throw himself in and secure a preponderance. He was struck with consternation at the victorious career of the English, who proceeded with such rapid steps, that before he could come to any decision they had completely realized their object. He seems then to have shown some disposition to take advantage of the reduced state of Scindia, and to strengthen himself at his expense. That prince at least was so much alarmed, that he accepted the offer made by the Company of a subsidiary force of 6000 men, to be stationed, however, only on his frontier, while their maintenance was to be defrayed out of the districts already ceded. Holkar, seeing himself thus completely hemmed in, and all his schemes of conquest about to be checked by the British, seems to have hastily determined to plunge into a contest with them. He threatened the territory of their ally the Rajah of Jyenagur; he made extravagant and even insulting demands; and in a letter to Sir A. Wellesley, he said, "Countries of many hundred coss shall be overrun and plundered; Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities will fall on lacks of human beings in continual war by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea." At the same time he earnestly invited Scindia, and the other princes who re-

mained still independent, to unite against the English as a common enemy.

The governor-general, in coming to the resolution of opening the campaign against Holkar, considered it necessary not merely to reduce and limit, but altogether to extirpate a power whose existence seemed incompatible with the repose and security of all the other states. To display, however, the disinterested views of the Company, it was determined not to retain any part of the conquered territory, but to distribute it among those chiefs who adhered even formally to her alliance. Scindia was to receive the largest share, provided he gave cordial aid in overthrowing the pretensions of his rival.

Holkar, however, was by no means a contemptible adversary. His cavalry, swelled by the wreck of the other defeated armies, and by numerous adventurers, amounted to 60,000, to which were added 15,000 well-disciplined infantry and 192 pieces of artillery. General Wellesley was unable to advance in consequence of a famine which prevailed in the Deccan; and Lake, after reducing the fort of Rampoora, left Colonel Monson, with five battalions and 3000 horsemen, to watch the enemy's movements. The prudence of this arrangement may be questioned. Holkar, who was a second Hyder for desultory warfare, succeeded in bringing his whole force to act against this single detachment; yet it has been supposed, that, had Monson promptly led his men to the charge, he might have encountered with success the large undisciplined host opposed to him. But he resolved upon retreat, a movement always disastrous before Mahratta forces, which of all others are the most rapid and vindictive pursuers. Everything, besides, combined to render his march unfortunate; the swelling of the rivers, the inundated and swampy plains, the scarcity of provisions, the desertion or hostility of the native troops, among whom was a strong party belonging to Scindia. These last, in the hour of distress, turned their arms against the British, whom they had undertaken to assist. The detachment, indeed, did not forfeit their honour, having triumphantly repulsed

every attack ; but they lost all their artillery and baggage ; many of the sick, the exhausted, and the wounded, were left behind, and cut to pieces ; and when, on the 31st August 1804, they reached Agra, most of the regiments were in a state of total disorganization.

Holkar advanced upon Muttra and took possession of it ; but General Lake now proceeded with the utmost expedition from Cawnpoor, and having assembled his forces at Secundra, marched against the Mahratta army, which at once relinquished its position. The Indian chief, however, contrived, by alternately advancing and retreating with his cavalry, to occupy the attention of the British commander ; while his infantry, by a rapid movement, succeeded in reaching Delhi, which they immediately invested on the 8th October. The city, ten miles in circumference, with a ruinous wall, was guarded only by a small body of sepoys. Lieutenant-Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, however, led on these troops with such spirit and judgment, that all the enemy's attacks were repulsed, and after seven days of persevering efforts, they were obliged to raise the siege.

Lake, on receiving intelligence of the danger of Delhi, hastened to that capital, which he reached on the 17th October. Learning there that Holkar with his cavalry had begun a course of devastation along the Doab, he set out in pursuit of him. He sent at the same time his infantry, under General Fraser, to attack that of the enemy now stationed at Deeg, a strong fort belonging to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who, on seeing the scale of fortune turn against the English, had embraced the opposite interest. Fraser found them on the 13th, skilfully intrenched under the stronghold just named, their front covered by a morass, and their left by a fortified village. The battle which followed was a repetition of the usual scene ; the English rushing on in the face of a destructive cannonade, and suffering severely till they came to close quarters, then charging with the bayonet, and carrying all before them. Here there were successive lines of guns, which it was necessary to capture by repeated assaults. The general, a very

gallant officer, received a wound that obliged him to quit the field, and afterwards proved mortal; the victory was completed by Colonel Monson. This action, like that of Assaye, was distinguished by a stratagem on the part of the Indian cavalry. Wheeling round and recovering several of the first line of guns, they turned them on the English rear; but they were soon chased off the field by twenty-eight men of the 76th, headed by Captain Norford, who, however, lost his life in the performance of this memorable exploit. At length the enemy were driven to the walls of the fort, with the loss of the greater part of their artillery, among which Monson recognised a portion of that lost during his late unfortunate retreat.

Meantime the gallant Lake was in hot pursuit of the Mahratta chief, following him at the rate of twenty-three miles a-day; and at length, by marching fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours, he came up with him on the 17th November, encamped under the walls of Furruckabad. The Indian horse, which never could stand a charge in the field, were routed, 3000 cut to pieces, and the rest saved only by the rapidity of their flight. Holkar then proceeded towards Deeg to join the remains of his infantry; and the British general arriving at that fortress on the 1st December, determined immediately to undertake the siege. Ten days, however, elapsed before the battering-train could be brought from Agra, and thirteen days more before a breach could be effected in a detached work which commanded the approach. It was then carried by storm on the night of the 23d, and the enemy were so struck by the daring intrepidity of the assailants, that, in the course of the two following days, they evacuated both the town and fort, and retreated towards Bhurtpore.

Holkar was now about to sustain a complete reverse of fortune. While the strength of his army was broken by recent defeats, his dominions, whence he might have drawn recruits and resources, had fallen into the enemy's possession. Colonel Wallace from the Deccan had reduced Chandore and the other strongholds in that quarter, while Colonel Murray from Guzerat, having overrun

nearly the whole of Malwa, and entered Indore the capital, was already preparing to intercept his retreat. The only point of resistance was Bhurtpore, the rajah of which still adhered to his alliance; and the reduction of that city was therefore considered necessary to complete the triumph over this turbulent chieftain. At first sight, the place did not present a very formidable aspect to an army before which many of the mightiest bulwarks of India had fallen. It was encircled by none of those rugged steepes which guarded the approach to Gwalior and Asseerghur. The only works were a lofty mud-wall and a broad ditch not easily fordable; and the very extent of its walls, which embraced a circumference of six or eight miles, increased the difficulty of protecting them. But the rajah applied himself to its defence with the utmost skill and resolution: the kingdom of the Mah-rattas, he observed, was in their saddle; his was within his ramparts. Hitherto, in general, the reduction even of the strongest forts had proceeded in a sure and regular course; the trenches were opened, a storming-party was selected, who forced their way with greater or smaller loss, and were masters of the place. But the defenders of Bhurtpore not only fought with the most daring valour, but called into action means of defence and annoyance which our people had never elsewhere encountered, and for which they were wholly unprepared. They rendered the breach impracticable, by raising behind it stockades and other bulwarks; they made the ditch unfordable, by damming up the waters; and during the assault, logs of wood, pots filled with combustibles, and burning cotton-bales steeped in oil, were thrown down upon the soldiers. In short, the British were repulsed in four successive attempts, sustaining in killed and wounded a loss of 3203,—greater than had occurred in any two battles during this obstinately disputed campaign. Even their glory was somewhat tarnished. The 76th, hitherto the bravest among the brave and the foremost in every triumph, along with the 75th, refused on one occasion to follow their officers, after the 12th Bengal sepoy had planted the colours on the top of the rampart. Being

bitterly reproached by General Lake for having thus caused the failure of the assault, they were overpowered with shame, and entreated to be led to a last attack, in which they displayed a desperate but useless valour.

It was now necessary to intermit the operations of the siege in order to repair the losses sustained, and to bring forward more adequate means of attack. The rajah, however, apprehensive of the final issue, and seeing that certain ruin must accompany the fall of his capital, made very advantageous overtures, including the payment of twenty lacks of rupees as the price of peace; while, on the other hand, the situation of affairs was such as induced the English general, on the 10th April, to embrace the conditions, and even to promise, in case of a steady adherence to treaty, the restoration of the fortress of Deeg.

Holkar, during the siege, had made several exertions to interrupt or retard it by movements with his cavalry. He partly succeeded; but a large body of his men under Ameer Khan was entirely defeated, and some smaller detachments suffered so severely, that at length they fled at the mere sight of their antagonists. This chief, therefore, after being deserted by the Rajah of Bhurtpore, was reduced almost to the condition of a fugitive; and his situation seemed altogether desperate, when relief came from an unexpected quarter.

Scindia, who had been strongly affected on witnessing the commencement of the war by Holkar, and the brilliant successes with which he had opened the campaign, evidently cherished the idea of seizing this opportunity to retrieve his own fortunes; but the indecisive character of Indian councils caused him to advance towards his object only by tardy and circuitous steps. He began by raising his demands upon the British; he marched his troops towards their frontier, and when remonstrated with, delayed upon various pretexts to withdraw them. At length, when Holkar, after the peace made by the Bhurtpore rajah, was retreating in a shattered and reduced condition, he received him into his camp; having already committed the almost unprecedented outrage of

plundering the abode and seizing the person of the British Resident.

Lord Lake, as the rainy season now approached, could not immediately follow the two hostile chiefs into the heart of their territories. Their power, however, was so completely broken, that he entertained no doubt of soon reducing them to submission; but at this crisis the whole system of our policy respecting India underwent an important change.

The vast scheme of conquest and subsidiary alliance, by which Marquis Wellesley had studied to place this great eastern empire under British control, had excited in the mother country a very deep sensation. The public were, to a certain degree, dazzled with its splendid success; yet a numerous body of politicians exclaimed that this course was contrary to all true principles of policy,—that it formed an interminable system of war,—that the Company, in seating themselves upon the throne of the Mogul, and endeavouring to effect the conquest of all Hindostan, had entirely relinquished the basis on which they had uniformly professed to act. The contest with Holkar, breaking out with so formidable an aspect after all the others had closed, gave rise to painful feelings as to the endless duration of Indian hostility. The Directors, strongly influenced by public opinion, and struck by the enormous expenditure in which the campaign had already involved them, determined to change entirely the system on which their affairs were conducted. Accordingly, in place of the Marquis Wellesley, who, with or without reason, had acquired the reputation of a war-governor, they substituted the Marquis Cornwallis. This nobleman had not, indeed, while in power, pursued a course materially different; yet his character was generally esteemed moderate and conciliatory, and he was understood to disapprove of the extent to which conquest had now been carried. His instructions were to proceed on principles every way opposite to those of his predecessor,—to conclude peace almost at any price,—to form a defensive line beyond which English interference was not to extend; and to allow the native powers to treat and

to fight with each other as if situated at the extremity of the globe.

The Courts of Directors and Proprietors voted thanks to the Marquis Wellesley for his zeal, vigour, activity, and ability, to which they attributed in a great measure the brilliant successes which had crowned the British arms. They qualified the vote, however, by stating, that it was "without entering at present into the origin and policy of that war." This reservation was deeply felt by the marquis, who intimated that, while the votes of thanks to the commanders had been communicated in general orders to the army, and in an extraordinary gazette, he considered it his duty to forego the gratification of publishing his own. These expressions would, he thought, convey a universal impression of doubt and uncertainty respecting all the recent arrangements, and the permanency of all treaties with the native powers. He pressed the question home upon the courts, by observing, "the general fame of your equity and magnanimity precludes any supposition, that in condemning the justice of our cause, you would retain the fruits of our success."

Admitting that the policy of Marquis Wellesley was not quite so pacific as his friends contended, it was very doubtful how far it could now with safety, or even with justice, be thus abruptly relinquished. A great power can seldom be justified in withdrawing from all concern in the contests of its neighbours, from endeavouring to protect the weak against the strong, and thereby preventing any one of them from acquiring a decided preponderance. It was perhaps chimerical to suppose that the principal native chiefs would cultivate habits of sincere peace, or entertain a solid attachment for the British government. They were for the most part usurpers, who had started up amid the ruins of one great empire; each seeking to aggrandize himself at the expense of the rest, and viewing undivided dominion as a prize at which he might aim. They had all, however, through the interposition of the Company, seen their aspiring views checked or baffled, their armies vanquished, and some of the brightest jewels plucked from

their diadems. There could be little doubt, therefore, that when left to themselves there would be a struggle for the mastery; and that either by him who should succeed in this object, or by a league of all united, an effort would be made to overthrow the ascendancy of England, and to regain the possessions which she had wrested from them. According to the advocates of the Wellesley policy, the system pursued by that nobleman was so far advanced towards maturity that only one effort, of easy and assured success, was necessary to place all India in a state of tranquillity, and to keep down those discordant elements which would otherwise lay waste the country itself. By stopping short at this point, great part of the empire was involved in calamity and disorder, and the foundation laid for another expensive and even perilous struggle.

Lord Wellesley, owing to the state of his health, had announced the necessity of returning to Europe as soon as the contest with Scindia and the Rajah of Berar should have been brought to a termination. On learning, however, the rupture with Holkar, he intimated his willingness to remain, and bring it also to a close: but the views of the government at home were different. On the 30th July 1805, Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta; where, learning that the war was still going on, he determined to proceed immediately into the upper provinces, and make personal inquiry into the state of affairs. In his zeal for the public service, however, and to fulfil the anxious wish of his countrymen, he had undertaken this duty at a period when his age and infirmities rendered him very unequal to its performance. Under the fatigue of the voyage his illness daily increased, till on reaching the village of Gazipoor on the Ganges, he was obliged to land, and after lingering some time, died on the 5th of October. Having been unable to reach his destination, while his mind as well as body were impaired by indisposition, he had been little able to receive or consider any fresh information. His place was supplied by Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the supreme council, who had reached that station through various gradations of ser-

vice, which he had filled with ability and distinction. Regarding with the deepest respect the views of his predecessor, considering them as supported by the government at home, and compelled by the exhausted state of the public treasury, which threatened to bring all the affairs of government to a stand-still, and even to move our own troops to lay down their arms, he refused to listen to any arguments, or admit any of the modifications suggested by Lord Lake.

That commander, although he disapproved of the new system, finding it was firmly established by the supreme power, judiciously sought to carry it into effect on the most advantageous footing. He managed, with great address, to draw the first overtures from Scindia; and as it had been determined to yield all the points in dispute, no difficulty was found in the conclusion of a treaty on the 23d November 1805. The Mahratta leader obtained the highly important fortress of Gwalior, which he made his residence and capital; the Chumbul was fixed as the boundary between his possessions and those of the British, who agreed to dissolve their alliance with the Rajpoot princes and others whom he claimed as tributaries. This last measure was in accordance with the new political system; yet in the case of the Rajahs of Boondee and Jyepore, who on the ground of this connection had performed important services, it was considered scarcely compatible with national faith.

Holkar, after being deserted by his ally, retreated with the wrecks of his army into the western provinces to seek refuge among the Seiks. They refused to receive him; and, being closely pursued by Lord Lake, he must have been reduced to extremities had he not been saved by the new policy which the military commanders were compelled to observe. No sooner did he ask for peace than it was granted, on terms so advantageous as allowed him to regain almost all that he had lost during the war.

Amid this general dissolution of defensive alliances, those formed on the great scale with the Nizam and the Peishwa necessarily came under consideration. The connexion with the latter, founded

on the treaty of Bassein, and out of which the late war had arisen, was described by the Company as one which they were desirous to relinquish. Yet even Sir George Barlow, when he came to consider the proposed measures, could not but view them as fraught with extreme peril. To dissolve the alliance with these potentates, and to withdraw the troops by which they were at present overawed, would have been to relieve the greater part of the powers of India from British control, while they were still animated by the most hostile feelings towards her; it would, in fact, have been to lay the foundation of a future confederacy for her downfall. The Peishwa, likewise, notwithstanding his general aversion to the English, had motives, connected with the internal state of his dominions, which made him desirous, for the present at least, to claim on that ground the fulfilment of the treaty of Bassein.

Sir George Barlow was succeeded in 1807 by Lord Minto, a prudent and intelligent nobleman, who endeavoured in his general system to maintain the pacific policy recommended by the Company, without shrinking from vigorous and even hostile demonstrations, when the conduct of the native powers appeared to render these necessary. The great states during his administration retained their position nearly unaltered; but animosities continued to ferment, which were destined to burst into a violent tempest, and to involve India afresh in a sanguinary war.

CHAPTER XV.

PINDARREE WAR—CONQUEST OF THE MAHRATTAS, ETC.

Progress of the Pindarrees—Their Character—Ameer Khan—Arrangements with the Peshwa—Trimbuckjee—He Murders the Guzerat Minister—Is delivered up to the English—Escapes—Concessions required from the Peshwa—Marquis of Hastings arrives in India—Rupture with Nepal—Death of General Gillespie—Successes of Ochterlony—Negotiations—Renewal of the War—Final Treaty—Alliance formed with Berar—Irruptions of the Pindarrees—Opening of the Campaign against them—Treaties with Scindia and Ameer Khan—The Cholera attacks the Grand Army—Rise and Diffusion of that Malady in India—Alarming Accounts from Poonah—Operations against the Pindarrees—The Adherents of Holkar join them—Battle of Mehidpoor—Treaty—Final Catastrophe of the Pindarree Chiefs—Movements of the Peshwa—He attacks the English—His Repulse and continued Flight—Repeated Defeats—Surrender—Intrigues at Nagpore—The Rajah attacks the English—Issue of the Contest—His Escape—Contest with Bhurtpore—Disturbances in Bengal and the Circars—Campaign against Coorg—Troubles at Gwallor—Joudpore—Jeypore—Lord Bentinck succeeded by Lord Auckland—Contest with Goomsoor—Succession of Oude—Charges against the Rajah—His Deposition—Discussions on the subject—Local Disturbances in India.

IN the aspect which India at this period exhibited, the most remarkable feature consisted in the marauding habits of the people by whom so large a portion of it was occupied. A new power which rose without any basis to rest upon, without country or territory to claim for its own, and without any regular place in the political system, was chiefly supported by the roving tribes named Pindarrees, who carried to an extreme all the predatory usages characteristic of Mahrattas. The latter, indeed, regarded plunder as an essential part of their policy; still they had a country and a home to which they were fondly attached; and they had regular occupations which they followed in the intervals, unconnected with their more violent pursuits. Their chiefs aimed not merely to enrich themselves by booty, but also to attain political power. The Pindarrees, on the contrary, were nothing more than robbers, elevated by their number into armies; and their boast was, not that they were able to encounter disciplined troops, but that they could elude them. If overtaken or surprised, the point of honour was, who should flee the most swiftly. No barrier

arrested them ; they penetrated the closest chain of military posts, finding a way even between the divisions of an army drawn up to oppose them ; they desolated the countries in the rear ; after which, making an immense circuit, they returned home by a different route. Their aim was, not to possess a district, but to sweep away all that was in it. Obligated to pass with a celerity almost preternatural, and to employ expeditious modes of extracting treasure, they inflicted the most merciless tortures to compel the owners to yield up their concealed hoards. Redhot irons were applied to the soles of the feet ; oil was thrown on the clothes, and inflamed ; the head was tied into a bag filled with hot ashes and dust. The proudest exploit of a Pindarree was to steal a horse ; and this operation was conducted with a dexterity which might put to shame the most skilful of their fraternity in Europe. They could carry one off from amid a crowded camp : stretched on their bellies they crept to the spot, and lay concealed till a favourable moment, when they cut the cords, mounted, and galloped off among the bushes with a rapidity that defied pursuit. When an enemy was distant, they divided into small parties, moving in a circular direction, so as to sweep the whole country. Their numbers were continually augmented by disbanded soldiers, and by persons of idle and desperate character. The leaders annually raised their standard on the northern bank of the Nerbudda at the termination of the rains, that they might be ready, as soon as the rivers should become fordable, to commence a general movement.

The Patan and other Mohammedan troops, who, in the wreck of all the thrones occupied by their countrymen, had no longer a sovereign in whose service to fight, afforded another source whence predatory squadrons were formed and recruited. Most of them rallied round Ameer Khan, a bold and enterprising chief, who in the late war had fought under the banner of Holkar. He still retained his allegiance to that house, and attempted to direct its councils ; but his main object was, with his chosen band of about 12,000 horse and 200 pieces of artillery, to overawe and extort

contributions from the Rajpoot and other petty states in this part of India. Though equally destitute of fixed possessions, and as much devoted to plunder as the Pindarrees, he acted more systematically, and aimed at the attainment of political influence; yet, in Sir John Malcolm's opinion, the Mohammedans, from their tendency to sink into indolence and luxury, are less to be dreaded than the Hindoos, who, though they yield for the moment, pursue their object, on the whole, with unwearied perseverance.

Though Ameer Khan formed a power distinct from the Pindarrees, he easily attracted large bodies of them to any enterprise that promised to gratify their appetite for plunder. Such was the expedition which, in 1809, he undertook against Berar, then governed by an effeminate, unwarlike sovereign; and he would have succeeded in subverting that monarchy, had not Lord Minto wisely departed from his strictly defensive system. A strong detachment under Colonel Close was despatched into the territory of Nagpore, which, it was notified to Ameer, was under British protection. That adventurer made a blustering and indignant reply, but was soon, by a variety of circumstances, compelled to retreat into Malwa; and the governor-general, on farther consideration, gave up the design which he had once entertained, of finally crushing him.

The arrangements with the Peishwa, meantime, proceeded also in a very unsatisfactory manner. That prince began, indeed, by courting the English, and even soliciting the continuance of their subsidiary force in his territory; but his object was to regain the control which he had almost entirely lost over his own dominions. Besides the provinces possessed by Scindia and other independent princes, numerous districts, especially in the south, had been parcelled out into *jaghires*, which, like the European fiefs in the Middle Ages, were held on the mere tenure of homage and military service. To make the resemblance more complete, the jaghirdars, during the recent period of public confusion, had secured for themselves a condition of almost complete independence. The Company felt considerable difficulty when importuned for aid

against these chiefs, with many of whom, during the late exigencies, they had formed an alliance; notwithstanding, they agreed to enforce over them the authority of the Peishwa, not as an absolute sovereign, but as their liege lord. As these proud dependants, however, were little inclined to own even this imperfect obligation, they imposed on their head the frequent necessity of calling upon his allies to support his claims, and of declaring their possessions forfeited. Thus, in a few years, principally through the aid or fear of our countrymen, he had reduced most of these retainers, and enriched his treasury by extensive confiscation. Having completely recovered his power and provided the necessary funds, he resolved at once to shake off also the British yoke, and to re-establish his influence over the great feudatories of the Mahratta state. For this purpose he availed himself of the services of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, a bold, able, but very dissolute minister, raised from the lowest ranks, and entirely devoted to his master's purposes. The British Resident from the first viewed with umbrage the elevation of this personage, and was soon brought into direct collision with him. The Peishwa, among his other plans of aggrandizement, had revived certain ancient claims on the *Guickwar* or sovereign of Guzerat, with whom also the Company had formed a subsidiary alliance. As the negotiations on this subject became extremely intricate, it was agreed that Gungadhur Sastree, the prime minister of that state, should repair to the court of Poonah, and endeavour to place them on an intelligible basis; having, however, previously obtained a safe conduct from the English. From being supposed favourable to our interests, as well as from some personal causes, he incurred the enmity of Trimbuckjee and the Peishwa; and to gratify their revenge, they prevailed upon him to accompany them to Punderpoor, where a religious festival of peculiar solemnity was to be celebrated. After their arrival Gungadhur, though indisposed, was induced to repair to the temple with a few unarmed attendants. On the way certain persons were heard asking in a whispering tone which was the Sastree; to this it was answered that it was he who wore

the necklace; but the question, it was imagined, was prompted by mere curiosity. The minister, having performed his devotions, was returning with a diminished escort, when several men, with long twisted cloths used for the purpose, called aloud to clear the way; and the Sastree being thus left alone, they rushed upon him with drawn swords, and quickly pierced him with numerous wounds. Everything conspired to render it manifest that Trimbuckjee was the author of this daring crime; for the assassins, who had left him in the temple, were seen running back with naked weapons. On the most trivial pretexts, however, he declined to submit to any formal investigation. In short, the inquiries of Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident, left no room to doubt that he was the direct instigator of the murder, and had obtained the full consent of Bajee Rao to its perpetration.

The British minister, on this emergency, determined to adopt the most decisive measures, and, with the view of giving effect to the negotiation, ordered the auxiliary force to approach nearer to Poonah. The Peishwa, evidently apprehensive of being personally charged with the deed, evaded, on various grounds, all communication on the subject. At length two persons in his confidence waited on the Resident, apparently with a view to sound his intentions. Mr. Elphinstone allowed them to understand that there was no design of fixing the crime upon the Peishwa; indeed, when he made any allusion to the rumour of Bajee's guilt, it was with the air of entire disbelief, and only to show the necessity of his disproving it by bringing the real offender to justice. It was demanded that Trimbuckjee, who was openly charged with the murder, should, with his two principal accomplices, be placed in close confinement to await a full investigation. The prince studiously employed every expedient to save his favourite; sometimes endeavouring to justify him, and at other times declaring it beyond his power to effect his arrest. The suspicion thus afforded of a determination to screen the offender, induced the Resident, with the concurrence of the governor-general, to demand that he should be delivered into British custody. This proposal was of course

still more revolting to the Peishwa, who began to augment his troops; and it was understood that he was on the point of making common cause with his minister,—to flee with him from the capital, and endeavour to raise the Mahrattas against the Company. Mr. Elphinstone then considered it indispensable to order the subsidiary force to march upon Poonah; but Bajee Rao, when he saw the sword about to be drawn, lost courage, and Trimbuckjee was delivered into the hands of the English. This they esteemed an important triumph, having long foreseen that they must ultimately come to a rupture with this person, who had shown a disposition the most evidently hostile; yet to have driven him from power, merely because he supported his master's interests and opposed a foreign influence, would have been extremely odious in the eyes of the nation. But the crime with which he stood charged, being aggravated in the view of the natives by every possible circumstance, as having been committed on a Bramin of high sanctity, and within the precincts of one of their holiest shrines, threw a great degree of popularity on the vigorous steps taken by the Resident for its punishment.

Our countrymen conducted their prisoner to the strong fortress of Tannah in the island of Salsette, and watched him so narrowly that they did not admit a single native into the guard. But this excessive precaution was perhaps the very circumstance which defeated their object. The vicinity was filled with the minister's adherents; and a groom in the service of one of the British officers, in passing near the terrace where the accused was allowed to walk, chanted gaily what was supposed to be a Hindoo song, but which really communicated a plan contrived for his escape. Through a small gap in the wall of the edifice, he reached a stable; and not being missed for a few minutes, succeeded in crossing the narrow channel which separates Salsette from the continent. He immediately hastened to the southern districts, where he began to levy troops, and raise the whole country against the English.

The Peishwa disavowed all knowledge of the course taken by Trimbuckjee after his escape, as well as of the place of his retreat;

and as no proof could be obtained of the falsehood of this declaration, the good understanding between the two states was not at first interrupted. Bajee's conduct, however, became more and more unsatisfactory. Troops were indeed sent, ostensibly to put down the insurrection; but they reported that they could not find an enemy; and, in fact, they held a friendly communication with the very individual whose plans they professed to oppose. The British Resident farther learned that the prince was in active correspondence with the insurgents; that he had held an interview with Trimbuckjee at a village seventeen miles from Poonah; and had even forwarded to him liberal supplies of money; being at the same time employed in military preparations, with the intention, as was suspected, of co-operating with him. Secret negotiations were also carried on with Scindia, Holkar, and other Mahratta chiefs, for the purpose of uniting the whole confederation for the overthrow of British power. All remonstrances relative to these proceedings having been met by a positive denial, as well as by a refusal to adopt any of the measures demanded as proofs of an amicable disposition, it was thought inconsistent with sound policy to allow this combination to reach maturity. Mr. Elphinstone ordered the subsidiary force to advance upon Poonah, and gave notice to the Peishwa that hostilities would commence within twenty-four hours, unless three of his strongest fortresses, Singurh, Rayree, and Poorundur, should be provisionally placed in the hands of the English, and assurance given that within a month Trimbuckjee would be again delivered up. Bajee Rao delayed some time to give any answer; but at length, with that infirmity of purpose which usually appeared in the hour of danger, he agreed unconditionally to all these terms. The fortresses were surrendered, and a price set on the head of the minister. Still the Resident gave warning that these concessions could not be considered as final; and that the Peishwa, having forfeited the confidence of the Company, could not expect the treaty of Bassein to be renewed, unless under modifications, the extent of which must depend upon the next despatch from the governor-general.

Accordingly it was soon after announced, that amicable relations could only be restored on the following terms:—That the subsidiary force should be augmented by 5000 horse and 3000 infantry, for the maintenance of which, territories yielding a revenue of thirty-four lacks of rupees must be ceded; that in this cession the strong city of Ahmednugger should be included; that his highness should renounce the character of head of the Mahratta confederacy, and cease to hold direct communication with any of the native powers. These severe conditions the Peishwa sought by every effort to mitigate or elude; but as the Resident remained inflexible, a treaty to this effect was signed on the 13th June 1817.

In carrying on the narrative of the transactions at Poonah, we have been led beyond the commencement of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, who arrived in the end of the year 1813. The Company, in appointing to this high station so eminent a military character, seemed to intimate a conviction that the pacific or merely defensive policy on which they had for some time acted could not be much longer maintained. Lord Hastings in fact soon indicated a disposition to resume the more active scheme of government so ably pursued by the Marquis Wellesley. He appeared resolved to suppress the growing power of the predatory associations; to renew the alliances with the Rajpoot and other minor chiefs; and generally to establish the control of the English over the Indian states. But his attention was for a time drawn off by movements in a new and somewhat unexpected quarter.

The extensive region which slopes downward from the summit of the Himalayah to the plain of Hindostan has always been occupied by fierce and warlike tribes. Being, as described in a former chapter, broken into a number of narrow valleys separated by steep and lofty ridges, it had been parcelled out among various independent chiefs, never before united in such a way as to prove dangerous to the central kingdoms. Lately, however, the Goorkhas, a rude but brave race of men, led by a warlike commander, had conquered the valleys of Nepaul, the finest which intersect that magnificent range of mountains. Thither they transferred

the seat of their government, and having by a skilful policy conciliated the neighbouring princes, had made this acquisition a step to farther conquest. They accordingly proceeded to subdue different tracts, till their territory extended above 800 miles in length, and comprehended nearly the whole Alpine region of Northern India. They then cast a longing eye towards the wide plain that spreads beneath, covered with all the riches of tropical cultivation, and capable of affording an ample revenue. Being generally superior to the native troops, both in courage and discipline, they might perhaps in favourable circumstances have founded an empire equal to that of Aurengzebe. They had, however, to encounter, not the fallen fragments of Mogul greatness, nor the loose squadrons of Mahratta horse, but the disciplined strength of that new power which had become paramount in Hindostan. The British, by the numerous victories gained in the late war, had extended their boundaries along nearly the whole line of this mountain-domain. The Goorkhas, on seeing their career thus checked, hesitated for some time whether they should commit themselves against so formidable an adversary. Meanwhile they appropriated certain small portions of territory, to which, by the vague tenures prevalent in that country, they could found some ancient claim. Repeated complaints being made, they at length agreed that deputies from either side should meet in order to examine and decide the pretensions to the land in dispute. The commissioners assembled; but those of Nepaul, it is alleged, showed a singular insensibility to the clearest proof of the total absence of right on their part to the favoured spots of which they had taken possession; and even where they were obliged to yield, the supreme authority evaded or retracted its sanction. At length the governor-general, considering the claim to a particular district most clearly established, sent a detachment, which provisionally occupied it, till these endless discussions should terminate. The Nepaulese did not at first oppose this movement; but as soon as the troops had retired during the unhealthy season, leaving only a small party to guard the frontier, they advanced in force and

drove them out, killing and wounding several of their number. After this there was no longer room to hesitate as to the immediate necessity of warlike operations.

Ameer Sing, the able and enterprising commander of the Nepaulese, on grounds which it seems impossible fully to understand or justify, had taken post on the western extremity of their conquests. Lord Hastings, who, in 1814, sent into the field a force of 30,000 men, availing himself of the position assumed by the enemy, formed the plan of enclosing his army, and cutting it off from the central territories. Generals Ochterlony and Gillespie, at the head of their respective divisions, marched, the one to attack Ameer in front, the other to occupy the passes by which he might effect his retreat. The latter speedily penetrated into the Deyra Dhoon, one of the finest valleys which diversify the Himalayah, and the main channel of communication between the eastern and western districts. Somewhat unexpectedly he found this passage commanded by the fortress of Kalunga, or Nalapane, rendered formidable, not by artificial bulwarks, but by its situation on the top of a hill, where it could only be approached through a thick and entangled jungle. That gallant officer, however, perceiving that it formed the key of the territory, hesitated not to commence an attack. He divided his army into four detachments, which, advancing from different points, were to meet at the summit, and engage in a common assault. Such a plan is at first view imposing; yet it appears founded on false principles, and in practice is likely to prove extremely perilous. The chances are many that the different corps will not all reach their destination at the same moment; and if one arrive before the others, it will have to encounter the united resistance of the enemy's force. Such was the case now; one division, making their way through every difficulty, arrived in front of Kalunga before they could be supported by the rest of the army. The general then came up, and seeing his troops thus exposed to the whole fire of the besieged, led them at once to the assault, hoping, with this corps alone, to carry the place. They accordingly dislodged the outposts, and arrived

under the very walls; but were twice driven back by showers of grape-shot, arrows, and destructive missiles peculiar to Indian warfare. Gillespie, nevertheless, determining to carry the fort or die, placed himself at the head of the storming-party, and cheered them on, waving his hat, and pointing with his sword to the gate. At this moment a ball pierced his heart,—he fell; and all hopes of success were at once abandoned. The arrival of another division served merely to cover the retreat of the former. Colonel Mawbey, however, who succeeded to the command, felt deeply the importance that this first and great military operation should not be finally abortive; but he was obliged to delay his meditated attack till a battering-train was procured from Delhi. Three days afterwards a breach was effected, and an assault commenced, under the command of Major Ingleby; but the resolute defence, and formidable fire of the garrison, again baffled every effort. The batteries, notwithstanding, continued to play till the walls, which were by no means lofty, were reduced almost to a heap of ruins; and the natives then evacuated the place which they had so gallantly defended. General Martindale, who now took the command, advanced to attack the enemy stationed at the strong fort of Jytuk; but here again the British troops, through their too impetuous valour, were thrown into confusion, and obliged to fall back with considerable loss. At the same time, the army which was attempting to penetrate direct into Nepal through the district of Sarun had two of its detachments surrounded and cut off; on which account operations on that side were completely paralyzed.

These events produced an alarming sensation at Calcutta, while they were received with the highest exultation in all the native courts, which were watching for an opportunity to effect the downfall of British power in India. Movements were made by Scindia and other princes, which seemed to call for an increase of the corps of observation stationed in their territories. Yet the Marquis of Hastings, judiciously considering that to obtain some decisive success over the Nepalese and compel them to sue for peace was

the only mode by which the evil could be remedied, augmented and concentrated his force already stationed on the theatre of war. General Ochterlony, hitherto checked by the losses of the division that was to act in combination with him, began vigorous operations on the offensive. He had already compelled Ameer Sing to retire from the heights of Ramghur to those of Malown, which were also exceedingly strong. He had likewise reduced Ramghur, Bellaspore, and the other fastnesses that commanded this mountain-region. At the same time the province of Kemaon being left unprotected, a detachment was sent under Colonel Nicolls, who besieged, and, on the 25th April 1815, took Almora, its capital. Ameer, now closely confined to his fortified post at Malown, was obliged to capitulate, though on honourable terms, being allowed to join the main army with the troops under his charge.

The government of Nepaul were so deeply discouraged by these reverses, that notwithstanding the opposition of several chiefs, and particularly of Ameer Sing, who proposed even to seek support from the Emperor of China, they determined to open a negotiation. The terms demanded by Lord Hastings were high,—including the cession of all the provinces conquered in the west, and also of the Teraee or border of jungle which extends along the base of the mountains. This last article formed the chief obstacle to the treaty, not so much on account of the actual value of the territory, as because most of the principal chiefs at court had in it assignments of land from which they derived their income. The marquis, considering the point to be of little consequence, had made up his mind, and given directions that it should not stand in the way of an adjustment. The Nepaulese ambassadors had, in fact, agreed to the terms and signed them; but when transmitted for ratification, the court was induced, on the grounds just stated, to refuse its consent. In such circumstances, there appeared no longer room for the intended concession; and no alternative was left but the renewal of war. This was attended with considerable inconvenience, since, in confident expectation of peace, the preparations had not only been relaxed, but even part of the military stores sold

off; however, extraordinary exertions were made, and the army, in January 1816, was again ready to take the field.

The enemy had intrenched themselves in the strong pass of Chereea-ghatee, which formed the entrance into their mountain-territory; but General Ochterlony, by a skilful though laborious march, turned this position, and penetrated to Muckwanpoor, in the vicinity of which they had erected several forts and stockades. Two successive defeats convinced them of the folly of their attempt to contend with British troops; they made overtures for a fresh negotiation, in which all the points in dispute were yielded; and in March a definitive treaty was concluded. The governor-general was then with a good grace able to grant, as a matter of favour, most of the districts for the possession of which they had been so extremely solicitous.

The contest with Nepaul having been brought to a successful termination, the Marquis of Hastings turned his views to that new system of policy which he was desirous to establish with regard to the central powers of India. It consisted partly in the renewal and extension of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, partly in the extirpation of the predatory states which had arisen in the heart of the empire. In the former view, overtures from Bhopal, when threatened by Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, were at first well received; but amid the distractions occasioned by the Nepaul contest, it became necessary that they should be courteously evaded. A negotiation was opened with the Rajpoot prince of Jypore, who had made heavy complaints of having in 1806 been deserted by the English, and exposed to the depredations of the Holkar family and other plundering tribes. The treaty for some time proceeded with promptitude; but the very knowledge that he was about to be supported by the British having overawed his enemies and averted the present danger, the deep-rooted jealousy always cherished by the native sovereigns respecting the admission of foreign troops soon revived. A powerful party exclaimed against the ministers by whom the treaty was conducted, as betrayers of their country; and they thought it expedient, by

advancing conditions that were inadmissible, to prevent its final conclusion.

This disappointment was compensated by a more fortunate occurrence in another quarter. Raghojee Bhoonslah, rajah of Berar, died, leaving a son, Pursajee, so infirm both in mind and body as to be incapable of maintaining even the semblance of royalty. In these circumstances, Appa Saheb, his cousin and also presumptive heir, assumed the authority of regent, to which he seemed to possess a legitimate claim. Another chief, however, Dhurmajee Bhoonslah, having formed a powerful party, rendered it doubtful whether Appa would be able to maintain himself without foreign aid. The latter, therefore, made overtures to the British for a subsidiary alliance, coupled with the condition of supporting him in the administration. This, in the present temper of the councils of Calcutta, was most readily granted. The stipulated force was to consist of six battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, partly attached to the regent's person; for the maintenance of which the annual amount of seven and a half lacks of rupees was to be received in money-payments, instead of the invidious mode of territorial cession. This treaty, according to Mr. Prinsep, was viewed at the presidency with the highest exultation, as an arrangement by which the state of Berar was finally detached from the Mahratta league, and fixed in our interests; and not as what it really was, a mere expedient for the attainment of personal objects, and to be thrown aside as soon as these were accomplished.

The occupation of Berar afforded great facilities for operations against the predatory powers, whose main rallying-point was in Malwa, the hilly province to the northward of the Nerbudda. The governor-general, however, had not yet obtained permission to root them out of that strong country, and was obliged to content himself with drawing a cordon along the southern bank of the river, by which he hoped to prevent them from again penetrating into the Deccan. Unfortunately for themselves, Cheetoo and other chiefs had at this time acquired a considerable increase of

strength. They had been left several years nearly unmolested; and had even received secret assurances of support from the principal Mahratta chieftains, who were meditating a fresh attempt, with the aid of the Pindarrees, to subvert the ascendancy of Britain. They were, however, considerably alarmed by the appearance of the force stationed on the Nerbudda; but seeing it remain inactive, while they themselves had mustered 23,000 cavalry, they conceived it possible to penetrate at some point the extended line along which the English were posted. Accordingly, with 10,000 horsemen, they crossed on the extreme right with such rapidity, that our infantry were unable either to arrest or overtake them. They then separated into two *lubhurs* or plundering bands, one of which proceeded due south into the country of the Nizam, and reached the banks of the Godavery. The other marched eastward, and entered the Company's territory of Ganjam, where in the course of twelve days during the preceding year they had killed and wounded nearly 700 persons, and carried off or destroyed property to the value of £100,000. A third party crossed at Burhanpoor, and overran the dominions of the Peishwa to some distance beyond Poonah.

The Pindarrees had thus eluded the regular force appointed to check their inroads; yet though they were still liable to be attacked by several detached corps that were scouring the country in different directions, they never stationed sentries, nor took any similar precaution against an evil to which they were always exposed. While the large body who had reached the Godavery were deliberating on their future course, Major M'Dowal, with a party of light troops, came upon them so unexpectedly, that they had received a discharge of fire-arms before almost a man of them was mounted; and they were obliged to flee, abandoning nearly all their horses and plunder. One bold chieftain, with 260 troopers, crossed the Peninsula, swept along the western shore, and, ascending the Taptee, reached his home with less indeed than half his original number, but all of them carrying in their saddles a rich booty. Major Lushington, again, learning that the

other band had passed Poonah, made a march of fifty miles, came upon them while busied in cooking, and gave them so complete a defeat that only a few escaped. In Ganjam, too, they met with several surprises, in one of which Lieutenant Borthwick beat up their camp with only fifty men. They abandoned their attempt to penetrate into the territory of Cuttack; and learning that a plan was formed to intercept their return, they endeavoured to effect their object by a circuitous route through Bundelcund, in the course of which Colonel Adams and other officers inflicted upon them very severe losses.

Although this campaign had been in some measure successful and even triumphant, it afforded reason to apprehend that India could never be secure from the inroad of these marauders, so long as they should have a place of safe retreat. Upwards of 30,000 troops had been employed against them, a number adequate to a regular war, and involving an immense expenditure; yet these desperate freebooters had penetrated through a strong line of defence, while their subsequent failure was occasioned only by an undue security, which they would probably learn to correct. The permission granted by the government at home to prosecute the war against them was far from being unlimited; but the marquis trusted that the events which had occurred during this campaign, and the success which he hoped would still attend his measures, would procure for him the sanction of the Company.

About the middle of the year 1817, the governor-general put in motion the most numerous and efficient host that had ever perhaps taken the field in India. Its entire amount is estimated at about 81,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry; of which 57,000 advanced from the Deccan and Guzerat, and 34,000 from Bengal through Hindostan Proper. To the corps from the Deccan were attached 13,000 irregular cavalry, and to that from Bengal 10,000 of the same force, many of them good troops. The main body of the Bengal army, under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings, assembled at Secundra, and proceeded to cross the Jumna near Calpy. Another corps was instructed to pass that

river at Agra; while two smaller sections were to act on the flanks, and to connect this with the other armies. The Deccan force was to advance in two divisions under Generals Hislop and Sir John Malcolm; Colonel Adams led the regiments from Berar, while Generals Doveton and Smith took post in the rear, ready either to support the main body, or to suppress any commotion that might arise at Poonah or Nagpore. General Keir meantime led the army of Guzerat into Malwa. All these divisions formed a complete circle around the Pindarree positions, closing in upon them as to a common centre. This system of tactics, which in contending with disciplined forces is accompanied with the danger that the enemy, availing himself of his central position, may successively attack and beat the different corps advancing against him, was attended with no such hazard when directed against troops who never encountered an adversary in pitched battle,—whose sole aim was escape, and to whom flight was victory. It was by such a movement only that they could be enclosed and finally crushed.

There was one circumstance attending this campaign which could not be regarded without some degree of alarm, namely, that it led our army into the territories of princes who viewed with the most rancorous jealousy the height to which the British power had now attained. All of them, seeing in its success the downfall of their own ambitious hopes, and even of their independence, anxiously watched the favourable moment for striking a blow. Even the courts of Nagpore and Hyderabad, notwithstanding the treaties by which they professed to be bound, could not by any means be relied upon. Besides, the Pindarree war was to be carried on in the dominions of Scindia and Holkar, the most deadly foes to the British name. Of the former Sir John Malcolm justly observes that he never could be expected to forget the loss of empire sustained through Britain :—"All his habits, his prejudices, his wishes, are against us; we have nothing in our favour but his fears. His faith and his promises cannot be relied on for a moment." It appears indeed that Cheetoo, the principal

leader of the Pindarrees, had made urgent applications that he would allow to him a place where his family might be secured from danger; adding, "that thereby my heart may be set at ease, and I may face the English with confidence. Then for once, by the blessing of God and the fortune of the exalted, the tumult shall be spread to the environs of Calcutta, the whole country shall be consigned to ashes, and to such distress shall they be reduced, that the accounts will not fail to reach you; but at present this must be delayed for want of a place of refuge." To this Scindia's ministers replied, that they could not take such a step without an immediate rupture with the British government; but that Cheetoo might depend on their utmost aid in secret. In these circumstances Lord Hastings considered it indispensable, before leaving Scindia's dominions behind him, to extort his consent to such a treaty as might withdraw from him the means of a hostile interposition in the approaching conflict. Colonel Close, the Resident at Gwalior, was instructed to demand that he should place his troops entirely at the disposal of the governor-general; that he should furnish a contingent of 5000 horse, and supply funds out of which they might be supported; finally, that he should provisionally deliver up the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, on which, to save his honour, his flag would continue to fly. There was even to be a private understanding, that while the contest lasted he should not quit his capital. Scindia manifested the most violent opposition, first to the English entering his dominions at all, and then to the terms attached to that movement; nor was it till Lord Hastings from one quarter, and General Donkin from another, were each within a day's march of his frontier, that the treaty was reluctantly signed.

A negotiation was next opened with Ameer Khan, and, as he was a principal member of the confederation, it was made a primary article that he should disband the whole of his turbulent corps. This demand was severe, for he must thereby lose everything on which his importance and power had been founded; but in return he was offered the guarantee of the territories held by

him under grants from Holkar, and of which his tenure was otherwise very precarious. Having submitted to the terms, the treaty was signed by his agent at Delhi, on condition that a month should be allowed previously to ratification; but the stipulated period had elapsed, and a British army was surrounding him on every side, before he would affix his name to it. His troops being then disbanded, he seemed thenceforth to place his hopes of aggrandizement solely in the English alliance, and cordially exerted himself in promoting its objects.

The Pindarree chiefs could not view this immense force, especially when it began to close in around them, without the deepest alarm. While the rainy season still suspended operations, they held frequent conferences on the state of their affairs. Their only hope, they were convinced, was to quit their present haunts and seek a temporary home in some remote quarter of India. But it was difficult to find a secure place in which to deposit their property and their families; for even amid their wandering life they were still susceptible of the strongest domestic attachments. This embarrassment and the violent dissensions which had long reigned between their two principal heads, Kurreem and Cheetoo, caused them to break up without having formed any definite plan. The invading armies began to move as soon as the rains had abated, and while the swelling of the rivers might yet impede the rapid movements of their adversaries.

The opening of the campaign, meantime, was retarded by two very unexpected circumstances:—The first was the appearance in the main army of that terrible epidemic, usually denominated the *cholera spasmodica*, which, after creating desolation and dismay in the greater part of India, spread through Persia into Russia, and thence all over Europe, occasioning a very considerable loss of life in the British empire, and then reaching even to the American continent.*

* In its first progress, this tremendous pestilence struck the world as a new and unheard-of visitation; but further researches have established that the same disease has from time to time appeared in the East. Ancient writings, in the languages of Southern India, do

This disorder first showed itself, in August 1817, in the zillah of Jessore, about sixty miles north-east of Calcutta, in the marshy districts which form the Delta of the Ganges. The whole of the tract extending along the lower course of that river is intersected by numberless branches of its stream, whence are derived canals and tanks that diffuse the benefit of irrigation almost to every field. These artificial channels, however, are often in bad repair and filled with stagnant water, while even the river itself at certain seasons has not current sufficient to preserve its salubrious qualities. Added to this, the extreme violence of the heat in summer, and of the rains in winter, renders the whole of this part of Bengal liable to fevers and other climatic disorders. When any of these atmospheric phenomena occur in an extraordinary degree, and especially when, by injuring the cultivated fields, they render the grain scarce and bad, epidemics of the most malignant description are frequently generated. The years 1815 and 1816 were distinguished by very striking peculiarities of season and weather. In May of the latter year, the heat became most intense, the thermometer rose to ninety-eight degrees in the shade, and various persons, both European and native, fell down dead in the streets. A deficiency in the periodical rains was also apprehended till the beginning of September, when there poured down a complete deluge, causing a more extensive inundation than was recollected by the oldest inhabitant. This was followed by attacks of low typhus fever, and of malignant sore throat,—a disorder formerly unknown in that region, but believed on this occasion to be contagious.

The year 1817 was from the first uncommonly moist, and the

scribe it very distinctly under the names of Sitanga or Vishtuchi. Extensive ravages are represented to have been committed by it in Bengal in 1763; in a division of troops which in 1781 were marching through the district of Ganjam; and in 1783, during the annual festival at Hurdwar. In 1787, a malady, the symptoms of which clearly establish its identity, prevailed at Vellore and Arcot on the coast of Coromandel. It had not, however, during a long period, assumed any formidable aspect; and in the comprehensive tables published by the Medical Board at Madras, the column for *cholera spasmodica* in 1815 and the two following years exhibits nearly a continued blank.

annual rains began on the 25th May, about three weeks before the usual period. They fell to a depth greater by one-third than in ordinary years; so that, before the middle of August, nearly the whole district composing the Delta of the Ganges was one sheet of water. It was during the distempered state of the air thus produced, that the malignant cholera broke forth on a scale hitherto quite unprecedented. The disease, either in its common or violent form, appeared nearly at the same time in different parts of Bengal. But it was in Jessore, situated in the tract called the Sunderbunds, covered with thick jungle and surrounded by stagnant waters, that it assumed its most alarming aspect. At Calcutta, during the month of August, many cases of common cholera had occurred; but at the beginning of September it appeared in that city under its most malignant type; though whether it was imported from Jessore, or rose spontaneously under similar circumstances, is a question not yet decided. It spared Europeans for a few days, but began to attack them on the 5th, though without committing the same dreadful ravages as in the native town; yet the register of one of the life insurance societies exhibited a proportion of deaths four times as great as in several preceding years. The malady was diffused almost simultaneously through the different cities of Bengal, rapidly ascended the Ganges, and spread even to the west of the Jumna; sparing, however, the comparatively elevated territories of Oude and Rohilcund.

In the beginning of November, in consequence, as is supposed by some, of the arrival of a detachment from the lower province, this disease in its most virulent form broke out in the army under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings. Troops on a march are observed to be peculiarly liable to its attack, which is imputed to the extreme heat of the tents, doubtless combined with the great exposure to the atmosphere. The cholera appeared while they were slowly marching through the low and unhealthy district of Bundelcund, which labours under a singular deficiency of good water. For about ten days it converted the camp into a large hospital. All the public establishments being engrossed by

the care of the troops, the numerous camp-followers could not be accommodated except in the tents of their masters, who formed also their only attendants. The route over which the army moved was strewed with the dead and dying; the bazaars were deserted; even those persons whose health was good suffered under severe depression of spirits; so that during the whole period the efficiency of this fine body of men was completely destroyed. The usual bustle and hum of a crowded camp was changed into an awful silence, broken only by the groans of the sick and lamentations over the dead. In the European patient death usually followed from six to twelve hours after the attack, while the sepoy was carried off in about half that interval. The malady raged with its utmost fury from the 15th to the 23d November, when it ceased almost at once; so that the army having reached a more salubrious camp, at Erich on the Betwa, became rapidly convalescent, and by the commencement of December were prepared to enter on the duties of the campaign.

The loss sustained during this most gloomy crisis was very greatly exaggerated. It has been represented even by good authorities as amounting to three, five, or even eight thousand,* out of the whole division of ten thousand men. More precise statements by Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Kennedy, derived from personal and official knowledge, prove this inaccuracy to have arisen from the not taking into account the vast crowd of camp-followers, who, in an Indian army, always greatly outnumber the soldiers. When the proper distinction is made, it appears that the deaths among the troops amounted only to 764; while the loss among the camp-followers was about 8000, which did not however exceed a tenth of their entire number.

We cannot here follow in detail the progress of this severe malady, which made its way in every direction. After having spared in its first progress the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, it reached them in April and May 1818, and in the following

* Bisset Hawkins' History of Cholera, p. 169.

months penetrated to Catmandoo, Almora, and other very elevated positions on the chain of Himalayah.

The natives, instead of using any rational means of cure or prevention, sought to avert the pestilence only by pompous and crowded visits to the temples, which increased the danger of communicating the disease; or by sanguinary proceedings against certain persons who were suspected of producing it by witchcraft. In the course of the year 1818 it spread through every part of India. The report of the Medical Board at Madras contains an interesting map, showing its track through the Deccan and the south by an irregular course, sometimes along the high roads, sometimes in cross directions; but, in the end, leaving scarcely any point of importance untouched. It reached Nagpore on the 15th May,—Bombay by way of Poona on the 14th August,—Hydrabad on 25th July,—Madras on 8th October,—and finally the extreme stations of Trivanderam and Palamcottai in January 1819. Throughout these provinces it manifested itself in various degrees of intensity. In general, however, this dreadful disease seemed to be marked rather by its fatal effects, than by the great number who were actually attacked.*

Another unexpected crisis arrested Sir Thomas Hislop with the army of the Deccan, just as he had arrived on the frontier of Malwa. Intelligence then reached him that Bajee Rao had taken up arms and attacked the British residency at Poona; upon which Sir Thomas judged it necessary to fall back, that he might

* See Report of Madras and Bombay Medical Boards. The entire amount of cases occurring in the army of Fort St. George during 1818, the most severe year, was 1067 out of 10,662 Europeans, and 3314 out of 58,764 natives. Of the former 232, and of the latter 664 died. In the island of Bombay, which contains a population of about 210,000, the ascertained cases were 15,945, of which 14,651 were medically treated, and the deaths among these were only 938, or 6½ per cent,—perhaps the smallest proportion of mortality that has anywhere been observed. Instances, however, are given of single corps, particularly on a march, suffering much more severely. The 2d battalion of the 20th regiment of native infantry was proceeding to Hydrabad, when of about 1150 men 200 were attacked, and 73 died. The 1st battalion of the 1st regiment, on its road from Nagpore to Hydrabad, out of 1010 men had 167 attacked, of whom 64 died. His majesty's 54th regiment, on their way from Madras to Bangalore, had 159 out of 632 attacked, and 54 died.

support the reserve corps, and aid in the suppression of this insurrection. General Keir, who had advanced from Guzerat, was induced by the same information to retreat. But Lord Hastings justly considered that the fortune of the campaign must ultimately depend upon the prompt success of the operations in Central India, and conceiving Smith's force, with another under Pritzler, quite sufficient at present to overawe the Peishwa, ordered these commanders to return without delay to the scene of action.

The Pindarrees, as soon as they saw themselves completely enclosed by the advancing corps of the British, made no attempt at resistance, and studied only how to escape. One party succeeded in penetrating into the rear of our army in Bundelcund, where they began to commit serious ravages, and were not dispersed without some difficulty. Cheetoo, with nearly 8000 men, effected a march westward into the territory of Mewar, where he was assured of support from several quarters, and had the strong mountain-fort of Kumulner as a refuge for his family. The escape of the Pindarree chiefs, when so great a force surrounded them, Colonel Blacker explains by a reference to the defective means of conveyance possessed by the British; to their having, in the dread of encountering a Mahratta army, encumbered themselves with ordnance; and, above all, to the agility of the native horses, which can pass over the most rugged roads and uneven ground with great speed. Kurreem, with one of his associates, attempted to push his way to Gwalior, where he hoped to find support from Scindia. All the passes in this direction, however, were most strictly guarded; and a strong corps was appointed to watch the motions of that ruler, whose secret enmity to the British was so fully understood. The first that came up with this body of Pindarrees was General Marshall, who easily drove them before him. They escaped without much loss, but were obliged to change their direction and march for the territory of Jeypore, where they hoped to be joined by some of the disbanded troops of Ameer Khan. On their way thither they were surprised by General Donkin, who gave them a complete overthrow, capturing the wife of Kurreem,

with all his state-elephants and kettle-drums. His army, therefore, no longer attempted to preserve any appearance of regularity, but broke into detachments, and sought for safety by fleeing in various directions. The greater number endeavoured to reach the corps of Cheetoo; and, accordingly, the final destruction of that warrior appeared all that was now necessary to finish the Pindarree contest, when there started up another head of the hydra which the English were labouring to vanquish.

The councils of the house of Holkar had been involved for some time in the utmost confusion. Jeswunt Rao, who had raised that family to power, after the unfortunate issue of the war with the British, became deranged, and died in a few years. His heir, Mulhar Rao, was a mere boy, and the administration during his minority was agitated by the most violent dissensions. The chief parties were, on one side Toolsee Bhye, widow to the late Holkar, who had been invested with the office of regent; and on the other the Patan chiefs, who were strongly attached to the predatory system. The lady, with the direct view of maintaining her influence, made secret overtures to the English for receiving a subsidiary force. This measure was firmly opposed by the leaders just named, whose sentiments were shared by the military in general; and the weight of their opinions was so strongly felt by the regent, that she did not venture to proceed with the negotiation. The chiefs, however, being suspicious that something of that nature was still in progress, were fired with such indignation, that they seized her person, carried her down to the river, and put her to death. War was then only delayed till the completion of the necessary preparations. Troops, especially infantry, were collected with the utmost diligence, and their movements assumed so formidable an aspect, that Sir John Malcolm judged it advisable to fall back upon the corps of General Hislop, who, as already mentioned, had begun a retrograde movement, but was again advancing towards Poonah. These commanders having effected a junction, proceeded together, and found the native army strongly posted at Mehidpoor, with a steep bank in front, at the foot of which flowed the

river Soopra, passable only by a single ford. Although this position might have been turned by a circuitous march, Hislop considered such an advantage more than counterbalanced by the impression which would be produced by pushing on promptly and directly to the attack. This mode of proceeding, it has been often observed, is better suited than more scientific manœuvres to the genius of English troops. A scene then ensued, similar to that which usually took place in Mahratta battles; the British regiments rushing forward with the most daring intrepidity in the face of a numerous artillery, by which they severely suffered, and at length, when they came to a close charge, carrying all before them. They lost 174 killed, and 604 wounded; there being among the former three, and among the latter thirty-five European officers. The Mahrattas, though they left 3000 on the field, retreated with a great part of their army entire: but they abandoned all the artillery; their courage and confidence were gone; and though their numbers were not greatly diminished, they were no longer a regular force. The chiefs therefore at once accepted the offered terms; namely, that young Holkar should be placed under the protection of the Company, who were to maintain an auxiliary force, and to have a contingent of 3000 men at their disposal; and that certain districts of moderate extent should be ceded, not for the purpose of being possessed by the conquerors, but distributed as rewards to those allies who had remained faithful during the present contest.

After losing the support of the Holkar family, the Pindarrees found an unexpected asylum with Jeswunt Rao, one of Scindia's generals, who occupied several strong camps in the neighbourhood of Rampoor. After several fruitless remonstrances, General Brown attacked this chieftain, reduced his intrenchments, and obliged him to flee with only a handful of followers.

The hopes of the marauders were now reduced to the lowest ebb. Flight, they knew not whither, became their only resource. They had obtained Kumulner and other fortresses in the Rajpoot territory; but these being quickly invested, were, after a short

resistance, all given up. Major Clarke having overtaken the party under Kurreem during the night, and finding them plunged as usual in profound security, delayed the attack till morning, that they might derive no advantage from the darkness. He divided his corps into two bodies, with one of which he made the charge, while the other occupied the only road by which the enemy could retreat. They sustained, accordingly, a complete overthrow, and were dispersed in every direction, leaving several of their chiefs dead on the field. After suffering some farther disasters, their whole body was reduced to a state truly miserable. Cheetoo and his adherents sometimes slept with their horses saddled, and the bridles in their hands, that they might be ready for instant flight. At length an intimation was circulated, that, in case of unconditional surrender, their lives would be spared, and the means of an honourable subsistence secured for the chiefs in some remote district. One after another submitted upon these terms; and at length Kurreem, after wandering for some time on foot through the jungles, gave himself up, on the 15th February 1818, to Sir John Malcolm. Cheetoo opened a negotiation; but, on learning the small allowance which was to be granted to one whom he thought entitled to a jaghire in his native country and a place in the British service, he hastily took his departure. He afterwards encountered a variety of distresses, which ended in a manner equally dismal and appalling. While lurking in the forests of Asseerghur, he was devoured by a tiger. His fate excited sympathy among our officers, who admired the spirit and intrepidity with which he had on all occasions braved the deepest reverses of fortune.

While the performances on the main theatre of Indian warfare were thus brought to a successful close, two separate dramas of a subordinate though eventful character were acted on other stages, of which the most remarkable occurred at the court of Poonah. The Peishwa, ever since the last treaty which he was compelled to sign, had eagerly sought deliverance from a yoke which now pressed heavily upon him; and the employment of the British

forces in the Pindarree campaign offered a tempting opportunity to reassert his independence. A little consideration indeed would have shown him that this contest could not engage his enemy beyond a very short period; after which they would find it easy to crush such resistance as he or any other of the Mahratta states could create. But the Peishwa, like many other Indian princes, though possessed of talent and address, and skilled in pursuing the ordinary objects of Eastern policy, was incapable of taking a comprehensive view of his actual situation. He was encouraged by the hatred of the English which he saw prevalent among his own chiefs, and by the general disposition of all the other leaders to unite in a confederacy against that people.

For a considerable time he threw an impenetrable veil over his hostile designs. On intimation being given of an intention to go to war with the Pindarrees, he professed his cordial concurrence in the object, and his desire to co-operate by all the means in his power. So great, indeed, was his address, that Sir John Malcolm, an intelligent and veteran politician, after living at his court several days, was completely deceived, and communicated his opinion that nothing hostile was to be apprehended from the Peishwa. But Mr. Elphinstone, the official Resident, entertained from the first an opposite opinion, which was soon fully confirmed. He saw that the utmost activity was employed in collecting troops, under the pretext of aiding in the projected war, though for a purpose directly opposite. At the same time, the jaghirdars, who had been studiously depressed and humbled, were courted and conciliated; while Bapoo Gokla, an officer of distinguished ability, who had hitherto been kept in a species of disgrace, was invested with the supreme direction of affairs. A numerous camp was formed close to the British cantonments, around which the Mahratta horsemen were seen riding in menacing attitudes. The brigade commanded by Colonel Burr, the amount of which had been fixed with a very undue confidence in the friendly disposition of the prince, did not exceed three sepoy battalions, with a European regiment not yet arrived from Bombay. As the hostile intentions

of the court became more and more manifest, it was judged advisable to withdraw the troops into a strong defensive position formed near the city by an angle of the river Moola; but Mr. Elphinstone, anxious to avoid the imputation of being the aggressor, resolved not to quit the residency till he should be driven away by force. Threatening notes began to be exchanged; and on the 5th November 1817, so sudden an attack was made that the Resident and his suite had scarcely time to mount their horses, when his mansion was plundered, and all the property, including his books and papers, was either carried off or destroyed.

General Smith, though placed in the rear of the grand army, had agreed, if a single day should pass without his hearing from Poonah, that he would conclude the communications were interrupted, and hasten thither with his whole brigade. A week, however, must necessarily elapse before his arrival, and to keep the sepoys in the meantime cooped up in a narrow space, harassed by the enemy's artillery and light horse, would, it was feared, damp their courage, and promote that tendency to desertion which had already been strongly manifested. Hence the officers determined to march out with their small corps and attack their foes, who, to the amount of 26,000, were already stationed in front. This movement was executed promptly, and with such vigour, that though the enemy's horsemen made some desperate charges, and reached several times the flanks of the English brigade, the latter finally remained masters of the field. They had not indeed done much damage to their adversaries; but the intrepidity of their attack, and the amount of their success against numbers so vastly superior, changed decidedly the moral position of the two armies. When General Smith, therefore, on the 13th November, after fighting his way through the Peishwa's cavalry, arrived at Poonah, and prepared to attack the Mahratta camp, that prince at once commenced a retreat. He continued it upwards of six months without intermission, ranging over the wide extent of the Deccan; at one time approaching Mysore, at another proceeding nearly to the Nerbudda, always distancing his pursuers by the skill and rapidity

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of his march, and even passing between corps advancing from opposite quarters. At one time he made himself sure of cutting off a division of 800 men destined to reinforce Colonel Burr; but Captain Staunton the commander, taking post in the village of Corygaum, repulsed with desperate valour, though with severe loss, all his attacks, and he was at length obliged to desist. This was considered the bravest exploit performed in the whole course of the war. The Peishwa, finding himself now a hopeless fugitive, and learning the triumphs of his enemy in other quarters, made overtures for a treaty; hoping to be allowed to retain, though in a reduced condition, his rank as a sovereign. But the governor-general, on considering his long course of hostility, and the treacherous attack made at so critical a moment, had determined to erase his name from the list of Indian princes, and that there should be no longer a Peishwa. Britain was to exercise the sovereign sway in all the territories which had belonged to him; though, in order to soothe in some degree the irritated feelings of the Mahratta people, the Rajah of Satara, the descendant of Sevajee, still deeply venerated even after his long depression, was to be restored to some share of his former dignity. To follow up this purpose, General Smith laid siege to Satara, which surrendered after a short resistance. The interval afforded a brief respite to the Peishwa, and lulled his vigilance; so that when this officer had pushed on by forced marches, at the head of a division of light horse, he arrived unobserved within hearing of the Mahratta kettledrums. Concealed for some time by the brow of a hill, he appeared on its summit to the astonishment of the Indian leaders. The fallen prince forthwith left the field with his attendants; but Gokla determined to hazard a battle rather than sacrifice nearly the whole of his baggage. He made the attack with the greatest vigour, and had succeeded in throwing part of the cavalry into some confusion, when he fell mortally wounded. His death was regretted even by the English, since his enmity to their nation and zeal for the independence of his own, had been tempered with honour and humanity. The whole army immediately fled, and the

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British obtained possession of the person of the Rajah of Satara, who had before been a prisoner in the hands of his rival.

Bajee Rao still continued his retreat, of which he assumed the sole charge; and gave out every morning the direction in which the troops were to move, having concealed it till that moment from his most confidential officers. After much and long wandering, he moved northward to the borders of Berar and Malwa, where he partially recruited his strength by collecting the remains of the beaten armies. But he soon found himself hemmed in still more closely; and in pursuing his march, in the absence of proper information, he met Colonel Adams at the head of a considerable force, and could not avoid a battle. He was defeated, with the loss of most of his infantry and all his artillery, saving only his horse and light troops. He then made an effort to reach the capital of Scindia, hoping for aid, or at least protection, from this most powerful of the Mahratta chieftains; but all the passes were strictly guarded. His distress became greater every day; his followers deserted in vast numbers; and the English drew their nets round him so skilfully that he could not hope long to escape. He then opened a correspondence with Sir John Malcolm. After some discussion, it was agreed that he should surrender, and that, on being secured in a pension of eight lacks of rupees (about £100,000), he should renounce the dignity of Peishwa, with all his claims as a sovereign; spending the rest of his days in some holy city at a distance from the seat of his former dominion. The sum was regarded by the Marquis of Hastings as too large; though, considering it as the final adjustment with a prince who ranked in authority and power above all others at that time in India, it does not appear very extravagant. The apprehension that his revenue would be employed by him as an instrument for regaining his political influence has not been realized. He immediately resigned himself to voluptuous indulgences, to which, it is said, he had been always addicted, and sought to drown in them every recollection of his former schemes and greatness.

While the territory of Poonah was agitated by these violent

commotions, a scene almost exactly similar was passing at Nagpore. Appa Saheb had invited the British troops with the sole view of maintaining his own situation as regent; and so long as he judged them necessary for that object he remained faithful. At length he got rid by assassination of the young prince, and placed himself on the *guddee*, as the seat was called, to which the dignity of rajah was attached. He then considered himself independent of foreign aid, and began to regard it with the dislike so generally felt by all persons in his condition. He was thus led to enter into that confederacy against the British power which was formed among the Mahratta chiefs in consequence of the Pindarree war; and was observed also to carry on an active correspondence with the Peishwa while the latter was maturing his plans of aggression. The first treaty which that prince was compelled to sign greatly abated the courage of his ally, which was revived, however, by the intelligence of his having again taken up arms and attacked the English subsidiary force. The subsequent retreat of Bajee Rao threw him into much hesitation and uncertainty, though at length it resulted in the hazardous determination to follow his example. On the 24th November 1817, Mr. Jenkins, the British Resident, was invited to see his highness invested with a dress of honour; having assumed the *juree putka*, or golden streamer, an emblem of high command, both of which had been transmitted by the Peishwa. Our countryman declined attendance, not without expressing indignation at the Rajah's acceptance of these honours at such a moment; and, indeed, it seems to have been an imprudent and premature insult, by which the Company's servants were warned of approaching danger.

The subsidiary force then stationed at Nagpore was very small. It consisted only of two battalions of native infantry, with detachments of cavalry and artillery; and the whole, being much reduced by sickness, did not amount to 1400 men. The Rajah's army, on the contrary, comprised 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including 3000 or 4000 very brave Arab troops. The residency was situated outside the town, and separated from it by a ridge

rising at each extremity into low hills, which were hastily occupied as defensive posts. At sunset the piquets were fired upon by the Arab infantry, and soon after a general discharge of artillery was opened upon all the positions, particularly those on the smaller eminence. This was continued till two in the morning with considerable effect, the first officer in command on that station being killed, and the second wounded. The English, during the remainder of the night, made the best preparations in their power against the more serious attack which was anticipated in the morning; and accordingly, at daybreak, the charge was renewed with increased fury. At ten a tumbril burst on the lower hill, which threw the troops into some confusion; the Arabs rushed on with loud cries, the sepoy were seized with panic and fled, abandoning the guns and the wounded, who were immediately put to the sword. The enemy then began a heavy fire on the larger hill, when several officers fell, and among them Mr. Sotheby, the Resident's assistant, a young man of distinguished merit, while he was endeavouring to rally and restore the courage of his men. The dismay of the troops, the cries of the women and children, the vast numbers and increasing confidence of the enemy, seemed to portend the most fatal result. Yet, even then, resources were found in British firmness and courage. Captain Fitzgerald, who had withdrawn the cavalry within the residency-grounds, seeing the critical state of the infantry, and the fire already extending to his station, felt that affairs could be retrieved only by one of those bold attacks which a native army can scarcely ever resist. He accordingly led his few horsemen to the charge, drove everything before him, took two guns and turned them against the enemy. The troops on the other hill, animated by this example, resumed courage, and, raising loud shouts, opened a brisk fire on the assailants. A party dashed across to the smaller elevation, from which the Rajah's followers were driven in their turn, and about noon were repulsed at every point. Yet the British had lost a fourth of their number, and their ammunition was nearly expended, so that had Appa persevered, he must have finally succeeded in cutting

off the detachment,—an event which would have produced the strongest sensation over all India. But he remained inactive, while reinforcements poured in to his antagonists from every quarter. On the 12th December, for example, Doveton arrived with the strong reserve under his command, and it then became impossible for Appa Saheb to hope for success; he had already obtained an armistice, and now inquired as to the terms on which a final accommodation might be effected. Mr. Jenkins replied that nothing would be accepted short of entire submission,—the disbanding of his troops, the delivering up of all his forts and artillery, and his own presence as a hostage at the British residency. It was, however, intimated, that, on his complying fully with these requisitions, he would be restored to nearly his former condition, being required only to maintain a subsidiary force, and submit to a certain degree of control. When the troops, however, marched into Nagpore to take possession of the ordnance, they were saluted with a hot fire, and suffered some loss before they could seize the guns and compel the Arabs, who took the chief part in this resistance, to retire within the fort. As they refused to surrender, a siege was immediately commenced, and a practicable breach appeared to have been made in the gate; but when the assault was given, it was found to be so secured by interior walls, that the English were obliged to retreat with considerable damage. Preparations were then made to invest the place on a more regular plan; but the garrison, satisfied with the display of valour which they had already made, capitulated on condition of being allowed to march out with their baggage and private property.

As none of these transactions could be brought home to Appa Saheb, he was not made responsible for them; wherefore on the surrender of Nagpore he was liberated, and received notice of the terms on which he might retain his seat on the guddee. These consisted in his being placed entirely on the same footing with the Nizam; having his military force subjected to the control of the Company, and even his ministers appointed by them. The Rajah only so far expressed his dissatisfaction as to offer to retire al-

together on a liberal pension,—a proposition which was not considered admissible. He therefore began forthwith to intrigue, with the view of shaking off this hated dependence. Troops were levied, the governors of fortresses and the mountain-chiefs were instructed to muster their forces, and give every possible annoyance to the enemy; finally, a secret correspondence was discovered with Bajee Rao, who, being invited to join his army to the standard of the Peishwa, had actually taken steps for that purpose. Mr. Jenkins hereupon deemed it indispensable to call upon Appa to resume his place within the residency; and this not being complied with, a party was sent who effected his arrest, fortunately without having recourse to violence. It is less difficult, however, to seize Indian princes than to keep them: the Rajah being mildly treated, and access procured to him by several of his adherents, a plan was arranged for his escape in the disguise of a sepoy. He went off at two in the morning, and the discovery was not made till daylight; so that, relays of horses having been provided, all pursuit was vain. But as the Pindarree war was now terminated, and Bajee Rao reduced to the last extremity, he was unable to do more than excite desultory hostilities in the mountainous districts. The English were thus able, on their own terms, to seat on the guddee Bajee Rao, a grandson of Raghojee Bhoonslah, while the administration was placed entirely under their own control.

In the beginning of 1822, the Marquis of Hastings was induced by certain family circumstances to intimate his wish to retire from the high situation which he had filled for nine years. The Court of Directors passed a unanimous vote of thanks for the unremitting zeal and ability with which he had discharged its functions; and this was subsequently confirmed by the Court of Proprietors. In the subsequent October, Lord Amherst was nominated his successor, and arrived at Calcutta on the 1st August 1823. The principal event of his administration was the war with the Birman empire, which, after some vicissitudes, was completely successful, and the Company acquired a considerable addition of territory on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal.

As this contest, however, was carried on entirely beyond the limits of India Proper, it does not belong to the subject of the present work.

But in 1825 an important event occurred in the interior of India. After the death of the Rajah of Bhurtpore in that year, his legitimate heir, Bulwunt Singh, being dethroned by Doorjun Sâl, his cousin, applied for aid to Sir David Ochterlony, then Resident at Delhi. That officer embraced the prince's cause; but his conduct in doing so was disavowed by the governor-general, who, at this crisis, showed a disposition to proceed upon the old principle of non-interference. Farther information, however, induced him to change this intention, and Lord Combermere was ordered to march upon the city and expel the usurper. This able commander, accordingly, with 25,000 men and an ample train of artillery, proceeded to attack that celebrated stronghold. The siege was begun on the 23d December; but it was soon found that cannon-shot could not penetrate mud-walls sixty feet thick, and that it would be necessary to employ mining operations. By means of these a breach was effected on the 17th January 1826; the assault was given next morning, and after a gallant defence of two hours, in which many veterans who had triumphantly fought in the former siege took an active part, the place was carried. Doorjun was made prisoner; and there remained no longer in Hindostan a fortress that had successfully defied the British arms. While this conflict lasted, a general ferment was observable among the surrounding principalities; and Bishop Heber doubts not, that had the attack failed, the whole country westward of the Jumna would have risen in arms, at least so far as to resume the predatory system of warfare. This triumph, however, checked the disposition to revolt, and completely confirmed the supremacy of Britain.

Lord Amherst's conduct both in the Birman and Bhurtpore contests, was the subject of severe criticism at home, especially by the Liberal party, who had by that time acquired great influence. They particularly complained of his having continued the severe restrictions on the press introduced by Mr. Adam, during

his temporary possession of power in the interval after Lord Hastings' departure. Influenced by these and other motives, the Company, in 1826, determined to recall his lordship, who left India in the following year. Having ultimately afforded much greater latitude to public discussion, and being in his general conduct very amiable, he had acquired considerable popularity. He was created viscount and earl, and the Courts of Directors and Proprietors passed votes of thanks to him by large majorities, though not without some warm discussion.

In July 1827, Lord William Bentinck was sworn in as the new governor-general. His election was peculiarly acceptable to Mr. Canning, then premier, but who died before his departure. His lordship was understood to go out with the intention of introducing a liberal and economical system, which was now considered desirable. He arrived on the 2d July 1828, and soon after set out on a tour to the upper provinces, in order to survey the state of affairs, and endeavour to cement the relations of amity with the neighbouring independent princes. A visit was paid to Scindia's family at Gwalior, and some time was spent at Ajmere, where the Rajpoot chiefs were invited either to visit him, or to send ambassadors. Extensive military reductions were made, particularly on the field-allowance called *batta*, which excited a great deal of discontent among the officers, who were affected by the new regulations. No general conflict took place during Lord Bentinck's administration, but some partial disturbances agitated the ruder borders of our Indian possessions.

In 1832 and the following year, considerable annoyance was sustained from a tribe named Chooars, inhabiting the jungly tracts on the eastern limits of Bengal. An extensive contraband trade in salt, favoured by this situation, gave them the habit of acting in large bodies, which they soon improved into an extensive and organized system of plunder. Individuals of high distinction were strongly suspected of exciting and supporting them; though this could not be legally proved. The ostensible leader was Gungarnain, chief of a small village in a hill-pass, whose house was

only a clay edifice, surrounded by sheds covered with grass. The depredations were at length committed on so great a scale, and with such impunity, that it became necessary to enter into an avowed war against them. Four regiments and a large body of irregulars were at one time employed, yet found much difficulty in putting down these marauders. Gunga-narain, who never appeared at the head of more than 400 men, was repeatedly defeated; the Chooar fortresses were successively taken and destroyed; yet the pillagers still lurked under the thick cover of their entangled forests. At length their daring captain was killed in a casual encounter with another tribe, after which his followers mostly dispersed, and did not again muster in any formidable numbers.

About the same time, the hill-country behind the Circars became the scene of some serious disturbances; for in those rugged tracts, bands of robbers had begun to assemble and plunder the lower districts. Gradually they were organized into two great bodies called Fittoorydars, assuming the aspect of an insurrection, which was understood to be fomented by some great zemindary families. The first detachment sent to attack their principal stronghold was repulsed with the loss of about fifteen men killed and wounded. Reinforcements having been brought up, the insurgents evacuated the fort; and they were then hunted from place to place, being dispersed chiefly by surprises, to which their incautious system rendered them always liable. At length several of their leaders being taken and executed, the district was restored to a state of tranquillity.

In 1834 a more serious contest arose on the borders of the Madras presidency. The Coorg Rajah, as we had formerly occasion to mention, was an attached ally of the British, and had given material aid in the conquest of Mysore; but the sceptre had now descended to his son, a violent and tyrannical youth, who had exercised such excessive cruelties in his own family, that his sister and her husband were obliged to flee to the English for protection. The Rajah demanded, in the most peremptory manner,

that they should be given up, and on this being refused, addressed letters of an insulting tenor to the Madras presidency and the governor-general. One of the company's servants being sent to treat with him, was put under confinement, and his release refused. He was accused at the same time of having assumed an attitude of hostility against us, and of receiving and encouraging our avowed enemies; on which grounds a proclamation was issued on the 1st April 1834 from Calcutta, deposing him from the office of rajah, and announcing that a force was about to enter and take possession of his territory.

This country, as to its capacity of coping with the British power, might, from the small amount of its population, have been considered as utterly contemptible. The extreme difficulty of the ground, however, composed altogether of lofty mountains, covered with the thickest and most entangled jungle, defended by a race of determined valour, gave to it a somewhat serious character. A force of 6000 men was placed under Brigadier Lindsay, in whom was vested the supreme command of the expedition; and marching from Mysore with the main body, he entered Coorg on the 1st April. The troops were harassed by the difficulties of the road, which were much increased by large trees cut down and laid across it, so that they could scarcely accomplish above five miles in fourteen hours. The enemy, however, did not venture to encounter him, and all the stockades were found deserted. On the 6th the army entered without resistance Mudakerry, the capital, on which the British flag was displayed. The campaign thus seemed to have been easily and triumphantly terminated; and yet it acquired a somewhat disastrous character, from the operations of three other detachments which entered the territory at different points. Owing that we may not have full means of judging, we yet cannot help calling in question the policy of sending so many separate and unconnected bodies into the heart of so difficult a country. There was every ground to presume that the reduction of the capital would carry with it that of the whole district, as it actually did; and even had it been otherwise, these

subordinate posts could scarcely have failed soon to follow the fate of the leading one.

Colonel Foulis, marching from Cananore, on the western coast, approached, on the 2d April, the entrance of the Hugul Ghaut, the principal opening from this side. The enemy had fortified it with three successive stockades, as well as with breastworks and felled trees at every hundred yards. Their posts were driven in, and on the 3d, at six in the morning, the attack began. The first stockade was carried with trifling loss; but from that time till four in the afternoon, a series of very hard conflicts was maintained in carrying the successive barriers, which the enemy defended with vigour, carrying on at the same time a continued skirmishing from the wood. The last stockade was only captured by attacking it in reverse as well as in flank. Next day, as the colonel continued to advance, a flag of truce appeared bearing a proposal from the rajah for a suspension of arms. He replied, that if the Coorg troops did not fire, his would also abstain from doing so; but that nothing should prevent him from passing through the Ghaut. He accordingly effected this march without opposition, and on the afternoon arrived at Hugul. His service was now completed, with the loss of twelve killed and thirty-six wounded; but among the former was Lieutenant Erskine, a very promising young officer.

At the same time, Colonel Waugh, from the north, advanced upon a fortified position named Buck, seated on the brow of a steep ascent, and accessible only by a narrow defile through a dense jungle. The assailing party was divided into two, who were each to make a detour and take the stockade in flank; but being misled, it is said, by native guides, they both met in front of that barrier. With characteristic valour they rushed forward to the attack; but the place was so strong and so vigorously defended, that all their efforts were vain, and their ranks were thinned by a most destructive fire. Upon encountering this resistance, the commander directed Lieutenant-Colonel Mill to send part of his force to support the storming-party; and immediately that officer, inspired by a too-ardent valour, led them

on himself, and was followed by the whole detachment. An impetuous assault was then commenced against the stockade; but being in a great measure built of stone, it baffled every attempt, while a most murderous fire issued from it against our countrymen. Mill was shot dead on the spot, and several, while vainly attempting to rescue his body, fell around him. Major Bird then determined to withdraw the party, and, with little additional loss, brought it under cover. In this most unfortunate affair about forty-eight were killed, including three officers, and 118 wounded.

Another column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, advanced from Mangalore upon a position named Bullary Pett; and this officer, learning that there was a strong stockade five miles in front of him, sent Captain Noble with a detachment to reconnoitre it. The latter made his way through a narrow and winding path, till he arrived in front of the barrier; and having completed his reconnoissance, he began his return, when a running fire was instantly commenced from among the bushes. His party continued exposed during the whole of their retreat to this assault from an invisible foe, whom they could neither elude nor repel; and the casualties amounted to thirty killed and thirty-six wounded.

Colonel Jackson, after considering this loss, and the reported strength of the position, thought it impossible to attempt carrying the stockade without further reinforcements, and fell back upon Coombla. This transaction was at first made a subject of official inquiry, but was ultimately decided to have arisen from inevitable circumstances, without any reproach on the commander.

The war, as formerly observed, was already decided by the primary movement of the main body upon the capital, where the Rajah, in no degree emulating the courage of many of his subjects, did not even attempt resistance. On the 11th April he entered Mudakerry in pomp, with about 2000 attendants, mostly unarmed, and fifty palanquins containing his female establishment. He then surrendered himself, in the hope probably of being reinstated on certain conditions. But the British had already formed their determination; his territory was annexed to their dominion; and

the Rajah, receiving only an allowance fitted to support a suitable household, was removed to Bangalore. Prize-money to the amount of thirteen lacks of rupees was distributed among the army.

It is necessary now to turn our attention to another part of the country. Gwalior being the most powerful of the independent states now remaining, its interior movements were regarded as of considerable importance. Dowlut Rao Scindia having died, left the regency in the hands of his widow, the Baiza Bye; and that lady, to ensure a male successor to the throne, as none had been left by her husband, adopted a youth under the name of Jhundkoo Rao, and the title of Maharaja. This young man, on coming of age, aspired to the actual possession of the supreme power, which the Bye was by no means inclined to grant; while he, without any regard to his obligations to that lady, determined to use every means of enforcing his claim. When the governor-general visited the capital, he solicited his aid to place himself upon the musnud. Lord William, however, intimated, that Gwalior being an independent state, the British government could by no means interfere; then reminding him of what he owed to his patroness, advised him to pay the utmost deference to her, and await the time when she might be willing to place the government in his hands. But he was by no means disposed to follow this advice, and in July 1833 made an attempt to seize the reins of power. This being frustrated, he repaired to the mansion of our Resident, who, unwilling to interfere, had left it fast locked. The young prince sat the whole day in the court of this official dwelling without food, and under a burning sun; but having at last obtained an audience, and being refused all support, he made his submission to the Bye. Meantime, however, a large body of the military, impatient of a female government, discontented with Baiza, and perhaps desirous of change, applied a ladder to the Maharaja's apartment, brought him out, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The lady took refuge with some troops who still adhered to her; but they were unequal to contend with the opposite party, who were more numerous, and possessed all the artillery. An agree-

ment was made, under the mediation of the Resident, that Jhundkoo Rao should be placed on the musnud, and acknowledged by Britain; while the regent should retire unmolested to Dholapoor. There she still attempted to make a stand; but being closely invested and reduced to great distress, she at length surrendered, was allowed a revenue of ten lacks of rupees, and took up her residence near Futtyghur. The Company in this case proceeded on the principle of non-interference, and of acknowledging the sovereign *de facto*, whoever he might be. Yet this conduct was criticised by some, who considered the change unfavourable to our interests, from a female ruler of pacific habits, to a military government with a violent and ambitious young man at its head. In fact, some serious disturbances followed, both in the durbar and army, in which British interests and wishes were not much regarded; however, Jhundkoo displayed a degree of vigour which enabled him at last to establish an uncontrolled authority.

An affair of a more serious aspect soon after arose with Maun Sing, rajah of Joudpore, who had been restored to power by the governor-general on the footing of a subsidiary and dependent ruler. He was considered, however, to have by no means duly fulfilled the conditions of his tenure; and having absented himself from the congress of Rajpoot princes, who assembled at Ajmere in 1832 to meet Lord William Bentinck, he could not be viewed as showing a friendly or respectful disposition. Besides, he had allowed the tribute to fall more than two years in arrear; he had given shelter to bands of marauders, and had refused, when called upon, to assist in putting down others. When remonstrances were made against these proceedings, his answers indicated no desire to comply or act according to his professed obligations; and it was therefore determined to march against him a force which might either compel unqualified submission, or dethrone him. For this purpose 10,000 men were ordered to assemble at Nusserabad on the 20th October 1834; but he had no sooner learned that matters were coming to so serious a crisis, than he sent a deputation of thirty persons, with a numerous

attendance, to Ajmere, to treat with the residents there, Major Alves and Captain Trevelyan. The envoys made lavish professions of their master's attachment to Britain, and regret at having given offence. When informed, however, that no declarations would be esteemed of any value, unless followed up by certain specific actions, namely, the immediate delivery of the refugees, and payment of a large sum of money, they made many apologies, and showed an extreme anxiety to avoid compliance. But on inquiring what alternative awaited the Rajah, and being informed that he would be forthwith dethroned, they showed the utmost consternation, and solicited a delay of at least two days. At the end of that time, after some farther attempts to parry the blow, they finally yielded an unqualified submission; and the storm which threatened the peace of Western India was thus averted.

A part of the force prepared for this expedition was immediately after employed against the Shekhawattees, a rude tribe occupying the almost desert territory westward of Rajpootana. A number of these petty chiefs has been accustomed to subsist by plundering the neighbouring districts, and when these were held by native power, this was regarded as a matter of course. Having now, however, come into contact with the Company's territory, they continued towards it the same system of indiscriminate marauding, and yet when the British force under General Stevenson marched into the country, no attempt had been made for an organized resistance. The forts of the freebooters were rased to the ground, the district of Sambhur was retained as security for the expenses, and a detachment left to overawe the rude natives.

The Rajpoot state of Jeypore was soon after the scene of a tragical and distressing event. The Rajah, a thoughtless and voluptuous youth, had left the whole administration in the hands of Jotaram, originally a banker, an able man, but believed to bear that unprincipled character too common among Indian statesmen. The prince died suddenly, leaving an infant as the heir; and as the inspection of his body was refused to the public, a strong suspicion arose that the minister, finding his master about to shake

off his influence, had secretly murdered him. Amid the ferment thus occasioned, the British Resident interposed, and procured the removal of Jotaram, and the transference of the government to a regency,—measures which appeared entirely accordant with public feeling. Soon, however, a jealousy was entertained that public affairs were placed entirely under the dictation of a few foreigners, and a feeling of enmity arose, which broke forth fatally on the following occasion :—On the 4th June 1835, Major Alves, the Resident, with Mr. Blake, Cornet Macnaghten, and Lieutenant Ludlow, had an interview with the Myesaheb or dowager-princess. After taking leave, as the first-mentioned gentleman was mounting his elephant, a man rushed out of the crowd with a drawn sword, and inflicted three wounds, one in the forehead; but these being immediately dressed, he was placed in a palanquin, and conveyed home in safety. The assassin having been seized, Mr. Blake undertook to conduct him to the place of confinement; but as he proceeded, the cry was raised, “The Feringees have shed blood in the palace!” A crowd instantly assembled, who are said to have been joined by many of the police; stones were thrown, and attempts made to stop Mr. Blake by maiming his elephant. He reached, however, the city gate, which was found shut, whereupon he turned back, and sought shelter in a mundur or temple, which was then fastened on the inside; but the multitude burst in, and he fell pierced by numerous wounds. He is said to have been a very promising officer, and generally popular among the natives. Macnaghten, by galloping in another direction through the crowd, though assailed by stones and other missiles, reached the residency in safety. The government disowned all knowledge of this outrage, though five individuals, whose guilt was clearly proved, were condemned and executed. Suspicion, however, soon fell upon Jotaram, the late minister, and after long preparation, he and several grandees connected with him were brought to trial before a native jury. Being found guilty of instigating and abetting the crime, sentence of death was pronounced upon them; but it was commuted to exile and imprisonment.

A strong sensation was caused in March 1835 by the assassination of Mr. Fraser, commissioner and agent of the governor-general at Delhi. As he was riding out late one evening, a man rode up as if to speak to him, rapidly discharged three balls through his body, and galloped off. After some time, through the evidence of an accomplice, the crime was brought home, not only to Kurreem, the actual murderer, but to a native chieftain, the Nawab of Ferozepore, by whom he had been employed. Both were condemned, and underwent the extreme sentence of the law. The execution of the former was attended by a vast concourse of natives, who, though kept in awe by an armed force, displayed a decided sympathy in his favour. It is somewhat unpleasant to learn that he was then in a manner canonized by them; that his grave was visited by great numbers, who sang songs and strewed flowers over it. The Rajah was executed without the gates, which were shut, and any large attendance of the people was thereby prevented.

In the course of the year 1834, Lord William Bentinck was obliged, from the state of his health, to make known to the government at home the necessity of resigning his high office, and in March 1835 he embarked for England. His departure was the subject of very general regret; for his administration had been marked by economy, a pacific spirit, and one of mildness and indulgence towards the natives. His system was considered by a party, especially among the military, as having been carried somewhat too far; but it was conformable to his instructions, and prompted undoubtedly by the best motives. His efforts to improve internal intercourse by the establishment of steam-vessels between the different Indian ports, and the formation of extensive lines of road through the interior, commanded universal applause. He favoured also the diffusion of education and knowledge among the Hindoos, and his views were seconded by the amiable and benevolent exertions of Lady Bentinck. A statue of his lordship was erected by subscription. His place as governor-general was supplied in the interim by Sir Charles Metcalfe; and on receiving

intelligence of Lord William's resignation, the Court of Directors unanimously nominated Lord Heytesbury, a choice which was cordially sanctioned by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, then ministers. The proceedings in Parliament, however, soon led to their resignation, and the accession to power of the Whig party, who, deeming it important to have a governor-general whose views accorded with their own, annulled the appointment. The Directors, though they expressed some dissatisfaction at this change, finally concurred in the nomination of Lord Auckland, who was entirely acceptable to ministers. On the 4th March 1836 his lordship landed at Calcutta, and assumed the reins of government.

About this time another mountain-struggle occurred in a territory named Goomsoor, inhabited by a peculiar race named Khonds, who had remained nearly independent. Their Rajah having shown a refractory spirit, a considerable force was despatched against him; and the troops, on reaching the summit of the Alpine chain, were surprised to see an extensive and fertile tract of country covered with fine villages in romantic situations. Little serious resistance was encountered; Goomsoor and the principal forts soon fell; the Rajah, and afterwards his son, submitted; yet a number of detached chieftains, exercising a sort of feudal power over vassals devotedly attached to them, kept up for a time a desultory resistance. In one skirmish two British officers were killed. The prolongation, too, of the war in a country filled with jungle and marshy districts, caused severe sickness among the troops, and two campaigns elapsed before this bold tribe could be brought under full subjection.

A considerable sensation was excited in 1837 by the succession to the throne of Oude, the most important dependency of the Bengal government; an event the prospect of which had for some years attracted attention, as the king's infirmities indicated that the throne would soon become vacant. That weak prince had acknowledged as his sons two youths, Kywan Jah and Moonah Jaun; but the general belief was, that he had acted under the influence of certain females, and that they were not his children. He himself finally made a declaration to that effect, and, after a

good deal of consideration, the British authorities determined to set them aside, and to support Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, his majesty's eldest surviving uncle, who, according to the peculiar tenor of Mohammedan law, was considered the legal heir. But the Padsha Begum, or queen-mother, a bold and ambitious princess, had, in the meantime, adopted Moonah Jaun, and was determined to espouse his cause.

On the night of the 7th July 1837, Colonel Low, the Resident, received a message that the king was taken suddenly ill, and believed to be dying. This officer, having ordered his troops to be in readiness, obeyed the summons, when he found that his majesty had just expired. Having in this crisis obtained from Nusseer-ood-Dowlah an engagement to sign such a treaty as the governor-general should dictate, he led him to the royal residence, where preparations were made for his immediate installation. Suddenly, however, a great noise was heard, and it soon appeared that the Padsha with an armed force of about 2000 men, was approaching the palace, which, as our soldiers were not yet come up, was very slightly guarded. In spite of a warm remonstrance, the natives burst open the gates, filled the edifice with shouts and clamour, seized both the prince and the Company's servants, in presence of whom Moonah Jaun was placed on the throne, the Begum being seated in a palanquin beneath him. The insurgents, after some violent proceedings towards the Resident, allowed him to retire, when, upon finding his men assembled, he sent repeated messages to the Begum, calling upon her to surrender. As she returned evasive answers, a battery was opened, and in a short time she and her minions were made prisoners. The old prince, whom, though he had endured many insults, they found safe, was immediately seated on the throne, and his accession announced by a royal salute to the inhabitants of the capital.

All these proceedings were approved by the governor-general; but of the promise extorted from the king relative to a new treaty, it appears that no advantage has been taken.

Claims were advanced by two nephews, sons of a deceased elder

brother, who urged that, as their father, if alive, would have succeeded, they ought to inherit in his stead. This question, however, had early attracted the attention of the Indian government, who, after much consideration and reference to high authorities, as well as precedents (among which was that of the present King of Delhi), had concluded that, according to the principles of the Soonee sect, a son cannot succeed to rights or property to which his father was heir, if he died before coming into actual possession. In this case, the inheritance goes to a brother. A curious contest also arose between the two princes as to which was the elder; though, as both were excluded, there was no need to discuss this question. One of them spent a considerable time in England, but without being able to obtain any attention either from Parliament or the Company.

Another political change, somewhat similar, excited a great interest in India. The Rajah of Satara, lineal descendant of Sevajee, the warlike founder of the Mahratta dynasty, had, as formerly mentioned, been drawn from the prison into which the Peishwa and the other chiefs had thrown him, and invested, not indeed with the wide dominions of his house, but with a certain extent of valuable territory. He held it, however, under the avowed stipulation of paying the greatest deference to the advice of the English Resident, and holding no intercourse with foreign states through any other channel. For several years he gave the highest satisfaction, showing the most cordial attachment to the British government, and exerting himself with diligence, unfortunately not usual among Indian princes, to promote the prosperity of his subjects. At length he began to show strong symptoms of an intriguing spirit; and about 1836, the charges against him assumed a definite form, being resolved into three heads:—1. That he had been guilty of an attempt to seduce certain native officers from their allegiance to the Company. 2. That he had carried on a treasonable correspondence with Appa Sahib, then a refugee at Joudpore. 3. That he had maintained a similar intercourse with the Portuguese governor of Goa. After

long investigation, Sir Robert Grant, governor of Bombay, became thoroughly convinced of his guilt; and Lord Auckland, after a good deal of hesitation, acquiesced in the same judgment.

Sir Robert died, and was succeeded in 1839 by Sir James Carnac, who went out, it is said, with a strong prepossession in the prince's favour. He soon, however, became convinced that there was ground for the charges against him, but obtained the approbation of Lord Auckland to an amnesty, by which past offences were to be buried in oblivion, on securities being given to adhere strictly in future to the treaty by which he had been placed on the throne. He was also required to dismiss his favourite minister, and not allow him, without our permission, to reside in his dominions. Sir James, on a visit to him, presented these proposals, but they met with a peremptory and indignant rejection. His friends admit that he was "proud, overbearing, strong in the assertion of his rights, impetuous, in short, a regular Hotspur." It is added, on the other side, that the idea had been instilled into him, that the Company would not proceed to extremities, and great confidence was placed in extensive agencies maintained in England, Bombay, and Poonah, at an annual expense of above £35,000. The governor, in four successive interviews, sought in vain to change his resolution, and in departing on the 28th August, left instructions with the Resident to forward any communications he might receive. The Rajah remaining inflexible, a proclamation deposing him was issued on the 5th September, and on the 7th December he was removed to Benares, to be entered on the list of pensioned princes. The vacant seat was bestowed on his brother, who was placed on the guddee on the 18th November 1839. Among his first proceedings was the abolition of Suttee, which was followed by other measures decidedly calculated for the public good.

A portion, meantime, of the East India proprietors, actuated by honourable motives, considered these measures oppressive, and even injurious to the British character. A special court being called on 12th February 1840, upon the requisition of nine of their number,

Sir Charles Forbes moved, that they should recommend to the Directors and the Board of Control to withhold their sanction to the measure till after a full and fair investigation of the charges. This motion was opposed, until the subject should be considered by the Directors, and the proper documents laid before the Proprietors; which being done on the 6th May, and a sufficient time afforded for consideration, the court again met on 14th July 1841, when a very long and animated debate ensued. Generals Robertson and Lodwick, who had been Residents at the prince's court, took a very decided part in his favour. They urged, that none of the charges were confirmed by anything in his own handwriting, or had been brought personally home to him; alleging that his agents and officers, especially the Bramina, cherished in many cases hostile feelings towards his person; that his brother, hoping for the succession, had an obvious interest in proving him guilty; that the very idea of defying British power by the aid of the Governor of Goa and the imprisoned Rajah of Nagpore, was ridiculous, and could never have been entertained by a prince who was admitted to possess ability; and at all events, that he was entitled, like every accused person, to a fair and open trial. In these views they were supported by others. It was answered, that the inquiry had been most impartial; that due allowance had been made for the defects in the evidence, much of which had been given by persons who had no interest in proving the Rajah's guilt; that even his advocates, Robertson and Lodwick, had addressed severe warnings to him on his intriguing disposition, and the consequences which might follow; that there had certainly been some correspondence with Goa and the Nagpore Rajah, which alone was a breach of the treaty placing him on the throne; and that though possessing ability, he was not a politician, and might easily form chimerical expectations from distant quarters. The public trial of a prince in his own dominions, it was admitted, was liable to many objections; but the charges had been stated to him, and no satisfactory explanation given. Finally, the terms on which continuance in power had been offered were extremely lenient,

making no material difference from his position when first raised to it. The motion was finally negatived by 31 to 13, and several attempts made to revive it were unsuccessful.

At Hydrabad, a somewhat serious conspiracy was formed among thirty or forty leading men, headed by the Nizam's brother, a proud and daring chief; but being discovered, it was baffled, and the prince conveyed to the fort of Golconda. During the investigation which followed, the Nabob of Kurnool, a place situated about 120 miles farther south, was found implicated. A force being immediately marched to reduce the town, it was entered without opposition; and the Nabob, who had been carried away by his own troops, was pursued and captured after a sharp conflict. Within the fortress, however, were found a number of well-constructed furnaces, in which cannon and shot had been cast on a large scale, and in forms fitted not for defence only, but for active proceedings in the field. These preparations had been secretly carried on for a considerable time.

The Rajah of Joudpore, after yielding in 1834 to all the demands of the governor-general, had constantly evaded their fulfilment, and now showed himself more than ever refractory. Six regiments, with some cavalry and artillery, were sent against him, on whose approach he abandoned the stronghold, which was entered without resistance, only one British officer being wounded. Thus the troubles which had arisen in so many quarters were crushed, and our ascendancy more fully than ever established throughout Hindostan.

While these movements were taking place in the interior, a most extensive and serious contest was waging on the western frontier. Although Afghanistan, its theatre, is not strictly part of India, the two regions have always been very closely connected, and sometimes united; and the events in question deeply affect the interests of our Eastern empire. The succeeding chapter is, accordingly, devoted to the history of the memorable transactions in Afghanistan, which seemed for a time to threaten the overthrow of British empire in India.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE AFGHAN WAR.

Revolutions of Cabul—Dost Mohammed—Expedition of Shah Sujah—Intrigues of Russia and Persia—Siege of Herat—Treaty to restore Shah Sujah—March of the Army—Submission of the Ameers—Arrival at Candahar—Capture of Ghuzni—Flight of Dost Mohammed—Death of Runjeet Sing—Troubles in Afghanistan—Invasion by Dost Mohammed—His Defeat and Surrender—Disturbances in various Quarters—March of General Sale—Great Insurrection at Cabul—Various Conflicts—Treacherous Negotiations—Disastrous Retreat—Fall of Ghuzni—Transactions at Candahar—Gallant Exploits of General Sale—General Pollock passes the Kyber Defile—Repulse of General England—Death of Shah Sujah—Lord Ellenborough Governor-General—His Policy—Transactions at Jellalabad—Victories of General Pollock—He arrives at Cabul—General England's Return—General Nott's March on Ghuzni and Cabul—Return of the Prisoners—Capture of Istalif—Proceedings at Cabul—Return of General Pollock—Conclusion.

THE kingdom of Cabul, under Ahmed Abdalla, had, towards the end of the last century, become one of the most powerful in Asia; and after his victory over the Mahrattas in the battle of Panniput, in 1761, the Mogul throne seemed completely within his grasp. He had the moderation or prudence, however, to content himself with the rich provinces on the Indus, and the fine valley of Cashmere. Having added Balkh, Herat, and Sinde, he formed a powerful monarchy, estimated to contain above fourteen millions of inhabitants; and this dominion Mr. Elphinstone, on his mission to Peshawur in 1808, found still entire in the hands of his successor Shah Sujah ul Mulk. But it was then on the eve of a great revolution; and in a few months afterwards, that prince was driven out by his brother Mahmoud, whose successes, however, were mostly achieved by his vizier Futteh Khan, of the Barukzye tribe. That minister, having incurred the jealousy of his master, was deposed, blinded, and subsequently cut to pieces,—a cruel deed, which roused the vengeance of his numerous offspring. The usurper was driven from all his territories except Herat; and, after some vicissitudes, Cabul, Ghuzni, Candahar, and Peshawur, were partitioned among members of the Barukzye house, the first two falling to Dost Mohammed, the most powerful of their number.

Amid these distractions, Runjeet Sing, having acquired absolute authority over the warlike race of the Sikhs, made himself master of the provinces eastward of the Indus, to which he added Cashmere. Balkh was seized by the sovereign of Bokhara; the chiefs of Sindé threw off their dependence; while the fine territory of Herat was occupied by Kamran, son to Mahmoud, the only branch of the house of Ahmed Abdalla to whom anything now remained. In this manner, a monarchy, lately so great, was parcelled out into a number of disjointed fragments.

Shah Sujah, after his expulsion, resided at Loodiana, being allowed by the British government a monthly pension of 4000 rupees. He kept a longing eye upon his lost kingdom, and was encouraged by various chiefs of Afghanistan and Khorassan to attempt its recovery. With this view he made proposals, in 1831, to Runjeet Sing; and, after some difficulties, concluded a treaty with him on the 12th March 1833. The British agreed to give an advance of four months' allowance, but declined taking any further concern in the enterprise. Hence the exiled prince could not begin his march till the season was somewhat advanced. He passed first through the territories of the Rajah of Bahawulpore, from whom he received only an old gun and 1000 rupees; and then, with the consent of the chiefs of Sindé, he crossed the Indus, and established himself at Shikarpore. Those leaders, however, turned a deaf ear to his applications for money; and the Shah, who had assembled a considerable force, determined to take that affair upon himself, demanding from the city a contribution of three lacs, and seizing all the crops in the surrounding districts. The Sindians thereupon levied a force, and marched to attack him; but being completely defeated, they agreed to the payment demanded, and even consented to send an auxiliary force. The conqueror, thus supplied, advanced, in February 1834, upon Candahar, and was joined on the road by numerous adherents. He defeated a force which attempted to oppose his progress, entered the city, and laid close siege to the citadel. The Barukzye brothers retreated upon Cabul, and, as disunion was understood to prevail

between them, the complete and speedy success of the undertaking was anticipated. But Dost Mohammed, by indefatigable exertion, assembled an army, and marched upon Candahar, the chiefs of which sallied forth from the citadel, and an engagement ensued, in which the army of Shah Sujah was totally defeated and dispersed. He himself at the head of only 200 men fled in the direction of Herat, but afterwards regained India, though mortified by the total failure of this attempt to recover his crown. The "Lion of the Punjaub," however, succeeded on his part in capturing Peshawur, and annexing it to his dominions.

Dost Mohammed, elated by his victory, and indignant, not without reason, at the conduct of Runjeet Sing, who certainly had acted without any provocation, became eagerly desirous of recovering the lost territory. Sensible that his own power was inadequate to the undertaking, he hoped to accomplish it by a general confederacy among the powers of Central Asia; and the one from whom he could look for the most effective aid was the sovereign of Persia.

The empire just named has been involved in a continued series of revolutions. The last century in particular was marked, first by the conquest of the Afghans, then by their expulsion on the part of Nadir, and the splendour to which he raised the monarchy; after his death, a long anarchy ensued, out of which she was raised by Aga Mohammed, great grandfather to the reigning prince. Under him and his son, Futteh Ali Shah, she was supported in a respectable position, but having to contend against the advancing power of Russia, with whose numerous and disciplined troops hers could not cope, she was stripped of some of her finest provinces between the Caspian and the Black Sea. In this situation the government applied for assistance to England, which, jealous of the progress of the Czar, supplied some pecuniary aid and experienced officers to discipline the Shah's troops. Nothing more was meant, however, than to maintain him in a purely defensive position, and with this view he was dissuaded from all schemes of war and conquest.

An alliance thus founded on mutual interest, seemed to promise permanency ; but a change gradually came over the councils of Persia. Although her improved discipline could not enable her to contend with Russia, it gave to her arms a decided superiority over the rude tribes of Khorassan and Afghanistan. The former country, long held by brave and turbulent chiefs, was, after a desperate struggle, reduced to submission. The adjacent province of Herat was next aimed at, and after its conquest, there appeared no impediment, in the present distracted state of Afghanistan, to the extension of the Persian sway to the Indus. To these schemes the old king, Futteh Ali, unwillingly assented, chiefly on the impulse of his son, Abbas Meerza, whose younger brother he had made governor of Khorassan. In 1834 he died ; and as Meerza had previously deceased, his son Mohammed now succeeded. This young and aspiring sovereign, who had actually led an expedition against Herat, embraced with ardour the new and ambitious system of policy. To carry it on successfully, the acquiescence of Russia was indispensable, while her aid might prove of the greatest advantage. England, on the contrary, had always opposed schemes of conquest, and would doubtless view with peculiar jealousy those carried in the direction of her own frontier. It might scarcely have been expected that Russia would favour the aggrandizement of an old enemy, from whom she had wrested so many valuable provinces, which there was doubtless an eager desire to recover. Yet there was in her cabinet a powerful party who urged the adoption of these views. They considered that attempts at distant conquest would only increase the dependence of Persia on so powerful a neighbour ; and they had probably other views to be forwarded by such profound diplomacy.

The question, whether Russia contemplates the conquest of British India has been much canvassed, and in most cases with imperfect local knowledge. Her route is presumed to lie across the vast, almost desert regions of Turkistan, and then through the tremendous passes and eternal snows of the Indian Caucasus, by which it is argued that the complex apparatus of a modern army

could never be conveyed. This was indeed the course followed by Alexander and Timur; but the former was obliged to pursue Darius into Bactria, while the latter came from Central Asia. There is, however, another route leading through Persia and Afghanistan, and along the southern verge of the great chain, which is beset with no peculiar difficulties; and this has been usually followed by the conquerors of Hindostan, the Ghisnevide, the Patans, Baber, and Nadir. At the same time, though Russia could send by this track 40,000 men, we imagine her too politic seriously to think of such a step. By employing, however, or even promising a much smaller auxiliary force, she might acquire a preponderating influence in Western Asia, and might hope to overawe Britain by exciting alarm for her Indian possessions.

By communications from Mr. Ellis, our envoy in 1835, it appears that both powers were strongly actuated by these views. The Persian court openly avowed its claim not only upon Herat but upon Candahar and Cabul; and great preparations were making for an expedition against the former city, the immediate prosecution of which was eagerly urged by Count Simonich, the Russian ambassador. In April 1836, a deputy arrived from the chiefs of Candahar proposing an alliance offensive and defensive, even offering themselves as feudatories, and holding out the hope that through their aid the Shah might follow the steps of Nadir to Delhi. He was received with great favour, and the alliance agreed to, though the Persian minister, in his communications with Ellis, represented such language as that of a madman. Mr. M'Neill, who succeeded that gentleman, reported, in September 1836, that the Shah had actually marched against Herat. At Astrabad, the dearth of provisions and the insubordination of the troops reduced him to great distress; yet the Russian minister continued to urge even a winter campaign. Lord Durham being hereupon instructed to represent these particulars to the Russian cabinet, Count Nesselrode answered, that if Simonich had really acted in the manner alleged, it had been in direct opposition to his orders. Letters were afterwards shown from the ambassador, as-

serting that he had used all his influence to dissuade the Shah from the expedition; yet Mr. M'Neill declared, that his information was confirmed by all the Persians with whom he conversed, the prime minister not excepted. Preparations were avowedly making for a fresh expedition, when an envoy arrived from Kamran, offering not only the redress of all positive complaints, but an annual tribute, and the aid when required of a military force. Our agent strenuously urged the acceptance of these terms, intimating that otherwise the intentions of Persia would evidently be conquest, which would give decided umbrage to the British government. The prime minister replied, that Herat was a province of their empire,—that the object required was submission, which would include all the other conditions, while the bare use of the term Shah by its chief was expressive of disobedience. The entire conquest of Herat was thus openly contemplated, and without any regard to the remonstrances of our ambassador, Mohammed began his march. When he was near Meshed, a messenger employed by the British representative was seized, stripped, and carried to the camp, where he continued to be treated with indignity, even after the remonstrances of Colonel Stoddart. Mr. M'Neill had no doubt the object was to show contempt for the English, and remove the unfavourable impression derived from their opposition. The Persian ruler meantime reached, and in ten days reduced, the frontier fortress of Ghorian, which had been considered very strong. Elated with this success, he proceeded to besiege the capital, where Kamran, having concentrated his forces, had begun a vigorous defence; yet the general opinion in Western Asia was, that he could not long resist the formidable force now brought against him.

The British government in India, on receiving this intelligence, instructed our minister to use his utmost exertions to mediate a peace between Persia and Herat. He accordingly set out for the latter place, and, after many difficulties, succeeded in persuading the Shah, who began to suffer from want of provisions, to enter into a negotiation, which seemed even in a fair train, when Count

Simonich arrived at head-quarters. Then the views of Mohammed were entirely changed, and the treaty was suspended; for the Russian not only supplied money, but aided with his advice the operations of the siege. As, however, it advanced slowly, the Shah, ten days after, sent for Mr. M'Neill, and offered to close with Kamran's proposal, provided the ambassador would pledge the guarantee of Britain. The latter felt this somewhat beyond his powers, yet, on considering the very great importance of the object, he at last gave his consent; upon which the other altered his tone, advanced new demands, and resumed the siege.

The cause of this change was soon understood to be the arrival of a messenger from Kohundil Khan, ruler of Candahar, expressing the most friendly sentiments, and a disposition to co-operate against Herat. It was known, in fact, that about four months previously, Captain Vicovich, a Russian officer, had proceeded to that city through Persia, having been received on his way with distinction, and supplied with money. The result of this mission forthwith appeared in a treaty, by which the Shah agreed to cede the town to the chiefs of Candahar and to defend them against attack from any quarter; in return for which he was to receive allegiance, peesh-cush (tribute), and military aid. This treaty was sanctioned in the name of Russia by Count Simonich; upon which Mr. M'Neill, defeated in all his views and scarcely treated with common decency, quitted the camp on the 7th June 1838.

Meantime, uncertainty reigned as to the views of Dost Mohammed at Cabul. Lord Auckland sent thither Captain Burnes to negotiate for the free commerce of the Indus, and if opportunity occurred, to endeavour to restore peace between him and Runjeet Sing. The former prince received the envoy well, and soon introduced political subjects, endeavouring to gain the support of Britain. He was assured, by a letter from the governor-general, that she would readily interpose her good offices to negotiate a peace with the Sikh chief, who had accepted her mediation, and he might thus be secured in all his actual possessions, though he must not expect any more; for even this was only on condition of his re-

nouncing all political connexion with the powers to the westward. These terms were by no means equal to his expectations, so that Vicovich and a Persian envoy having arrived with great boasts and promises, he was induced to prefer their alliance. Captain Burnes was then allowed to depart, bearing with him a very ambiguous letter to Lord Auckland.

This situation of affairs was considered by the governor-general as calling for the most serious consideration. The ultimate fall of Herat appeared still inevitable, all means of relief being apparently cut off by the Candahar treaty. The whole of Western Asia would then be united in one vast confederacy, under the influence of Russia, which would thereby be able to disturb at will the repose of India, where there were doubtless many princes eager to shake off all dependence on Britain. Under these circumstances, the system of non-intervention, hitherto pursued, was thought no longer practicable, nor even safe. Shah Sujah preferred a claim of legitimacy to the throne of Cabul; and he had in his favour a strong party, which Major Wade reported to be decidedly superior to that by which the Barukzyes were maintained in authority. He had formed an intimate alliance with Runjeet Sing, then engaged in hostilities with the ruler of Cabul. It appeared that Britain, by a union with these two powers, could easily replace the exiled monarch on his throne, and thus render the strong country of Afghanistan friendly, and a sure bulwark against all attacks from the westward. In pursuance of these views, a treaty between the three parties was signed at Lahore, on the 26th June 1838; and a considerable force was marched from the Bengal provinces upon the Indus, where it was to be joined by all the disposable troops of the Bombay presidency.

Mohammed Shah continued to prosecute the siege, and on the 23d June made a general assault, planned by Count Simonich, who complained, however, that his directions had not been attended to. The Persians attacked with much bravery, but were repulsed with great slaughter, the Afghans pursuing them sabre in hand across the ditch. Yet as the blockade was continued, and the

difficulty arising from want of provisions appeared to be in a great measure removed, on the 10th July Mr. McNeill sent Colonel Stoddart with a notice that its farther prosecution would be considered an act of decided hostility towards England. The message was doubtless rendered weighty by the prince's knowledge of the triple alliance, and the approaching march of British troops into Afghanistan. On the 14th August he announced his unreserved assent; but it was not till the 9th September that he took his departure, and without attempting to negotiate the treaty with Kamran on the terms formerly stipulated.

In October 1838, Lord Palmerston presented a remonstrance to the Russian government, reminding them of their professed desire to maintain Persia in a pacific state, and asking whether their policy was to be judged of by the declarations of their cabinet, or by the acts of their ministers? Count Nesselrode, in two successive papers, reiterated the same pacific professions, particularly disclaiming any designs upon India, as impracticable and inconsistent with any sound and reasonable policy. Yet, by a singular course of reasoning, he defended the conduct of those officers, not excepting Simonich's active share in the siege of Herat, representing it as merely aiding a friendly power in distress, while the Candahar treaty had been a purely defensive one. It was, however, announced that both officers had been recalled, and the place of ambassador filled by General Duhamel, "so well known for the moderation of his character, that his nomination alone may be held as the surest proof of the line of conduct which he is instructed to follow." The emperor had also refused to ratify the treaty of Candahar, however harmless, as being "beyond the limits which he had fixed to his policy," and took no part in the civil wars of the Afghan chiefs. As this was written on the 5th March 1839, when the British expedition was fully known, it amounted to an engagement not to oppose that measure. Lord Palmerston, therefore, while declining to give any assent to the reasonings contained in these despatches, expressed entire satisfaction with the result.

The British force was in motion by the end of 1838; and for

various reasons, chiefly political, it marched not through the Sikh territory, but by way of Sind and Beloochistan. The troops from Bombay, under Sir John Keane, embarked on the 21st November for the Indus, on the banks of which they were to be joined by Sir Henry Fane, the commander-in-chief, with the force from Bengal. On the 3d December, the former disembarked at the branch of the river named Hujamree, and by difficult marches arrived on the 28th at Tatta, the ancient Patala, which, though much decayed, still presented some vestiges of its former grandeur. Here negotiations were opened with the Ameers, resident at Hyderabad, to whom, on the 13th January, two officers were sent with an ultimatum, which included the free navigation of the Indus, the admission of a British force to be stationed at Tatta and other points, together with the payment of 170,000 rupees, in part of arrears due to Shah Sujah. The mission returned on the 25th, reporting the entire rejection of these terms, describing the city as filled with large bands of warlike Beloochees, and stating that active measures had been taken to strengthen the fortifications. They advised, therefore, to defer the attack till after the arrival of the Bengal force. Sir John, however, on the 3d February, took post on the opposite side of the river; while Admiral Maitland, with the Wellesley seventy-four, moved upon Kurachee, a large seaport west of the Indus, and communicating with it by a navigable channel. The governor at first showed a bold face; but as soon as a breach had been made the garrison fled, and the place was occupied without resistance. On receiving this intelligence, and seeing the British army, most of the Beloochees broke up from Hyderabad, and the Ameers at once agreed to the terms demanded.

Sir John now marched up the banks of the Indus, and on the 21st February reached Sehwan, where he met Sir Henry Fane with the Bengal army. These last had crossed at Bukkur, having, by a great exertion of skill and activity, thrown a bridge of boats over the river, here 490 yards broad. A long conference was held between the two officers; but the latter was obliged by severe ill-

ness to return to Britain, so that the chief command devolved on General Keane, and the second on Sir Willoughby Cotton. Mr. Macnaghten, who acted as envoy, having urged an immediate advance, progress was resumed on the 22d; the whole force, according to Major Hough, being 19,350 men, with 6000 of the Shah's contingent. Having reached Larkhanu on the 5th March, and halted there nine days for refreshment, they quitted the Indus, and struck into the interior. They had then to perform a march of 500 miles to Candahar, through a most difficult country, being partly the same in which Alexander, on his return from India, so severely suffered. Great part was quite a desert, and the heat so excessive, that Major Dennie reports two officers and fifty or sixty men in his division to have died from the action of the deadly simoom. The Bolan pass, through a range of mountains stretching from north to south, and at its head, according to Major Hough, 5793 feet above the sea-level, is in its nakedness and desolation almost unparalleled. The Afghan princes certainly showed a great want of foresight in not bringing forward their main force, defending the strongest positions, and attacking the invader at every assailable point. Even without such opposition, the army was not a little annoyed by desultory attacks from the Beloochees and the Kakurs, tribes inured to plunder, who not only carried away camels, provisions, and other property, but murdered all whom they found straggling, or could entice by false promises to quit the main body. The distress became extreme from the want of water, the enemy having filled up the wells and diverted the mountain-streams. A pestilential air filled the close valleys, and a noisome stench arose from the numerous bodies of camels, and even men, that lay strewed on the ground. But through all these obstacles, they, on the 4th May, arrived without any serious loss, though in a very exhausted state, at the ancient city of Candahar. The chiefs, who at first came out to meet them, were seized with panic, quarrelled among themselves, and left the place, which was entered without even a show of resistance. It could not, it is true, have stood twenty-four hours against a British army. On the

8th, Shah Sujah was crowned with every circumstance of pomp and external honour; but he was welcomed with little cordiality by the native inhabitants of Western Afghanistan.

The army remained six weeks at Candahar, and received from its fruitful plain tolerable supplies of provisions. They then marched through the valley of the Turnuk upon Ghuzni, the celebrated capital of Mahmoud, and still esteemed by the Asiatics an impregnable fortress. The British, indeed, when they arrived on the 21st July, found it considerably stronger than their information had led them to expect, and which had even induced them to leave behind their battering-train. The town is situated on high ground, the walls were lofty and in good repair, surrounded by a wet ditch, reported to be unfordable. This position was considered very unfavourable either for mining or escalade; and yet rapidity of operation was of the utmost importance. Captain Thomson, the principal engineer, after a careful survey of the whole circuit, reported that the Cabul gate could be approached, and suggested the expedient of forcing it by an explosion of gunpowder. General Keane having approved the plan, a party, consisting of three officers and twenty-one men, advanced, carrying 900 pounds of gunpowder in twelve sand-bags. On the 23d, at early dawn, they made their way unperceived to the spot, deposited the train, and, setting it on fire, hastily retired. It presently burst with a tremendous explosion, by which the gate was shattered entirely to pieces; the storming-party, directed by Colonel Sale, and headed by Colonel Dennie, rushed in; the garrison, struck with astonishment and dismay, made a brisk but irregular resistance; and in a short time the whole works were in our possession. A number had kept up a fire at particular points, and from houses, exulting even in death if they had slain an infidel; whence our loss amounted to 17 killed and 165 wounded.

Dost Mohammed, trusting that the siege of Ghuzni would have occupied the invaders a considerable time, had an army prepared to operate, according to opportunity, against the besiegers; but on receiving intelligence of what had taken place, he endeavoured

through one of his brothers to open a negotiation. Being informed that the only terms which would be accepted were resignation of the crown and residence within the Company's territories, he refused compliance; but, deserted by his best troops, he did not attempt to defend even the strong passes leading to Cabul; his artillery was captured on the road; and the British entering his capital without resistance, he retreated by Bameean over the mountains into Turkistan. Haji Khan, a native chief who had deserted his cause, was employed to pursue him with 2000 men and an escort of 100 English troops under Major Outram; but he performed the task carelessly and even treacherously, so that the fugitive prince without difficulty escaped. The whole country then submitted, excepting a few grandees who held strong positions in the Ghilzie territory, whom Outram obliged successively to yield.

In the end of 1839, an event took place which threatened a serious commotion. Runjeet Sing died, leaving a kingdom formed by himself, and supposed to be kept together almost solely by his talents and energy. Kurruk Sing, his eldest son, was understood to be well disposed, but devoid of such vigour and determination as were necessary to control the turbulent elements over which he must preside. Runjeet's abilities were in some degree inherited by Shere Sing, another son, whom, through certain feelings of jealousy, he had refused to acknowledge. Yet, as that prince grew up, and displayed eminent military qualities, he was received into favour, and even invested with the government of Cashmere, where he is said to have ruled tyrannically. Kurruk, being undoubtedly the legitimate heir, and on that ground supported by Britain, was at once placed on the musnud. He ventured, however, to transfer his confidence from Dhian Sing, the active minister of his father, to another chief named Cheyt Sing. Yet Dhian's influence being still paramount, he brought about the death of the new favourite; and placing Kurruk under restriction, lodged all the power in the hands of his son, Now Nehal, said to be a prince of spirit and talent. On the 5th October, 1840, the deposed prince died, after a lingering illness, not without strong suspicion

of poison ; and at the funeral ceremony Now Nehal was killed by the falling of a beam, which was also believed to have proceeded from preconcerted design. Both these guilty deeds were ascribed to Dhian, who immediately after sent for Shere Sing, and placed him on the musnud ; but one of the widows of Now Nehal declaring herself pregnant, her cause was espoused by the mother of that prince, a person of determined character, and Shere, finding her influence at Lahore too strong for him, resigned his pretensions and left the city. His only object, however, was to muster his adherents, who held a species of feudal sway over different districts of this turbulent domain. He soon obtained ample assurances of support, and though commencing his return to the capital at the head of only 500 followers, he approached it with fair prospects of success. Dhian having joined him with a numerous band, completed his triumph ; and the queen, though she still made some attempts to resist, was soon obliged to yield, on the promise of safety and honourable treatment.

During this strange series of events, the British government kept a strong cordon of troops on the frontier, and carefully watched every movement ; but there appeared no ground for interference, which could not indeed have been attempted without taking actual possession of the country. Agitations and alarms continued to be felt ; but the dread of British hostility restrained Shere Sing for a time, while objects of more immediate interest engaged the attention of the British government.

On the west of the Indus, even after the conquest of Afghanistan, another serious contest was waged. Mehrab, Khan of Kelat, whose dominions lay on the left flank of the British in their advance, had shown a very unfriendly spirit, and actively directed against them his predatory bands. It was judged necessary to chastise this conduct, and General Willshire, in November 1839, marched against his capital. He rejected all overtures, and the army arrived on the 12th before Kelat, which was found defended by three heights, each covered with infantry, and guarded by a parapet-wall. As nothing decisive could be effected till these

troops were driven from that position, the general ordered three columns to advance, who found when they reached the eminences that the enemy had been dislodged by the fire of the artillery. Hopes were entertained of reaching a gate before it was closed upon the fugitives. This could not be effected; but, by some well-directed discharges of heavy shot, one was nearly demolished, and the pursuers rushed in. The garrison, after making a gallant and determined resistance, retired into the citadel; but its gate being reached before it could be fully secured inside, was burst open. Mehrab and several of his chiefs fell fighting sword in hand, before the final surrender. The contest was more severe than that at Ghuzni, the loss amounting to 31 killed and 107 wounded.

The fort was now placed under Shah Niwaz, another Beloochee prince, who, with a party of thirty men, under Lieutenant Loveday, undertook its defence. Nusseer, however, heir to Mehrab, having assembled a considerable band, threw himself between that place and Quetta, the British head-quarters; and the force there being too much reduced to dislodge him, he cut off several small detachments. He then directed his march upon Kelat, which he closely invested. The defence was spirited; but extensive treachery being discovered within the walls, Shah Niwaz judged it necessary to submit. Loveday, who was thus made prisoner, was very harshly treated, and at last barbarously murdered. Nusseer then advanced upon Dadur, an important British post, which he took, and plundered its magazines; but Major Boscawen came up next day and obliged him to retreat. Larger reinforcements arriving soon after, General Nott took the command, and marched upon Kelat, which he reached on the 3d November, but found it abandoned by the enemy. At length, on the 1st December, Colonel Marshall from Kotra succeeded in surprising the enemy's camp, and routed and dispersed his force.

Another troublesome contest soon afterwards arose. The Murrees, a brave tribe of Beloochistan, owned some allegiance to the Khan of Kelat, but were, it is said, not at all disposed to take

part with him against Britain. By way of security, however, Captain Brown, with a detachment, occupied Kahun, their principal hill-fort. No resistance was made at the time; but their feeling of patriotic independence being soon roused, they assembled in large bodies, cut off several detachments, and closely invested the place. Brown was thus placed in a critical situation, and Major Clibborn, who was sent with a party to relieve him, found the pass of Nufosk very strongly guarded. He endeavoured to force it; but this being the hot and dry season, his troops were overpowered by thirst and fatigue; and though he gained considerable advantages, and a number of hostile chiefs fell, he could not clear the ravine. A party sent for water were entirely destroyed; he lost in all 150 men; and, through the defection of the camel-drivers, was obliged to abandon stores, artillery, and baggage. After this disaster, there seemed no hope left for the detachment at Kahun. Brown, however, by dexterously deceiving the enemy as to the extent of his resources, succeeded in obtaining a treaty, which allowed him to return unmolested. It was honourably fulfilled, and no farther disturbance has been experienced from that quarter.

The interior of Afghanistan, meantime, remained in a state of somewhat precarious tranquillity. Sir John Keane returned with a portion of the army into India, not through Sind, but by the route of the Punjab, crossing the Indus at Attock. It was found necessary, however, to leave still a considerable force under Sir Willoughby Cotton; for although all regular resistance had ceased, there were clear symptoms of the unpopularity of the new government, and especially of its foreign supporters. The conduct of the Shah, too, as well as of his sons, is represented as neither prudent nor conciliatory. Officers and men found straggling were murdered; several of the mountain-chiefs openly resisted, and were not reduced without some difficulty. The most serious affair was at Pushoot, where Colonel Orchard's attempt to blow up the gate, as at Ghuzni, failed through the bad quality of the powder, and he was finally beaten off with the loss of sixty-nine killed and

wounded. The fort, however, with the adjacent one of Khatka, was then evacuated.

In May a general insurrectionary movement took place among the Ghilzies, a tribe occupying the high mountain-territory between Candahar and Cabul; who, accustomed to a wild independence, brooked ill the stricter rule under which they were now held. Captain Anderson, marching against them with 1200 men, was attacked by more than double that number, who fought with such bravery as to render the contest for some time doubtful; however, they were at length repulsed with great loss. Colonel Wallace also took by surprise the fort of a leading chief; and the two corps having joined, composed a force which the insurgents could not face. The brother of Mohammed Khan, the leader of these revolted chieftains, then came into camp, and effected an accommodation.

Dost Mohammed, after his retreat beyond the mountains, being favourably received by the chiefs of Khoolloom and Koondooz, had proceeded to Bokhara, hoping to obtain aid from that most powerful of the states in Central Asia. The Khan, however, not only refused his request, but placed him under confinement. In August 1840, the fugitive made his escape; and, being still favoured by the border princes, found no difficulty in raising among the Usbeck tribes and his own former subjects a very considerable force. The Wallee of Khoolloom even took the field along with him, and they advanced through the mountain-defiles upon Cabul. That capital, only about fifty miles from this great barrier, became seriously exposed. Dost Mohammed marched upon the frontier town of Syghan, then held by an Afghan corps organized under the eye of the British, and commanded by Captain Hopkins. On the approach of the enemy, they fell back on Bameean in a mutinous and disorderly state, several companies having deserted. Colonel Dennie, who, with about 2000 men, was then sent to encounter the invader, anticipated him in crossing the Irak pass, disarmed Hopkins' corps, and advanced from Bameean. He learned, on the 18th September 1840, that the enemy were

advancing in great force from Syghan; and, being desirous to draw them on, suspended his movements. Being informed, however, that a party, supposed to be their advanced guard, had attacked a fortified post which claimed his protection, he pushed on with about a third of his troops. On arriving, he was surprised by seeing the whole of the Dost's army in front, estimated by him at 10,000; but finding his men full of ardour, and dreading the effect of halting or retreating, he promptly decided on an immediate attack. The enemy, who at first made a somewhat vigorous stand, seeing the steady advance of the British, lost courage after a few volleys, and fled in confusion into the pass, through which they were pursued by the cavalry four or five miles. Dost Mohammed and the Wallee of Khoollloom fled with only 200 followers.

Meantime, one of the sons of Dost Mohammed had occupied the strong defile of Ghorebund in Kohistan. General Sale was sent against him, and on the 29th found him stationed in a village covered by a garden-wall, and defended by a chain of forts. A column of attack was formed, and pressed forward with such energy, that, on its advancing within fifty paces of the wall, the enemy abandoned all their positions, and fled with precipitation into ground where the cavalry could not follow. The loss of the assailants did not exceed six wounded. The general, then learning that several rebel chieftains had sought refuge in a fort at Julga, sixteen miles to the north-east, succeeded on the morning of the 3d October in completely investing it; but from the state of the road, the artillery could not be brought into action till four in the afternoon. By three next day, a breach had been effected, and considered practicable; upon which Colonel Tronson, with a detachment, undertook to storm it. They reached the crest of the breach, but were encountered by a close fire from the houses, which, after a desperate struggle, obliged them to retire under cover of a neighbouring ravine. The only use, however, which the enemy made of this advantage was to effect a safe retreat out of the fort, to the great regret of the British commander, who took immediate possession of it. The loss amounted to thirty-four killed and

wounded. About the same time, Colonel Wheeler, stationed at Kudjah, stormed the castle of a chief in the Wuzzeree valley, who had shown decided proofs of a hostile spirit.

Meanwhile, Brigadier Dennie, after his victory at Bameean, advanced and occupied Syghan, but did not think it prudent to pursue the fugitive leaders in their retreat over the mountains. The Wallee, however, following the Asiatic rule of adhering always to the fortunate side, made overtures, and requested an officer to be sent to arrange the basis of a compromise. A conference accordingly ensued between him and Dr. Lord, and a treaty was concluded on terms securing to him a considerable accession of territory, which was carried to the very summit of the Caucasus, called here Dundan Shikun. He declined to give up Dost Mohammed, but promised to afford no aid or protection, and even to advise him to surrender.

That prince, thus left to himself, hoped still to effect something by advancing into Kohistan. He was preceded by his son with a considerable force, and himself arrived about the middle of October. General Sale, to oppose his progress, hastened to Purwan, where he learned that the Afghan chief, with about 4000 men, was in the vicinity, and preparing to march upon the Ghorebund pass. He made arrangements to attack them; and, on the suggestion of Dr. Lord, sent forward the 2d native cavalry to skirt the eminence on which they were posted, with the view of cutting off their retreat. When they had advanced about a mile, Dost Mohammed rushed down upon them with 200 horse. This corps, which had hitherto maintained a distinguished character, were seized with a sudden panic; they first faltered, and then gave way at all points. The officers were left alone to meet the charge of the enemy; their bravery was unavailing; Dr. Lord, Lieutenants Broadfoot and Crispin, were killed, Captains Fraser and Ponsonby severely wounded. Sale, however, pushed forward his infantry, who successively dislodged the enemy from all the strong positions, and drove them to a distance, though without being able to keep up a long pursuit.

The ex-ruler of Cabul, notwithstanding the partial success now gained, soon found himself reduced to great extremity. His troops, discouraged by so much ill fortune, were no longer disposed to follow his standard; a victorious army was pressing upon him, and he had no retreat but into the territory of allies by whom he had been deserted. We are indeed informed by Colonel Dennis that he claimed refuge from the Wallee, who, however, refused to receive him; and in this extremity he determined to throw himself upon the clemency of his foe. Setting out with only one companion, he rode undiscovered through the camp, and arrived at Cabul, where he surrendered to the British authorities. By his orders his son, who still remained in arms, gave himself up also. He was thence conveyed into Hindostan, and his residence finally fixed at Loodiana, with a pension of £20,000 a-year.

For some time afterwards only partial outbreaks occurred. Auktur Khan, a chief on the extreme western frontier, had worsted the Shah's general and assembled a considerable force; but Captain Farrington hastened up, defeated him, and captured his fort. Another movement took place in the Nizian valley, near Jellalabad, studded with eighty-four strongholds, which Brigadier Shelton reduced one after another, yet with the loss of fifty-two killed and wounded.

Sinde was still unsettled, Nusseer declining to place himself in the power of the British, and hovering about the hills. A rude tribe named Kujuks refused to pay the Shah's tribute, under the plea of inability, which does not seem to have been duly considered. Colonel Wilson marched against them, but was repulsed, himself and some other officers being wounded, and Lieutenant Creed, who led the storming-party, killed. Affairs continued thus unsettled till September, when it having been made known to Nusseer Khan that the governor-general had determined to replace him in his khanate, he came to Quetta, and matters were amicably arranged. By this prudent step Sinde was restored to tranquillity.

Meantime, in Western Afghanistan, the insurrection was

becoming more formidable. Auktur Khan was again in arms, and fanatical moollahs were proclaiming a religious war against the British. Colonel Wymer defeated a large force near Kelat-i-Ghilzie, but had not strength sufficient to pursue the fugitives to any distance. On the 17th August, Captains Woodburn and Griffin encountered about 5000 men under Akram and Auktur Khan, whom they totally defeated, though with the loss of nearly 130 killed and wounded. In October, a force of Ghilzie insurgents occupied in great force the valley between Cabul and Jellalabad. As they held the strong pass of Koord Cabul, which interrupted the communications, General Sale was sent from the capital, with the 13th and 35th regiments, to clear the pass. He found the enemy stationed behind a breastwork, which they quitted on the approach of the assailants, but kept up a well-directed fire from the rocky heights on each side. Sale was wounded, and obliged to quit the field; but the troops under Brigadier Dennie drove the enemy from all the cliffs except the very highest, whither, as the object was only to clear the pass, it was thought needless to follow them. The Afghans, then retreating to Tezeen, occupied the surrounding heights, but were driven successively from all whence they could cause any annoyance. The chiefs sent proposals of negotiation, making friendly professions, and promising no longer to annoy the march of the column; but their sincerity was rendered more than doubtful by the continued molestation which the troops experienced. After passing Jugduluk, they entered a long winding pass, overhung by terrific eminences, every one of which was held by men showing the most obstinate determination to dispute their progress. An advance could only be effected by the arduous operation of scaling the heights, while from above a heavy fire was still maintained. A single company, however, having dashed through the defile, found its main outlet unguarded. The whole then passed, but their rear-guard continued to be harassed till their arrival at Gundamuk. Respecting this long march, the commander generally observes, "each succeeding morning brought its affair with a bold and

active enemy, eminently skilful in the species of warfare to which their attempts have been confined, and armed with jezails, which have enabled them to annoy us at a range at which they could only be reached by our artillery." This march had doubtless a fatal influence, inasmuch as it showed to the natives the mode of warfare by which they could inflict upon us the most extensive injury.

General Sale remained at Gundamuk; but the Ooloos, or armed tribes, crowded round him in increasing numbers, while many of them in his own service showed symptoms of disaffection, or went over to the enemy. In these circumstances, he found it impossible to maintain himself in a mere cantonment, and had no choice but to push on to Jellalabad. He broke up on the 11th November, when the inhabitants rushed in, and blew up the magazine in such haste, that a number of themselves were killed. During that day, our troops were harassed only by predatory attacks; but on the 12th, a body of 2000 or 3000 pressed behind, and were joined by the whole population of the country. Colonel Dennie, commanding the rear-guard, for some time considered it sufficient to beat them off, but on coming to a level tract, contrived to allure them on, then suddenly attacked, and put them to flight with great slaughter. After this the army, with little molestation, reached Jellalabad.

This place was found by no means defensible, surrounded merely by a weak wall, with a narrow rampart and insufficient parapet; while, on the north angle, trees and old buildings afforded excellent cover for the enemy within pistol-shot. They soon assembled in great force on all sides, and particularly on this, whence they succeeded in burning a cantonment erected at a heavy expense in 1840, and kept up a harassing fire of musketry. It being deemed necessary to dislodge them from this position, a considerable body of horse and foot was placed under Colonel Monteath. That officer, after reducing three posts which might have harassed his advance, pushed forward against the great mass of the enemy who occupied the heights in front. On his approach,

the whole suddenly gave way, and fled to a considerable distance, suffering severely from a cavalry charge by Captain Oldfield. The divisions on the other sides of the city being then attacked, made off with equal rapidity and in great consternation; there was soon scarcely an armed Afghan to be seen in the vicinity of Jellalabad. Advantage was taken of the interval to repair and strengthen the defences, so as to render them secure against any Asiatic force, unaided by siege artillery; also to collect grain from the adjacent villages. To guard both against famine and internal insurrection, it was judged necessary to remove all the inhabitants except the shopkeepers.

Meantime Cabul became the theatre of scenes most deeply eventful, which have indeed no parallel in the whole of our Indian history. The expedition into that country had, as we have seen, been undertaken, not with a view to its conquest, but under the belief that the exiled monarch, once replaced on the throne, had a party strong enough to maintain him in power. It now appeared, however, that he was solely supported by the arms of the British, who thus became the real masters of the country. The Afghans were perhaps the bravest and proudest people in Asia; from the time of Mahmoud of Ghuzni down to that of Ahmed Shah, they had made several victorious expeditions into India; they had founded its two greatest dynasties,—the Patan, which reigned more than three hundred years, and that which, though called Mogul, was established by Baber with native troops. They now saw themselves a conquered people, compelled to acknowledge the superiority of a distant nation, of strange language, religion, and manners. That in such a situation they should have felt at once indignant and vindictive, can excite no wonder; nor could we have avoided, in some degree, sympathizing with them, had they sought deliverance by legitimate means; but assassination and breach of faith cannot be palliated even by a good cause.

Notwithstanding the explosion at Koord Cabul, the country was generally in a state of seeming tranquillity; though there were not wanting circumstances calculated to inspire apprehension. Strong

discontent had arisen among the Ghilzie leaders, owing to a reduction of their stipends, ordered by Lord Auckland from motives of economy. Alarms were also spread among the principal chiefs, that they were to be seized and carried prisoners to London. Major Pottinger, who acted as envoy in Kohistan, reported the state of that rude territory to be such, that unless reinforcements were sent, a serious insurrection might be apprehended. British officers, when met singly, were insulted, and attempts made in some cases to assassinate them. These, however, were looked upon as only the ebullitions of private discontent or personal jealousy, not as the symptoms of a universal antipathy.

Sir Alexander Burnes, though intimately acquainted with the country and people, was so far deceived by a feeling of security that he did not hesitate to take up his residence at a house in the town, detached from the English quarters. On the 2d November 1841, it was attacked by about 300 Afghans; yet his confidence was such, that he refused to leave it, and attempted to appease the assailants by haranguing them from a high gallery. They soon, however, forced an entrance, overpowered all resistance, and mercilessly slew him, his brother, and Lieutenant Broadfoot, a promising young officer. General Elphinstone, on receiving this report, and seeing flames issuing from that part of the city, ordered Brigadier Shelton to march and occupy the Bala Hissar, or citadel-palace, where the Shah resided. Captain Lawrence, who was sent to announce this intention, was attacked by a large band, and with difficulty escaped. Lieutenant Sturt, coming with another message, received three wounds. The Shah immediately ordered his guard, with some other troops, to attempt the restoration of tranquillity; but they were repulsed with great slaughter.

The standard of insurrection was thus openly raised; and the English, from the emergency being so wholly unforeseen, were little prepared for the events which now pressed upon them. Their force was divided into two parts, one in the Bala Hissar, the other in a cantonment about two miles distant, separated by

the Cabul river and by a broad canal. The situation was low, commanded by adjacent hills and buildings; while the numerous camp-followers rendered the extent too great for the number of troops appointed to defend it. An error still more serious had been committed in making a weak fort at some distance the depository of all the commissariat stores.

General Elphinstone, the commander-in-chief, is described as an amiable and intelligent officer; but declining health had induced him to obtain leave for his immediate return. He appears to have been peculiarly deficient in decision and promptitude, the qualities now most urgently required. Having under him about 5500 troops, it can scarcely be doubted that a brisk attack on the city would have been so successful as to have crushed the immediate rising. A dilatory and defensive system was adopted; orders were sent to General Sale to rejoin him, and to General Nott to send two regiments from Candahar. A farther reinforcement was despatched to the Bala Hissar; but Major Swayne, in attempting to lead two more companies thither, was obliged by the heavy fire of the enemy to fall back.

The most urgent object of attention was the commissariat fort, separated from the cantonment by the Shah Bagh or royal garden, which afforded large cover to the enemy. Captain Swayne, on the 4th, attempted to penetrate thither with two companies of the 44th, but was exposed to so severe a fire from a fort in possession of the enemy, that he himself and another officer were killed, and the troops driven back with great loss. A party of the 5th light cavalry were equally unfortunate. Captain Boyd of the commissariat, however, represented so forcibly the extreme importance of this post, that a stronger detachment was prepared, but delayed till next morning; when Ensign Warren, who held the fort, came in with the garrison, stating that the enemy, by forming a mine and setting fire to the gate, had rendered it untenable. This failure in an object so essential, and seemingly so easy, produced a fatal effect on the spirit of both parties. The enemy became greatly emboldened, and were joined by many who had been

hitherto our friends; while the British troops were deeply mortified, and ceased to display that courage which usually so much distinguishes them.

To retrieve this disaster, Major Swayne was sent on the 5th to attack a fort which commanded the one lost; and some success was at first gained; but not being duly followed up, the detachment was recalled. On the 6th, a stronger and more regular corps was employed, when the artillery having succeeded in making a practicable breach, the place was carried by storm. An attempt was also made, but without success, to occupy the Shah Bagh; when the enemy brought up large bodies of cavalry, hoping to intercept our retreat; but they did not ultimately make the attempt. Hence the general result of this day was somewhat favourable.

On the 9th, Brigadier Shelton was recalled from the Bala Hissar. But the hope that he would revive the drooping energies of the troops was not realized. He had early formed the opinion that they could not hold their ground at Cabul, and advised, therefore, an immediate retreat to Jellalabad. Sir William Macnaghten, on the contrary, conceived the army bound to maintain their position, for which their power, if vigorously exerted, seemed to him quite sufficient. This opinion prevailed to the extent of making them remain; but the brigadier, retaining his own judgment, was disposed to preserve an attitude purely defensive, and was urged only by the strong remonstrances of the envoy to any active measures. Either a vigorous attack or an immediate retreat would probably have saved the army; but amid conflicting councils, a middle course was adopted, which could produce only the very worst results.

On the 10th, the Afghans, with large bodies of cavalry, occupied the surrounding hills, and took possession of several forts. One of these, called Rika-bashee, somewhat commanded the cantonment, and interrupted the supply of provisions, which became now extremely scarce; the envoy, therefore, by urgent representations, obtained from the commander-in-chief an order that Shelton should

attack it next day. The storming-party then burst open what appeared to be the gate, but which proved a mere wicket, admitting only two or three at once. The first who entered suffered severely; but when a few had forced their way, the garrison were struck with panic, and evacuated the post. Meantime a body of cavalry had charged the British, who, deserted by their usual courage, precipitately fled. Shelton, however, who was always conspicuous for valour in the field, twice rallied them, and at last carried the fort, which the enemy had reoccupied. Unhappily, during their temporary possession, they had killed almost all the little party who first entered; only Lieutenant Bird and a sepoy maintained their ground in a stable, till relieved by their countrymen. Our object was indeed gained, four other stations being evacuated, and a supply of grain procured; yet 200 men were lost in killed or wounded. On the 13th, the enemy, occupying in force the adjacent heights, fired with some effect into the cantonment; when the envoy, by earnest entreaty, prevailed on the general to send a body of troops against them. They made an obstinate resistance, and at first repulsed the assailants, but by some skilful movements of the artillery and cavalry, were finally driven from the position. Our soldiers, however, under existing circumstances, could never hold any ground which they had gained, but were obliged to return to the cantonment, while the enemy, having rallied, pressed closely behind them.

On the 15th, Major Pottinger arrived from Charekur, in the mountain-territory of Kohistan, north of Cabul, which he had defended at the head of 800 Goorkhas. He and some other officers occupied a small adjacent fort, when they were invited to a conference, and Captain Rattray, being inveigled to a little distance, was suddenly shot dead, while the major with difficulty escaped. A vast number of insurgents then assembled, who were at first repulsed with great slaughter; but their force increasing, and the post being untenable, the troops withdrew to Charekur. Here they maintained themselves for nine or ten days, amid continual

assaults from an overwhelming body, and the most severe sufferings from want of water. No resource then appeared but to cut their way to Cabul, amid incessant hardships and attacks. All the troops either perished or were dispersed, and only the Major and Lieutenant Haughton, passing during the night through the city, succeeded in reaching the cantonment.

A proposition was now started, and even urged by the envoy, that the force should quit the cantonment for the Bala Hissar, where the whole would be united in a much more defensible position. The military authorities, however, decided that this plan, including an extensive conveyance of stores, could not be accomplished without ruinous loss. The measure of retreat was then agitated, and would now really seem to have been the wisest course; but the envoy still urged a delay of eight or ten days, in the hope of some favourable occurrence. On the 22d, Mohammed Akbar, second son of Dost Mohammed, arrived at Cabul, and was invested with the command of the hostile army, to whose movements he gave an augmented energy. He had already distinguished himself by his military talents, having been employed by his father in defending the frontier against the Sikhs.

The village of Beh-meru, lying to the north of the cantonment, on the road leading to Kohistan, was now the only quarter through which, at high prices, supplies of provisions were procured; and the enemy, by marching out in great force every morning, and occupying it during the day, much narrowed this resource. It appeared indispensable to take possession of the place; and on the 22d Major Swayne moved thither with a strong detachment, but found it so well garrisoned, and the entrance so blocked up, that he considered it impossible to force a passage. He kept up a fire some hours, while his troops suffered severely, but without any result.

On the 23d, Shelton was ordered out, with a considerable force, to storm the village of Beh-meru. He marched at two in the morning, occupied the brow of the height, and threw the enemy into considerable confusion, but with doubtful prudence delayed the attack

till daylight. Major Swayne then effected an entrance; but, as it proved, only through a small wicket, admitting merely a few, who could not long secure their post against a heavy fire. The natives then poured out from the city large bodies, estimated at 10,000 men, and covered all the surrounding heights. The British troops were led against them, and maintained a long contest with various fortune, suffering most severely from the jezails, whose range the musket could by no means equal. Yet the other party, having sustained several checks, and being discouraged by the fall of Abdoolah Khan, one of their greatest chiefs, began a retreat towards the city, abandoning a gun which they had captured. The cavalry were then called upon to pursue them; but that body, having been for a long time kept in an injudicious position, exposed to the enemy's fire, shrunk back, and would not obey the summons. This the Afghans no sooner perceived, than they renewed the assault with augmented courage and energy. The square of British infantry was broken; panic spread through the troops; all attempts to rally them were vain; and finally the whole rushed in confused and tumultuary flight to the cantonment. The spirited efforts of one or two corps prevented the enemy from entering along with them.

On this fatal day, the loss both of men and officers was immense; and the spirit of the army was completely broken. The proposal of removing to the Bala Hissar was renewed, but again rejected. On the 24th, a letter was received from Osman Khan, a chief believed friendly, boasting, seemingly with truth, that he had spared our troops in the preceding day's pursuit; and declaring himself earnestly desirous of terminating the war, on condition of our quietly evacuating the country, leaving it to be governed by a king and laws of its own. The general, on a reference from Sir William, strongly advised negotiation. Accordingly, on the 27th, an interview took place at the eastern gate with several Afghan leaders; but their demands were enormous, amounting to the unconditional surrender of the British force, with only a hope that their lives might be spared. These terms were indignantly rejected,—the

envoy declaring that he must "again appeal to arms, leaving the result to the God of battles."

Some days elapsed without any important event; but the English were pressed continually closer. An important post was sacrificed through the cowardice of the garrison; and the scarcity of provisions approached to famine, being only relieved by precarious supplies from the Bala Hissar. On the 8th December, the general strongly recommended negotiation, as the only alternative left. On the 11th, Sir William had an interview with a number of chiefs, among whom the Khans Osman and Akbar took the lead. Their deportment was courteous; and it was finally agreed that the British should evacuate all Afghanistan, on being not only allowed to retire unmolested, but furnished with provisions and the means of transport. Shah Sujah was to be granted a pension, with the option of remaining at Cabul or accompanying the retreating army.

In pursuance of this treaty, the force in the Bala Hissar was on the 13th and 14th removed to the cantonment, not however without annoyance from the Afghans. Yielding to successive demands, the adjacent forts, hitherto maintained, were evacuated, and several English officers delivered as hostages. Yet the promised supplies indispensable to the march of the army were still, on various pretexts, withheld; and it became evident that, seeing the weak and desponding state of the invaders, the barbarians had determined to treat them as entirely in their power.

Under these circumstances, Akbar formed the scheme which brought affairs to a fatal crisis. Captain Skinner, who happened to be in his power, was sent to the envoy with a proposal to unite with him in seizing Amenoollah Khan, the chief second in influence to himself. Shah Sujah was then to be acknowledged king, with Akbar as his vizier; the English would be allowed to remain till next spring, and then to depart under circumstances that would save their *honour*. Sir William caught with a fatal facility at this delusive proposition; his mind, owing to the late reverses, was in an excited state; and when warned by his officers of the danger, he declared that it appeared to present the only ray

of hope, and that death would be preferable to the life he had lately led. He agreed to go out and meet the chiefs in an open space near the cantonment; and though a strong guard was ordered, it was very imperfectly furnished. About noon of the 23d, he proceeded thither, accompanied by Captains Lawrence, Mackenzie, and Trevor; and, on approaching the spot, he walked on with them, leaving the soldiers behind. The chiefs then came up, and opened the conference in the most friendly terms. It being remarked that numerous armed Afghans were coming up, and drawing a circle round them, Akbar said they were in the secret. Presently, however, he grasped the left hand of the envoy, while Sultan Jan seized his right; and a fierce struggle ensuing, the former chief drew out a pistol, and shot Sir William dead. This cruel action appears to have been prompted by the dread of his escape and the excitement of the moment, as it would have been better policy to have secured him as a hostage. The body, however, was instantly seized by the fanatic Ghazees, who cut it in pieces, and exposed the head to the people in the great bazaar. Captain Trevor also fell into their hands and was murdered on the spot; but other chiefs caused Lawrence and Mackenzie to mount on horseback, and conveyed them to Cabul, protecting them even at the hazard of their own lives. They were there thrown into a fort, where the multitude made furious attempts to break in and put them to death.

After this dreadful scene, it might have been expected that all the generous feelings of the troops would have been roused; that they would have been impelled to some deed of decisive and desperate valour;—at all events, that they would have ceased to place any faith in Afghan promises, and hoped for a safe retreat only from their own efforts. It is mortifying, however, to think how much the highest qualities depend upon circumstances. That British spirit, which was elsewhere making such lofty displays, here entirely failed. Major Pottinger, now appointed envoy, alone urged vigorous measures; all the others insisted on yielding to the humiliating terms offered by the enemy. They were to leave

behind most of their guns and treasure; bills were drawn on India for fourteen lacks of rupees (£140,000); and four additional officers were given as hostages.

Delays were still interposed till the 6th January, when the army at length began its inauspicious march. It consisted still of 690 Europeans, 2840 native infantry, and 970 cavalry; in all, 4500 fighting-men. There were, besides, 12,000 camp-followers, who rendered the preservation of order almost impossible. A straggling march, amid deep snow and many obstructions, prevented them from advancing more than five miles; and it was two in the morning before the last reached the place of encampment. The Ghazees, as soon as they saw the cantonment empty, rushed in, filled it with exulting shouts, and commenced a work at once of plunder and destruction. The troops during the night, being very ill supplied with clothes and shelter, suffered extremely from the cold, which to some proved fatal. Next day they resumed their march, forming a mingled mass of soldiers, followers, and beasts of burden. The enemy soon began to harass them with a fire of jezails; and though bravely repulsed at several points, obliged them to abandon some guns and much baggage. Captain Skinner, learning that Akbar was at hand, appealed to his sense of honour and humanity. The latter declared the attack to have been made against his will, but offered a safe conduct to Jellalabad, on condition of their stopping till the morning, and giving six other hostages. Next day, however, they were again assailed, and upon making a fresh appeal to the chief, were required to yield Major Pottinger and two more officers before he would renew his promises of protection. In this way, no doubt, they obtained a respite, and reached the entrance of the tremendous pass of Koord Cabul; but the frost had so disabled even the strongest men, that only a few hundreds remained fit for service.

They now entered the defile, five miles long, overhung by high cliffs, with a torrent dashing through it; and, contrary to every pledge, the Ghilzies crowned the heights, pouring down a destructive fire. The only safety lay in rushing rapidly through the

pass, abandoning almost all their baggage and supplies. The females happily escaped unhurt, except Lady Sale, who was slightly wounded. They passed the night at Koord Cabul; but the snow was falling thick, and, from the loss of almost every equipment, their sufferings were much more severe than before.

On the 9th, the army was about to renew its march, when Akbar, by plausible though treacherous promises, persuaded the general to halt. This step deeply discouraged the men, who conceived their only hope to be in the most expeditious movement; and the native troops began to desert in great numbers. About noon, Captain Skinner arrived with a proposal that the ladies with their husbands should place themselves under the protection of the Afghan chief. The hardships endured by the former were indeed so excessive, that there appeared no other hope of saving their lives, and the general accordingly consented. The soldiers marched on, and spent another night of intense cold,—all the promises of food and fuel being unfulfilled.

On the 10th, the army resumed its progress, though the fighting men were reduced now to a small number. They were unmolested for about two miles, when they came to a narrow gorge between two precipitous hills; but here the Afghans had occupied all the heights in great force, whence they directed a most murderous fire. The native troops, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, sought safety in flight, when the enemy rushed down, sword in hand, and commenced a general massacre. Nearly the whole force disappeared during this fearful march, at the end of which it was found that, of the 4500 who had proceeded from Cabul, there survived only 270 Europeans, with indeed a considerable number of the 12,000 camp-followers. Akbar, who now appeared in the neighbourhood, made an offer, that if the former would place themselves entirely under his protection, he would escort them safely to Jellalabad; but all the others must be left to their fate. The general humanely rejected such terms, and his people went on amid fresh losses, till they reached, at four o'clock, an encampment in the Tezeen valley. Another attempt was made

to treat, but with the same result. Their only hope then appeared to be in making a night march of twenty-two miles to Jugduluk; when, under cover of the darkness, they might penetrate safely through that terrible pass. They eagerly pushed onward; but, through delays occasioned by the followers, when daylight had arrived they were still ten miles from their destination, while the enemy began to occupy the surrounding hills. They had now to encounter much suffering and loss, though Brigadier Shelton, redeeming somewhat his former errors, led them on with signal valour. At three in the afternoon, they were at Jugduluk, where the miserable remnant posted themselves in an enclosure, which afforded only imperfect shelter from the enemy's fire. Captain Bygrave, with fifteen brave men, drove the latter back, but they soon returned. The wretched resource was again tried of negotiating with Akbar, who demanded that General Elphinstone should come to a conference, while Shelton and Captain Johnson should be delivered as hostages. All was acceded to; the officers were courteously received, and refreshments supplied. At nine next morning, a meeting was held, when a number of the chiefs inveighed bitterly against the English, while Akbar pretended to plead their cause; but in this discussion the day elapsed without any decisive arrangement. Brigadier Anquetil, who had been left in command, then saw no hope but to push in the dark through the next pass, two miles in length. Having taken the Afghans somewhat by surprise, the troops moved at first with little molestation; but at the summit found two barriers strongly formed of brushwood, which could not be removed without much difficulty and some delay. The enemy then came up, mixed with the fugitives, and committed dreadful havoc among them. Anquetil and eleven other officers fell; only about forty men, half of whom had lost their arms, advanced to Gundamuk, hoping there for security. They reached it about daybreak, but found themselves so beset, as to be obliged to leave the road, and take a defensive position on a height. An attempt was made to negotiate, but Major Griffiths and Mr. Blewitt, who proceeded for the purpose, were detained.

Hostilities were then renewed, and the little band, overpowered by numbers, were successively cut down, only Captain Souter and three men being made prisoners. A separate party of twelve, among whom were seven officers, pushed on for Jellalabad; but they fell, one after another, victims to the fury and treachery of the inhabitants, except Dr. Brydon, who reached that town, where he gave the first direful tidings of the fate of the army. Sergeant Lissant and four others, also seeking to escape individually, had been made prisoners. The captives on the whole were about seventy; an unknown proportion of the native troops and followers had gone over to the enemy; but by far the greater part of the 16,500 who left the cantonment at Cabul had miserably perished. This retreat may be considered without a parallel, if not in the extent, at least in the completeness of its calamity.*

While this tragical drama was in progress, minor scenes were acting in different quarters, too much in accordance with its character. We have already related the adventures and narrow escape of Major Pottinger. In the same quarter, Lieutenants Maule and Wheeler, commanding a detachment about twenty miles north-west of Cabul, were deserted by their men and barbarously murdered.

Pesh Bolak, a fortress which commands the passes between Jellalabad and Peshawur, was held by Captain Ferris, with 250 native troops belonging to the shah; and there several officers halted, the roads in front being reported impracticable. On the 13th November, the piquets began to be attacked, and skirmishing-parties to appear, who, though at first easily beaten off, gradually increased to 5000, when they surrounded the post with wild yells and furious gestures. A gun placed in the centre bastion kept them at bay; but the sad discovery was soon made that the ammunition was on the point of being exhausted, and moreover

* This relation of events at Cabul, and during the retreat, has, in the absence of official documents, been drawn up chiefly on the authority of Lieutenant Eyre, whose narrative of "Military Operations" (London, Murray, 1843) appears intelligent and candid. The narratives of Dr. Brydon and Sergeant Lissant have also been consulted.

that there was treason within the walls. No hope then appeared but to cut their way through; and accordingly, on the night of the 16th, a column was formed, consisting of the armed force, in the centre of which were Mrs. Ferris and her sister dressed in men's clothes, with all the civilians of the garrison. A brisk fire was kept up till the moment of departure, when they rushed forth. The enemy at once took the alarm, and made a furious attack; but some vigorous discharges of musketry obliged them to retire. The party hastened to Lallporah; but observing the sinister looks of the people, and hearing that the Khyber Pass was closely guarded, they induced, by large gifts, one of the khans to lead them by a mountainous path to Peshawur. The ladies were obliged to travel about 150 miles, clambering a great part of the way on their hands and feet.

The great rising at Cabul was accompanied by one equally determined at Ghizni. Captain Woodburn, with about 100 men, moving thence to the capital, was surrounded by a numerous body, and his little band almost entirely destroyed. The insurgents soon assembled in great force, and closely invested this celebrated fortress. Colonel Palmer, who commanded, not having quite 1000 men, was unable to prevent their entering the city, but maintained himself in the citadel, and in some outposts. Here he continued during the depth of winter; and hopes were entertained that he would be able to remain till relieved. In February, however, seemingly after the destruction of the Cabul army, the besieging force was greatly increased in numbers and courage. They are said on one occasion to have been repulsed with great loss; but his despatch of the 1st March states that they had established themselves under cover, within fifty yards of the fortress, and that the troops were exhausted by constant duty and the extreme cold,—the thermometer being 14° below the freezing point. Above all, water, which had long been scarce, was about to fail altogether, as the surrender of the outposts would, in forty-eight hours, enable the enemy to command the only well, and the whole garrison would in a few days inevitably perish. These reasons, if not

exaggerated, appear sufficient; yet it is very curious to find him adding, as a further justification, that he had received a letter from General Elphinstone and Major Pottinger, desiring him to take this step on the arrival of Rohilla Khan, an Afghan chief; and he refers even to similar instructions from Sir W. Macnaghten. It would appear, indeed, that such a letter had been sent during the calamities of the army; but Generals Sale and Nott, who received similar ones, did not, under the circumstances, think themselves authorized to obey them. The governor-general, on receiving the intelligence, ordered a court-martial to be held as soon as convenient on the conduct of Palmer. He had obtained the promise of honourable treatment and a safe march to Cabul; but in consequence of thousands of Ghazees being in the city, these terms were very imperfectly fulfilled.

General Nott, commanding at Candahar, on learning the crisis at Cabul, sent Colonel Maclaren, with a brigade, to support the British cause. That officer, however, on approaching Ghizni, found the snow so deep, and the animals with him perishing so fast, that he was obliged to retrace his steps. Candahar itself was threatened by a force of 5000 men under Mohammed Atta, a fanatical chief, and Prince Sufter Jung, a younger son of Shah Sujah. The general marched with a strong corps, totally routed and dispersed them, with the loss on his own side of only three killed and between twenty and thirty wounded. By this seasonable success that important capital was for the present secured.

Candahar was well supplied with provisions, but the public money was exhausted, and ammunition had become scarce. To supply these wants, General England was sent from Sind with about 4000 men, escorting a numerous train of camels, with the requisite funds and stores. They marched in three divisions, of which two, on the 16th March, arrived at Quetta, 147 miles from Candahar; whence, as the country in front was occupied by insurgent bands, the commander advanced with a considerable force to clear the way and obtain forage. He seems not to have been duly apprized of the enemy's strength, and hence his vanguard, on

reaching the summit of a hill, were assailed by an ambuscade, and compelled to retreat, leaving Captain May and sixteen men dead on the field. The corps, in descending, were charged in the rear by a strong body of cavalry, when Major Apthorp of the 20th was mortally wounded; but having formed themselves into a square, they repelled all farther attack, and fell back upon Quetta. Their loss is stated at twenty-seven killed and seventy-one wounded. The Afghans had received large reinforcements from the north, under a resolute chief, Mohammed Sadig, and became so strong that General England was obliged to throw up intrenchments for the defence of the station he now occupied.

We have seen that General Sale at Jellalabad repulsed all attacks down to the 14th November; but it could not be expected that the triumphant operations at Cabul would not encourage the enemy to renew their assaults upon him. Accordingly, the tribes again began to muster, keeping up a fire which interrupted the defensive works, and they even threatened mining operations. It appeared necessary to drive them to a greater distance; with which view, on the 1st December 1841, a column was formed within the Cabul gate, which was then thrown open, and Colonel Dennie led out the troops with such impetuosity that the enemy speedily took to flight. Our loss was trifling. They now retired about twelve miles, feeling that they could not make another attempt without a strong reinforcement of cavalry.

After the catastrophe of the Cabul army, however, they returned in increased numbers, commanded by Akbar Khan in person, who had formerly, as we mentioned, been governor of Jellalabad. He made the most strenuous efforts to establish a rigorous blockade: the ravines, hollows, and remains of mud-forts, were filled with skirmishers, who kept up an incessant fire on the parapets. On the 10th March, operations were pressed with particular ardour on the north side, and a report was received that they were driving a mine in that direction. It being highly important to ascertain this fact, Colonel Dennie next day, with 800 men, sallied out by the gate leading to Peshawur. Leaving Captain Oldfield with the

cavalry to occupy the enemy's attention there, he swept round to the north quarter, which, beyond expectation, was found quite unoccupied. Only one picket held a spot of rising ground, from which it was soon driven by Captain Broadfoot. Full opportunity was thus given to ascertain whether any mining operation was going on, but neither shaft nor gallery was found to have been yet commenced. Akbar's camp was now seen in full movement, and masses of cavalry and infantry advancing: as, however, the object of the British was not to give battle, they returned in good order, and without loss, into the city. On the 1st April, General Sale, having observed some flocks of sheep grazing in the vicinity, sent out the cavalry and light infantry, who, driving off the covering parties, secured an opportune supply of 500 of these animals.

About this time various rumours began to thicken. General Pollock, who had been selected by the supreme government to command the troops despatched primarily to the relief of Jellalabad, was said to have been repulsed in an attempt to penetrate the Khyber, and a *feu de joie* fired in the army of Akbar was understood to celebrate that event. The latter chief was also reported to be about to despatch part of his force to assist in defending the pass, while other accounts bore that he was preparing to retreat to Lughman, and even that a revolution had broken out at Cabul. Little reliance could be placed on any of these statements; but, upon a general survey of affairs, General Sale concluded that a victory over Akbar would at once relieve the pressure upon himself, and aid the operations of General Pollock; and though that chief commanded 6000 men, he hoped for success. He therefore formed his infantry, 1360 strong, into three columns, under Colonels Dennie and Monteath and Captain Havelock, while Captains Abbot and Oldfield led on the cavalry and artillery. On the 7th April, at daybreak, they issued forth by the Peshawur and Cabul gates, and saw the enemy drawn up in regular order to receive them, having their left resting on the river. Captain Havelock soon drove in the advance; while the central column attacked a strong fort, which covered that part of Akbar's line. They were repulsed,

and in the attack Colonel Dennie received a mortal wound. They contrived, however, to pass this work on the left, and form the army on the opposite side. A grand general attack was then made, the artillery advancing at the gallop, and the three columns of infantry rushing on in concert. The enemy gave way immediately at all points, his left being dislodged from its posts on the river, and some men and horses pushed into it. Vigorous attempts were made to rally, particularly by masses of cavalry, while a battery, screened by a garden-wall, was directed, it was supposed, by the sirdar himself. By seven in the morning, however, the whole army was in full retreat towards Lughman; the camp and tents were involved in a general conflagration, and their artillery captured, including four pieces taken from the Cabul army. The victory was complete, and only alloyed by the fall of Colonel Dennie, whose heroic exploits in this war we have repeatedly commemorated. General Sale, while deploring it as a public calamity, felt it must be a consolation to his friends that he fell while most gallantly performing his duty.

Meantime, as soon as the first disasters were known, all the troops that could be spared from the north of India were pushed forward into Afghanistan. Our rendezvous was at Peshawur, now belonging to the Seik government, who simulated a readiness to afford us every assistance, whilst their officers were in reality exerting themselves to embarrass our movements. Early in January several regiments had been mustered there; but the fort of Ali Musjid, about twenty miles in advance, and on the road to Jellalabad, was announced to be in great distress. Colonel Moseley was sent forward with two regiments, which, by a night-march, succeeded in reaching the place. Brigadier Wild, on the 19th, attempted to penetrate with two more; but he was repulsed, himself wounded, and the whole party obliged to retreat with considerable loss. In Ali Musjid, meantime, the provisions were so completely exhausted, that the colonel was obliged to quit it on the 25th, and push back to Jumrood, having suffered a loss of 175 killed and wounded, including several officers.

Reinforcements, however, continued to arrive; and General Pollock, whose conduct, under the most trying circumstances, fully justified the choice made of him, was appointed to command them and all the troops west of the Indus. He arrived in the end of January, but before attempting the formidable operation with which the campaign must open, he judged it necessary to await the accumulation of a considerable force. Other circumstances also compelled him to delay the advance. By the beginning of April, it had been raised to about 8000, and though this was scarcely adequate, and 4000 more were expected, the urgent state of affairs in Afghanistan made him determine to attempt the passage of the Khyber, and on the 5th he advanced. This tremendous defile was defended by about 10,000 brave mountaineers, thoroughly skilled in this species of warfare. They had raised a strong breastwork to defend the narrow entrance, and their bands covered all the rocky and precipitous heights on the right and left, whence they could take sure aim against the small column, which alone could march on the road beneath. To have penetrated through this passage, exposed to so terrible a fire, would have been scarcely possible, and certainly not without dreadful carnage. The general saw that the only means of securing success was to send troops to scale the heights, and dislodge the enemy posted upon them. This was a most formidable operation; but British soldiers, when brought into close contact, had shown themselves able to vanquish the enemy under almost any circumstances. Two columns were therefore formed, of twelve companies each, and placed, the one under Colonel Taylor and Major Anderson, the other under Colonel Moseley and Major Huish; while 400 of the native troops called Jezailchees, were led by Captain Ferris. Both columns, in the face of a determined opposition, which they overcame in the most gallant style, succeeded in expelling the enemy from the crest of the hill. In this achievement they were much aided by Captain Alexander of the artillery, who threw in shrapnell shells wherever opportunity offered. The assailants continued to drive the opposing force from height to height till they had cleared the

whole range as far as Ali Musjid. Awed by the success of these masterly operations, the enemy abandoned the barrier at the mouth of the pass, and the army, with treasure, ammunition, and baggage, marched through without opposition. This grand achievement was attended with the incredibly small loss of 14 killed, 104 wounded, and 17 missing; the first including one, and the second three officers.

On the 6th, Ali Musjid was attacked, and possession taken, after a slight resistance. A full command was thus obtained of the Khyber Pass, and the route lay open to Jellalabad and into the interior of Cabul.

Meantime, active operations were proceeding in the west, where the enemy omitted no exertion to dislodge the force with which General Nott occupied Candahar. Prince Sufter Jung, a son of Shah Sujah, seconded the hostile chiefs in plundering the villages, and exciting the people to rise against the British. After continuing these movements during February, they began early in March to press close upon the city; when the general, finding it necessary to push them to a distance, left 2600 men under Major Lane for its defence, and with the main body dashed out against the marauders. Though possessing a strength of 12,000, of whom one half were cavalry, well mounted, they hastily retreated, passed the rivers Turnuk and Urghundab, and carefully shunned all contact with the pursuing infantry. On the 9th, General Nott approached so near that his artillery could open upon them with effect, when they were completely broken and dispersed, being only saved from destruction by his defect in horse. After accomplishing this object he returned, without sustaining the slightest loss in men, baggage, or camels.

While the commander was engaged in this expedition, a strong detachment of Afghans, making a wide circuit, and favoured by their knowledge of the country and affections of the people, came suddenly upon Candahar. Major Lane, seeing their assemblage in the forenoon of the 10th, caused every preparation to be made for resistance, and the gates to be secured by bags of grain piled

inside. The enemy, however, about eight in the evening, when completely dark, succeeded, by combustibles secretly ignited, in setting fire to the Herat gate. The governor lost no time in reinforcing this post, and opening upon them a destructive fire; yet in the face of the havoc thus made, dense masses kept up an incessant and heavy discharge, while eight or ten even tore down the burning fragments, and, scrambling over the bags, effected an entrance. They were soon despatched; and about midnight, after four hours of incessant attack, the assailants withdrew. A similar attempt to fire the Shikarpore gate entirely failed, as did a feebler one on that leading to Cabul. The enemy then retreated with such diligence, that when day broke not one of them was visible; but the ground was strewn with dead bodies, while the British had not sustained a single casualty.

Though the Afghans were thus severely checked at every point, they continued to lay waste the country, carrying away the forage, and turning aside the supplies of water. Colonel Wymer was sent out to check these movements and to collect supplies. On the banks of the Urghundab he saw large bodies of cavalry grazing their horses; and on emerging from a pass a considerable force was observed to be forming in his rear. He marched back and obliged them to retreat; while Colonel Maclaren dislodged another band from a village in front. But, at the same time, an overwhelming body, which had collected on the right flank, gained a temporary advantage, several officers being wounded. The commander hastened to their aid; and the skirmish terminated in the enemy being driven in confusion across the Urghundab, while the convoy was completely secured.

We have already mentioned that General England, in the middle of March, had been repulsed in his attempt to convey stores to Candahar. Being reinforced, he advanced again in the end of April, and on the 28th found the enemy in considerable strength, strongly posted in front of the village of Hykulzie. He attacked them with such vigour, that, notwithstanding a spirited defence, they were soon broken and dispersed; his loss being only ten

wounded. On the other side he found Colonel Wymer, who had come to aid him; and the united corps proceeded without opposition to Candahar. In the end of May, Sufter Jung, being joined by Auktur Khan with 3000 men, advanced upon the capital, where the force was weakened by Wymer having been sent with a detachment into the Ghilzie country. They took post on some steep rocky hills about a mile from the city, imagining the commander would not have strength enough to attack them in the field. Yet he without hesitation sallied out; all their positions were gallantly carried; and they were driven with great loss across the Urghundab. The strong fortress of Kelat-i-Ghilzie had been maintained with great difficulty during the winter, surrounded by a hostile people, who early in spring formed lines of circumvallation, and closely blockaded it. Unable to effect any impression, they retired; but now again, on the 21st May, made an attack, at four in the morning, in two columns, each of 2000 men, with thirty scaling ladders. After an hour's contest, they were completely beaten off.

Meantime, Cabul itself, on the departure of the English, became the theatre of most violent dissensions and revolutions; but the train of these events, and the motives of the barbarous actors, are involved in much obscurity. Shah Sujah, having at that crisis remained behind unprotected, might have been expected to fall a victim to the excited fury of the people. On the contrary, he retained possession of the Bala Hissar, exercised a powerful influence, and was even courted by the different parties. The odium attached to him, it thus appears, had been chiefly reflected from the foreign aid by which his cause was upheld. As all parties united in this sentiment, the Shah evidently deemed it expedient to dissemble whatever attachment he might feel for the British; nor is there wanting ground to suspect, that he joined with apparent cordiality in schemes for their entire expulsion. One of the two factions into which the country was rent obtained, it is said, his consent to place himself at the head of a force levied for that purpose. On this destination he left the Bala Hissar; but the hostile party of

the Barukzye sirdars, strongly attached to Dost Mohammed and Akbar, determined to seize so favourable an opportunity for gratifying their enmity. They placed in ambush a body of skilful musketeers, who, when they saw the monarch coming to the spot, sprung forth, and discharged against him a shower of balls. Two of them took effect in a vital part, when he fell down and expired almost immediately. Several of his attendants were also slain; his crown and jewels were seized; and he left his family in as distracted a state as his kingdom.

We have seen his son Sufter Jung raising all the western tribes against the British power; while another, Futteh Jung, was understood to be animated by quite opposite sentiments. The latter, being on the spot, obtained possession of the Bala Hissar, and assumed the reins of sovereignty. Akbar, however, who had been absent during these transactions, and whose power was seemingly much reduced, now hastened to Cabul; and by his talents, influence, and address, regained the complete mastery of that capital. He then turned his arms against the Bala Hissar; and having effected a breach, compelled it to surrender. Yet he did not proceed to extremities against Futteh Jung, but acknowledged him as Shah, upon the understanding that he himself, under the title of vizier, should exercise the whole authority. The prince at first consented; but not brooking this mere shadow of royalty, and being in fact treated as a kind of state-prisoner, he made his escape, and presented himself in the camp of General Pollock, who had made several marches towards the capital. Akbar was thus left undisputed master of the country, and the only enemy with whom that commander had now to contend.

The British counsels, at this era, underwent an important change; for in September 1841, Sir Robert Peel and his friends came into power, in no degree pledged to the Indian policy of their predecessors. They do not appear to have intended to recall Lord Auckland; but that nobleman, feeling himself in a delicate situation, and the usual term of his office being nearly expired,

solicited permission to resign. This was granted; and, amid very opposite opinions as to the Afghan policy, his departure elicited a high tribute of regret and respect, on account of his strict attention to the duties of his office, generous patronage of merit, and zeal for the promotion of every object tending to the prosperity or the great country over which he had presided. In his room, the ministry appointed Lord Ellenborough, who had bestowed particular attention on the affairs of India, and had, in consequence, been placed at the head of the Board of Control. To this nomination the East India Company gave their cordial concurrence. His lordship having set out on the 8th November, arrived at Calcutta on the 28th February following; and after remaining there some weeks, he proceeded to Allahabad, and afterwards to Simla, the military headquarters in the west. He evidently came at once to the conclusion, that no attempt ought to be made to perpetuate the occupation of Afghanistan, or to control the people as to the choice of their government and ruler. After a correspondence, however, with General Pollock, it was finally settled that this commander from Jellalabad, and Nott from Candahar, should march upon Calul, display the superiority of the British arms in open warfare, expel Mohammed Akbar, compel the restoration of the prisoners, and level with the ground all the strong fortresses by which the country could be defended in case a future expedition should become necessary.

Pollock having, in the manner above related, forced all the barriers opposed by the Khyber Pass, arrived on the 16th April at Jellalabad, where the two victorious armies united, and hailed each other with loud and enthusiastic cheers. Early in May they were reinforced by a brigade under Colonel Bolton, who was met on the way by Colonel Monteath. Captain Mackenzie, one of the prisoners, arrived from Akbar, followed soon afterwards by the dead body of General Elphinstone, who had fallen a victim to disease and anxiety. He bore also proposals from the Afghan ruler, understood to relate to the ransom of the captives and the release of Dost Mohammed; but he returned without being able to

conclude any agreement. On the 13th July, Captain Troup, with several native chiefs, brought fresh proposals, and having returned to Cabul, came back on the 3d August; but all these negotiations proved fruitless. The English leader had proposed a general exchange of prisoners, which would have included Dost Mohammed, father to Akbar; but farther demands were made by the latter. It soon became apparent that negotiations could not be brought to a successful issue. The army were ready and eager to advance; and it was obvious that, without advancing upon the capital, the brightness of our military reputation could not be effectually restored.

In the meanwhile, detachments had been sent out to keep open the passages, to overawe as well as punish refractory chiefs; and on these occasions, the most turbulent generally retreated without hazarding a combat. Some of the booty taken from the Cabul army being discovered in the village of Ali Boghan, the troops plundered and set the place on fire, without any authority from their officers, by whom this conduct was much disapproved. On the 20th June, twenty-five forts of the Goolai tribe, a desperate race of freebooters, were found deserted, and a considerable supply of provisions procured. The Shinwarees, another fierce band, who boasted that no conqueror had ever entered their valley, refused tribute, and seized all opportunities of giving annoyance. On the 24th July, they attacked a detachment, and drove it with loss back into the camp; upon which Brigadier Monteath, commanding in this station, resolved to give them a serious lesson. On the 26th, leaving the baggage in camp, he pushed forward with his light troops into this supposed inaccessible valley. On his approach, a long range of forts were abandoned, and, to the number of thirty-five, were set on fire, filling the whole atmosphere with flame and smoke. All the men retreated to the castle of their principal chief, Secunder Khan, seated on a high mountain. Major Skinner, with the advance, obliged them to evacuate it, and drove them from successive posts in its vicinity. Our loss was three killed and twenty-three wounded. They were supposed

to have suffered severely, and their chief immediately afterwards intimated his willingness to pay the revenue.

General Pollock remained at Jellalabad till nearly the end of August, apparently with the view of maturing his plans, and concerting with General Nott a joint movement on the capital. On the 20th, he left these quarters, and on the 23d reached Gundamuk; the enemy occupying the village and fort of Mammoo Khail, only two miles distant, with a strong body. To dislodge them, he marched on the 24th, and found them stationed in an orchard with some enclosures, having their front covered by field-works of loose stones. From these positions they were driven into the village, where they made a show of resistance; but on the British coming up they abandoned it, retired into the fort, and barricaded the gates. The assailants, by mounting on each other's shoulders, entered a shattered bastion eight feet high, when they saw the defenders going over the walls on the other side, but were unable from fatigue to pursue. The right wing, under General M'Caskill, advanced upon Kookhi Khail, another hamlet two miles distant, held also by hostile troops, who then abandoned it, but took post upon the adjacent peaks of the great range called Soofaid Koh. From several of these they were dislodged, but from others maintained a heavy fire with the long muskets called jezails, which obliged our men to retire from some of the points they had gained. General Pollock, not considering it an object to push farther, burned the remoter village, while in the nearer one he established his camp, lest the enemy should boast of having driven him thence. His loss amounted to seven killed and forty-nine wounded. The success had not been quite complete; yet it was sufficient to secure the British flank, and deter the barbarians from any further attempts to molest his position.

The general spent about a fortnight in this place collecting his troops, and making arrangements for their farther advance. On the 6th September, he began his final movement upon Cabul; next day reached Soorkab; and on the morning of the 8th, approached the terrible pass of Jugduluk. Here the enemy, nearly 5000

strong, under the standards of different chiefs, had crowned the amphitheatre of hills on the left of the road, whence they were separated by a deep ravine. They opened a formidable fire on the advancing column, when Captain Nugent, a highly promising young officer, was wounded, and died almost immediately. Our guns were well served, and shells burst among them with powerful effect, yet not so much as to shake their determination or slacken their fire. It was found that the heights must be scaled; for which purpose, Captain Broadfoot was directed to move on the enemy's extreme left, while Colonel Taylor with his regiment, and Sale with the 13th light infantry, charged a large body of the enemy who occupied the centre in advance. This force, in rushing up the steep ascents before them, raised an animated and enthusiastic cheer, on hearing which, the enemy, struck with panic, fled down the opposite declivities. Captain Lockwood, with the dragoons, nearly reached their cavalry, who, however, saved themselves by flight. Captain Broadfoot also completely succeeded on the left; but the fugitives from both points rallied on the top of a very lofty mountain, where they planted their standards, and seemed to consider themselves unapproachable. To dispel this idea, Captains Wilkinson and Broadfoot were sent out with the 13th light infantry and the sappers, covered by the guns of Captains Abbott and Backhouse. As soon as the Afghans saw them approach, they hastily took to flight, abandoning this last stronghold, and carrying off their standards. They included the most powerful of the hostile tribes—those among whom the insurrection had arisen—and who were led by numerous chiefs. But neither Akbar Khan nor any other of the first rank was present. Our loss amounted to six killed and fifty-eight wounded, among which last was General Sale.

Pollock now proceeded with the utmost diligence, and on the 11th arrived at Tezeen, where, finding the men and cattle much fatigued, and being necessitated to wait for the arrival of General M'Caskill's division, he halted on the 12th, before entering into the still more formidable passes which lay before him. The barbarians,

imputing this pause to timidity, commenced an attack upon the outposts on the left, which it was necessary to send Colonel Taylor with 240 men to repel. The enemy then retired to the crests of the neighbouring hills, whence they kept up an obstinate fire; but the colonel, having made a circuit unperceived, took them in flank, and drove them down with severe loss. Soon after, however, they came suddenly upon a picket on the British right, under Lieutenant Montgomery, which was driven in, with the loss of four killed and seventeen wounded, before a reinforcement could arrive to strengthen the post. They continued similar attempts through the night, but found every point completely guarded. Major Skinner, who had been detached with a party in the evening, succeeded in dislodging a body of the enemy from the heights in front of the camp.

On the morning of the 13th, the army entered the pass of Tezeen, and found mustered there the whole Cabul force, estimated at 16,000 men, under the personal command of Akbar, Ameenoolah, and other great chiefs attached to his cause. They had most carefully improved the naturally great strength of the position, and manifested a determination to defend it to the last extremity. When, therefore, the British troops ascended the heights, they found them, contrary to custom, advancing to the contest, which was maintained with desperation, and in many instances decided only by the bayonet. It was peculiarly obstinate before they were dislodged from the numerous positions on the lofty eminence of the Huft Kothul. The resistance was indeed protracted during a great part of the day; but at length British valour overcame every obstacle, and our troops, with three cheers, established themselves on this mighty summit. The enemy then fled in every direction, losing their guns and three standards. A strong body had attacked the rear-guard, with the view of hemming in the army on both sides, or at least of capturing the baggage; but they were gallantly repulsed by Colonel Richmond, who commanded in that quarter.

The general now marched on to Koord Cabul. The dreadful

pass of that name still lay before him, and troops were sent to crown its heights; but the enemy, dismayed and disorganized by their recent overthrow, had made no attempt to secure them. On the 14th, Pollock arrived at Bootkhak, and next day encamped on the race-ground at Cabul. On the morning of the 16th, with his staff and a detachment, he entered the Bala Hissar, on whose summit, amid the anthem of "God save the Queen," the British colours were hoisted. Futtah Jung was allowed to accompany them, and placed himself on the throne, but without any co-operation or guarantee on our part. The strictest orders were issued to the officers and troops not to injure in any shape the city or its inhabitants, nor even to enter it without express permission.

Meantime, as early as the beginning of June, General Nott had been making preparations to evacuate Candahar, after dismantling its fortified positions. Colonel Wymer, who had marched upon Kelat-i-Ghilzie, demolished its strongholds, and withdrew the garrison. A similar course was followed in respect to Ghirisk, long held by Bulwunt Sing, a steady adherent of England. All the stores in the capital which could not be carried off were destroyed; and on the 10th August, the city being evacuated, the army divided itself into two portions. One under General England, composed of the troops recently arrived from Bombay, and removing with them all the heavy baggage, commenced their return by Quetta and Dadur to the Lower Indus. On the 16th, he reached the entrance of the Kojuck Pass, where he had been informed that the Afghans were preparing to make a most desperate effort to intercept his artillery and supplies, including nearly 10,000 beasts of burden. He saw, however, that the highest mountain pinnacles were not yet occupied, and though the troops were fatigued by a night march of twenty-four miles, he lost no time in sending a light detachment to take possession of the most important ridge, and the peaks commanding the principal passes.

This proved a most judicious precaution; for, next morning, the enemy began to appear in small bodies, their numbers continually increased, and repeated attacks were made, but rendered

fruitless by the want of any commanding position. The loss sustained was only two killed and eight wounded. The army then marched in two columns by Quetta to Dadur, which it reached on the 9th October. In traversing the Bolan Pass, the heat was extremely severe, and some slight annoyance was experienced from the natives.

On the 10th August, also, General Nott quitted Candahar, leaving it to be occupied by Prince Sufter Jung and his adherents. On the general reaching Naunee, however, about twenty miles from Ghizni, Shumshoodeen Khan, governor of that capital, met him on the 30th with 12,000 men. He marched out with only a part of his force, when the enemy advanced boldly, opening a hot fire from small arms and two well-served guns. The British columns, however, steadily advanced, and, after a brisk but short contest, completely dispersed them. Their guns, tents, and ammunition fell into our hands, and the darkness alone saved them from being entirely cut up, their commander fleeing with a train of no more than thirty horsemen. Our loss, however, amounted to thirty-eight killed and sixty-six wounded.

On the morning of the 5th, the general arrived at Ghizni, which he found defended by strong bodies of troops, reinforced by Sultan Jan, one of the leading actors in the scene of assassination. They had occupied not only gardens and ravines in front of the walls, but a long range of mountains stretching to the north-east. The first object being to reconnoitre the place, and the party thus employed being briskly attacked, it was necessary to send additional companies to their support. It was judged requisite to begin by driving the Afghans from the heights, which the troops effected in gallant style, carrying successively every point. The village of Bullal was then chosen as a convenient site for erecting a battery; and before daybreak on the 6th, one of four eighteen-pounders was constructed and advanced towards the walls. It was then, however, discovered that the enemy had evacuated the place; and arrangements were immediately made for the demolition of this celebrated citadel, as far as could be effected in two days.

The loss in these operations consisted of three killed and forty-three wounded.

General Nott now marched directly northward upon Cabul; but on approaching Mydan, he again encountered Shumshoodeen and Sultan Jan, with a force as large as before, occupying a range of strong mountain-posts. The 14th and 15th September were spent in driving them successively from these eminences, which was done with the usual success, though not without a hard resistance, costing a loss of four killed and fifty-nine wounded. The army then proceeded to join General Pollock at Cabul.

An auspicious result now followed the triumph of the British arms. As soon as Akbar saw his victorious enemy advancing, he despatched the prisoners under a strong guard to Khoolloom in Turkistan, where they were either to be thrown into dungeons or given as slaves to the principal chiefs. In this fearful predicament, they of course looked round for all means of deliverance. The escort was commanded by Saleh Mohammed, who had deserted from the British cause, and might therefore not be incorruptible. A tender was repeatedly made to him of a lac of rupees (£10,000), on condition of enabling them to reach the English camp. He evaded these propositions, evidently doubtful which side would gain the ascendancy. On their arrival at Bameean, however, he came and announced that orders had been received for their immediate departure for Khoolloom; but that General Pollock had intimated through another channel a readiness to bestow £2000 and a monthly pension of £100, in case of his effecting their deliverance. This he engaged to do, provided they should enter into a bond guaranteeing the offer just made. Four officers signed the obligation, the other prisoners engaging to pay such sums as might hereafter be demanded from them for fulfilling it. Saleh then dismissed the escort, and changed the governor of the fort for one on whom he could rely. Dreading lest the Afghan army, even in its retreat, should take this direction, they made indefatigable efforts to put the stronghold in a state of defence. However, on learning the victory at Tezeen, and anticipating the entry of the British forces

into Cabul, they conceived it possible to effect their deliverance by their own efforts, trusting to co-operation from that quarter. In fact, General Pollock, immediately on arriving there, had made arrangements for the departure of 700 Kuzzilbash horse, accompanied by Sir Richmond Shakespeare, to whom he advanced 10,000 rupees; and soon after General Sale followed, with a corps of 2000 men. The prisoners departed from Bameean on the 16th, and next day crossed the Kaloo mountain-range, 13,000 feet high, being little inferior to Mount Blanc. After descending, they were filled with joy by meeting with Sir Richmond and the Kuzzilbashes, and on the 19th with General Sale. The meeting of that officer with his heroic lady and daughter may be more easily conceived than described. His mission proved by no means superfluous, as Sultan Jan was in full pursuit, and would perhaps have been up in twenty-four hours. They arrived in camp on the evening of the 21st, when their arrival was celebrated by a royal salute and the most heartfelt rejoicings. They included General Shelton, Colonel Palmer, Majors Pottinger and Griffiths, twelve captains, three surgeons, nine lieutenants, three ensigns, twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The females were Ladies Macnaghten and Sale, besides the wives of five officers and of three privates. There remained only Captain Bygrave, who had been detained by Akbar; but he, too, arrived on the 27th, with a despatch from that chief.

The Afghans, after so many disasters, retreated into the mountain-territory of Kohistan, immediately north of Cabul, where they hoped to find a present refuge and a point whence they might return upon the city. General Pollock, however, determined to dislodge them, and, if he could not capture, at least drive them to a distance. The grand rallying point to which most of the chiefs had conveyed their property and their wives, was Istalif. This town, with 15,000 inhabitants, consists of clusters of houses and forts built on the slope of a mountain, having in its rear still loftier eminences, that shut in a defile leading to Turkistan. It could be approached only across ranges of hills separated by dark

ravines, and covered with gardens, vineyards, and orchards, enclosed by strong walls; all the heights being occupied by the Jezallchees, those formidable sharpshooters. After careful examination, it was determined to make the attack on the right, though the quarter naturally strongest; but from this very cause, the enemy had been induced to place on the left their guns and the most efficient of their force. The troops, formed into two columns, under Brigadiers Tulloch and Stacy, advanced in the face of a heavy fire from the gardens, and then united in a joint attack on the village Ismillah, considered the key of the position, which they stormed with distinguished gallantry. Pressing on, and leaving the enemy not a moment to rally, they carried successively all the enclosures, forts, heights, suburbs, and finally the town. The singular spectacle was then presented of the women and children hastening up the mountain-side to effect their escape, which no attempt was made to intercept. As armed bodies, however, were seen rallying on some very lofty heights, guns were conveyed up by some narrow paths, and soon caused their dispersion. The British loss was six killed and forty-five wounded, considered very small in carrying so strong a position. The place was found filled with property conveyed thither for security, and in great part taken from our army in 1841. After removing everything that could be useful, arrangements were made for the entire demolition of the fortress.

No further operations were undertaken against the enemy. Akbar and other chiefs, on whom it might have been desirable to let fall our resentment, had fled beyond the frontier and sought refuge in Turkistan. The speedy approach of winter gave warning to lose no time in executing the resolution of evacuating a country which had been the scene of so much glory and disaster. Futteh Jung, as already mentioned, had seated himself on the throne, but without British sanction. It proved that the Kuzzilbashes, and other friendly chiefs, chose rather that it should be occupied by Shah Poora, his younger brother, a mere lad, hoping, it is probable, to govern in his name, and taking advantage of

the respect with which his family were still regarded. General Pollock, who had resolved to refrain from dictating on this subject, tacitly acquiesced in these proceedings, but left uninjured the Bala Hissar, with a store of artillery for its defence. The elder brother accompanied our army to India. It was, however, considered indispensable that, before departing, a severe lesson should be given to the Afghans as to the hazards which must always attend a war with Britain. The great bazaar, erected under Aurengzebe by the celebrated architect Ali Murdan Khan, was esteemed the most spacious edifice, and the chief seat of trade in Central Asia. It was 600 feet long, and contained 2000 shops; and here had been exposed to public insult the remains of the late envoy. It was therefore determined to reduce it to ashes; and Colonel Richmond, with a party of sappers and miners, and a detachment of troops, were employed two days in completing its destruction.

The army marched on the 12th October in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Pollock, M'Caskill, and Nott. General Sale, with a light corps, went in advance to clear the right flank, and crown the heights of the Koord Cabul Pass. Through these good arrangements General Pollock's division arrived at Jugduluk on the 16th, without any serious attempt to molest it. The second, under General M'Caskill, suffered some annoyance and loss. General Nott's rear was much retarded by the exhaustion of the baggage-cattle, of which advantage was taken by large hordes of Ghilzies to make several brisk attacks. They were gallantly repulsed, yet with a loss on our side of twelve killed and forty-nine wounded. From Jugduluk, the divisions, for the convenience of march, proceeded separately, each at a day's interval. On the 22d, 23d, and 25th, they successively arrived at Jellalabad. Three days were employed in destroying the military works of that celebrated fortress. On the 27th, the first division left it, followed on the 29th by the others. They proceeded with all expedition through the passes, and though constantly harassed by the Khyberees, sustained no serious loss except on the 3d November, when General M'Caskill's division

was attacked with great fury, and a contest ensued, in which two officers and a considerable number of men fell. Two guns were taken, but recovered next day. On the 6th, the last, under General Nott, emerged from the pass at Jumrood, and the whole were soon united in the vicinity of Peshawur. On the 10th, they marched in four brigades; on the 17th, crossed the Indus at Attock, and, proceeding through the Punjaub on the 18th, passed the Sutledge to Ferozepore, where the governor and commander-in-chief joyfully received them. On the 25th October, Lord Ellenborough had announced in a proclamation, that with a view to terminate as early as possible all the evils arising out of the war, the several Afghans now in the power of the British government would be set at liberty. In this number Dost Mohammed, his wives and family, and also those of Akbar Khan, were included.

Such was the termination of this long contest, diversified by so many events at once glorious and tragical. It was doubtless a subject of rather painful reflection that the only result should be the restoration of all things to their previous state, and the renunciation of every object for which the war had been undertaken. Yet few, we think, will deny, that the resolution thus to close it, as announced by Lord Ellenborough, was highly judicious. The expedition had, as formerly shown, been projected by Lord Auckland, under the belief that the deposed monarch would be welcomed by his former subjects, and that the secure possession of the throne in his hands would form a barrier to our Indian possessions. It has indeed appeared that the people were not without some attachment to the ancient family, but as soon as it was proved that he could not be maintained in power except by a British force, all hope of holding this proud, brave, and turbulent people in willing subjection, necessarily vanished. We might, indeed, by good management, have held a number of fortified positions in a besieged state, but could never have possessed the country. It must have been what Spain was to Napoleon, and what Algiers now is to France,—a source of weakness, inasmuch as it would have proved a continual drain both of men and treasure.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WAR IN SINDE AND GWALIOR.

Rejoicings on the termination of the Afghan War—Desire for the consolidation of the British possessions in India—Disturbances in Sind—Hostile manifestations of the Ameers—Sir Charles Napier assumes the command in Sind—Faithless proceedings of the Ameers—Attack on the British Resident—Battle of Hyderabad—Defeat of the Sindian and Beloochee forces—Important effects of the Victory—Battle of Dubba—Strong position of the Enemy—Decisive Victory—Insalubrity of the Climate—Disturbances on the Northern Frontiers—Disordered state of Afghanistan—Revolutions in the Punjab—Army of Observation on the Sutledge—Disturbances at Gwalior—Battles of Maharajpore and Panwar—Decisive effects of these Victories—Recall of Lord Ellenborough—Lord Hardinge appointed Governor-General—Change of Policy—Continued Disturbances in the Punjab—Discussions to which they gave rise.

THE year 1842 closed, both in India and at home, with gratulations and rejoicings for the successful termination of Eastern warfare. A succession of disasters had attended the British arms, such as had scarcely before been matched in its history. Dishonour, defeat, and flight, had disgraced the British standards beyond the Indus, and already boding prophets, both in England and on the Continent, were anticipating the overthrow of our whole Indian empire. Events the most tragical and disastrous had, however, been followed by triumphs no less glorious, and the temporary humiliation of British arms had only helped more thoroughly to show their superiority, in the long run, against any power that Asia can muster against them. All parties, however, were thoroughly convinced of the necessity imposed upon England to accept of the great natural barrier which the Indus appears to offer as the north-western boundary of her Eastern possessions; and the establishment of peace on a firm and lasting basis was confidently anticipated as the result of this definite line of policy. There remained, however, another enemy still bent on hostility.

The kingdom of Sind, which occupies both banks of the Great Delta of the Indus, immediately to the south of Afghanistan, altogether differs in climate and natural features from that rugged

hill country which the British arms had so recently conquered, only to return into the hands of its turbulent native possessors. It was at the very close of 1842, that Lord Ellenborough completed the arrangements for the renunciation of Afghanistan, and restored to liberty the last of the Afghans still remaining in his power. Almost immediately thereafter, his attention was directed to various acts of the Ameers of Sinde in contravention of their existing engagements, as well as to decided manifestations of hostile intentions. During the temporary disasters in Afghanistan, which threatened to destroy the prestige acquired by British valour in India, the Ameers had displayed an evident desire to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for setting at naught all existing treaties, and thereby almost as effectually favoured the Afghans as if they had raised an army to co-operate with them against the British. Decided symptoms of hostile intentions became speedily apparent. Early in August a letter describes the surrounding tribes as little better than in a state of insurrection. Chiefs were moving about with armed bands, endeavouring to enlist followers, and availing themselves of every opportunity to plunder. In the Bombay Gazette of 9th September, it is remarked:—"With regard to the Ameers of Sinde, we think there will be ample grounds for sending them to Benares." The movements of British troops speedily afforded indication that the governor-general was resolved to adopt summary measures for suppressing any hostile movements on the part of the Sindeans. The force under General England, amounting to about 3500, was ordered to move from Candahar, towards Sinde, and other bodies of troops soon followed them, increasing their number to above 5000 men.

General England's forces experienced little interruption in their progress towards Sinde, excepting that which arose from the excessive heat. The temperature in the Bolan Pass is described as almost unbearable. Eight men died in the course of two days from its effects. The last portion of General England's forces left Quettah on the first of October, and proceeded without

interruption for the first two marches into the Bolan Pass. But as they threaded a difficult portion of the defile on the 3d, an attack was made on the column, and skirmishing kept up for some hours, during which the rear-guard suffered considerably.

On the 4th of October, Sir Charles Napier arrived at Sukker, and assumed the command of the forces in Sind. On his way he had left with the Ameers Lord Ellenborough's ultimatum, and, a few days after, Major Outram was commissioned to demand an equally definite reply. It was then confidently anticipated that when they learned the complete success of the British arms in the north, there would be little difficulty in negotiating with them. In this, however, the governor-general was disappointed. Negotiations were indeed carried on for above four months, with considerable hopes of a satisfactory termination; and new provisions, which Lord Ellenborough deemed indispensable, in consequence not only of their manifestations of a hostile disposition, but of various acts in direct contravention of existing engagements, received the assent of the Ameers of Sind. The usual difficulties, however, were experienced in dealing with native powers. It was obvious, notwithstanding their adoption of the prescribed terms, that no reliance could be placed on their good faith. Of this abundant evidence was speedily afforded. The new treaty, which had been proposed and agreed to, received the signature of the Ameers on the 14th of February 1843, and on the very day thereafter, they made a sudden attack, at the head of a large force, on the residence of Major Outram, the British commissioner. Unexpectedly sudden and undisguised as this treacherous assault was, the commissioner had been warned to place little faith in their sincerity. On leaving the durbar the previous day, where the whole body of the Ameers had formally affixed their seals to the treaty, Major Outram and his companions were exposed to great peril, and were only rescued by the Ameers' guards from a hired band of assassins. But on the following morning, the Major's residence was attacked by a body of 8000 troops, headed by several of the Ameers and principal

chiefs. The small force under his command maintained their post with the utmost gallantry, and had it not been for the terror of the camp-followers, who were employed to remove the property on board a steamer that lay in the river, the assailants would not have obtained possession of any portion of it.

Major Outram writes to Sir Charles Napier on the 15th: "My despatches of the last few days will have led you to expect that my earnest endeavours to effect an amicable arrangement with the Ameers of Sind would fail, and it is with much regret I have now to report that their highnesses have commenced hostilities by attacking my residence this morning, which, after four hours' most gallant defence by my honorary escort, the light company of Her Majesty's 22d regiment, commanded by Captain Conway, I was compelled to evacuate, in consequence of our ammunition running short. At nine A.M. this morning, a dense body of cavalry and infantry took post on three sides of the Agency compound (the fourth being defended by the Planet steamer about 500 yards distant), in the gardens and houses which immediately commanded the enclosure, and which it was impossible to hold with our limited numbers. A hot fire was opened by the enemy, and continued incessantly for four hours; but all their attempts to enter the Agency enclosure, although merely surrounded by a wall varying from four to five feet high, were frustrated by Captain Conway's able distribution of his small band, and the admirable conduct of every individual soldier composing it, under the gallant example of their commanding officer and his subalterns Lieutenant Harding and Ensign Pennefather; Her Majesty's 22d regiment; also Captains Green of the 21st regiment native infantry, and Wells of the 15th regiment, who volunteered their services, to each of whom was assigned the charge of a separate quarter; also to your aide-de-camp Captain Brown, Bengal Engineers, who carried my orders to the steamer, and assisted in working her guns and directing her flanking fire. Our ammunition being limited to forty rounds per man, the officers directed their whole attention to reserving their fire, and keeping their men close under

cover, never showing themselves or returning a shot, except when the enemy attempted to rush, or showed themselves in great numbers; consequently great execution was done with trifling expenditure of ammunition, and with little loss." Major Outram had held out in the hope of obtaining reinforcements and a supply of ammunition from the Satellite steamer, which was hourly expected; but in this he was disappointed, and they were at length compelled to evacuate the place, which they did, says Major Outram, "covered by a few skirmishers, as deliberately as on parade." The commissioner joined Sir Charles Napier at Hala, and immediately on learning from him of the commencement of hostilities, he put the whole forces at his command in motion, to oppose the united armies of Upper and Lower Sind, which were already in the field. On the 16th, Sir Charles reached Muttaree, where he learned that the Ameers had taken up a position at Meeanee, about twelve miles distant, at the head of a force of 22,000 men, while the number then with him did not amount to 3000. At eight o'clock on the following morning, his advanced guard came in sight of their camp at Meeanee, within sight of the towers of Hyderabad. The position occupied by the Sindians had been chosen with great skill, and their immense superiority in point of numbers allowed them to turn it to the utmost advantage. Both flanks were protected by thick woods, which seemed calculated to baffle any attempt to turn them, while the whole length of their front was effectually secured by the dry bed and steep banks of the river Fulaille, one of the branches of the Indus. So soon as the British forces came within range of the enemy's guns, a battery of fifteen pieces of artillery opened upon them with deadly effect. The whole artillery on the side of the British consisted of twelve small field-pieces, which Sir Charles posted on his right, while some skirmishers and a body of native cavalry were ordered to advance, in order to make the enemy show his force. The main body then advanced from the right in echelon of battalions, moving rapidly across the open plain, which was swept by the enemy's cannon. The British fire of musketry opened at about 100 yards from the

bank of the river, and in a few minutes the engagement became general along the whole line. The Sindeans, however, made good use of their well-chosen position, and for above three hours the combatants struggled for mastery along the banks of the river, fighting with the most deadly fury man to man. The Beloochees, who formed an important branch of the Sindian army, are celebrated as bold and skilful swordsmen, and they fought in this engagement with the most desperate fury. Rushing on to the top of the embankments, they discharged their matchlocks and pistols at their opponents, and then dashed into the midst of them sword in hand.

The nature of the ground almost completely precluded the ordinary manœuvres of a disciplined force, and from the vast superiority of the enemy in point of numbers, it appeared for a time impossible that the British could hold their ground. Fast as one wild band of desperate assailants fell before their cool and resolute defence, another band, equally numerous and fearless, sprung into their place. On seeing the perilous state in which the main body in his front was placed, after maintaining their ground for above three hours against a foe which seemed to spring up before them anew as fast as they were struck down or driven back, Sir Charles sent orders to his reserved cavalry to force the right wing of the enemy. This movement was most gallantly executed. In the first charge, the 9th light cavalry took a standard and several pieces of artillery, and another body of native cavalry obtained possession of the enemy's camp, from whence a large body of their horse were slowly driven, fighting every inch of ground as they withdrew. They were pursued for upwards of two miles, until they were effectually broken and scattered in hopeless disorder. This gallant charge decided the fortunes of the day. Though the main body of the enemy did not immediately give way, their resistance slackened as soon as they saw their wing turned and the chief body of their cavalry driven from the field. The 22d, the 28d, and the 12th regiments then successively charged up the bank with muskets and fixed bayonets, which in the hands of

British soldiers have rarely been withstood. They forced the line of the enemy at all points, the last regiment capturing several guns, while the Sindeans gave way in all directions and fled from the field, leaving the whole of their artillery, ammunition, standards and camp, with considerable stores and some treasure, in the hands of the victors. Not a single prisoner, however, was captured by the British,—a fact to which Sir Charles Napier made special reference at a later period. In the barbarous system of warfare to which the Beloochees had been accustomed, no quarter is ever given to an enemy; and the consequence was, that anticipating the same treatment from their British victors, the wounded refused all quarter, and continued to strike at every one that approached them, until they were bayoneted where they lay. On taking possession of Hyderabad, considerable treasure fell into the hands of the British, and further discoveries afterwards greatly augmented this, so that a total amount of specie was ultimately reported in the hands of the victors, amounting to above three millions sterling.

This victory was not secured without considerable loss on the side of the British;—256 are reported in the despatch of the general as killed and wounded, including an unusual proportion of officers. But the loss of the enemy was immense, amounting, it is believed, to more than twenty times that of their opponents. In referring to the unavoidable absence of certain British officers, and the loss of others during the engagement, Sir Charles Napier remarks in his despatch to Lord Ellenborough: “I hope your Lordship will pardon me for saying, that the want of European officers in the native regiment at one period endangered the success of the action. The sepoy is a brave and excellent soldier, but, like all soldiers, he expects to be led on in certain moments, and, as he looks to his European officer, if he misses him, the greatest danger arises: three times I saw them retreat, evidently because the officers had fallen, and when another appeared and rallied them, they at once followed him boldly. This, my Lord, accounts for the great number of European officers killed and

wounded in proportion to the whole." The policy indicated in this suggestion of the general has since been acted upon by the government at home, and the staff of British officers for the Indian army, and especially for the native troops, has been permanently enlarged to a considerable extent.

Much satisfaction was naturally experienced at the news of a victory of so brilliant a character, gained under unexpected circumstances, and against such very considerable odds. Whatever doubts might have been entertained of the good faith or friendly intentions of the Ameers of Sinde, the British general might have been excused had he been found unprepared for so sudden and treacherous an attack as that which immediately followed the signing of the treaty. Still the disasters of the first Afghan war had not been entirely effaced from recollection, even by the decisive character of the victories of the second campaign. It was perhaps felt by some of the native powers, little inclined to appreciate any far-sighted course of policy, that the British had neither accomplished the object for which the war in Afghanistan was originally undertaken, nor had they enlarged their Indian empire by retaining possession of the conquered territory. Victory beneath the walls of Hyderabad might therefore be said to be indispensable to secure the prestige of British superiority, against whatever odds it had to be achieved. This the military skill of the leader, and the valour of the forces under his command, had accomplished, and their victory was welcomed with corresponding gratulations. By a despatch, dated from the palace of Agra on the 5th of March, Lord Ellenborough conveys the thanks of the government and people of India to their gallant defenders. In referring to the first act of hostility by the enemy, he remarks: "The governor-general cannot forgive a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British government, nor can he forgive hostile aggression prepared by those who were in the act of signing a treaty. It will be the first object of the governor-general to use the power victory has placed in his hands in the manner most conducive to the freedom of trade, and to the pros-

perity of the people of Sinde, so long misgoverned. To reward the fidelity of allies by substantial marks of favour, and so to punish the crime of treachery in princes as to deter all from its commission, are further objects which the governor-general will not fail to effect. To Major-General Sir Charles Napier, and to the brave troops he commanded, the governor-general offers the tribute of his own admiration, and of the gratitude of the government and people of India. The bravery of the enemy against whom they were engaged has enhanced their glory—the most decisive victory has been gained upon the best fought field." The policy, however, which is indicated in the despatch of the governor-general, as to the use which was to be made of this important victory, was not yet to be carried out. The Ameers of Sinde must have been well aware that when they drew the sword under such circumstances they flung the scabbard away, as all further friendly treaty was vain with princes who had availed themselves of the very time of completing amicable negotiations to break through even the common courtesies of hostile nations.

Notwithstanding the very severe loss sustained by the enemy, they were still greatly the superior in point of numbers to their opponents, and were headed by chiefs who could not hope for any satisfactory terms from the conqueror. The foremost of these was Hoche Mohammed Seede, one of the Beloochee chiefs, who, along with Meer Shere Mohammed, the chief of Meerpoor, was looked upon as the great promoter of the war. The deeply-rooted impression which had been left on the public mind by the disasters in Afghanistan, was manifest from the exaggerated and dubious rumours that speedily superseded the rejoicings with which the news of the defeat of the Sindian army, under the walls of Hyderabad, had been received; so that, on the departure of the May mail from India, an ill-defined rumour was prevalent, that in a second engagement the British army under Sir Charles Napier had sustained a decided defeat.

The small number of the forces under Sir Charles's command, amounting only to about 6000 men in all, prevented his occupying

any extended positions beyond the walls of Hyderabad, which he had taken possession of immediately after the victory at Meeanee. The British commander, accordingly, learned, towards the middle of March, that the enemy were once more mustering in numbers not greatly inferior to the force he had already defeated after so arduous a struggle. On the 23d of March, the British general writes from the camp at Hyderabad, announcing to Lord Ellenborough the junction of Major Stack, on the previous day, with the 3d cavalry, the 8th native infantry, and Major Leslie's troop of horse artillery. This reinforcement sufficed to supply the losses sustained in the previous victory, and to restore confidence to the British army, in the prospect of again encountering the same determined foe. Sir Charles, accordingly, states in the same despatch to Lord Ellenborough, that the enemy then lay within six miles of his camp, in such force that they had already begun attacking his camels, and he was resolved to go in pursuit of them on the morrow, and attack them wherever they might be found.

The Sindians had posted themselves in a strong and well-selected position, little more than four miles distant from the British camp—a strong evidence of the very restricted operations to which the British general had been reduced, in consequence of the small number of his available forces. The position of the enemy was nearly similar to that which had formerly proved so difficult to surmount. They had again posted themselves on the banks of the Fullalie, whose dry channel in the previous engagement afforded them such valuable protection. But they had improved not only on the experience acquired in the former defeat, but strengthened their position with a degree of skill never before manifested by them in their wars, and which was considered as affording undoubted indications of the presence of European counsellors in their army.

Sir Charles put his forces in motion early in the morning, and by the time they had advanced about two miles, they descried the enemy about a mile and a half in advance. Approaching within twelve hundred yards of their position, the troops were drawn up

in order of battle, and advanced in echelon of regiments to the attack. About nine o'clock, the British guns opened their fire on the enemy's position, producing considerable confusion in their centre, where considerable bodies were observed to move to the left, apparently unable to sustain the cross fire of the artillery. The position of the enemy was nearly a straight line. The nullah which formed its front consisted of two deep parallel ditches, one twenty feet wide and eight feet deep, the other forty-two feet wide and seventeen feet deep, further straightened by banks and escarpments of the most formidable character. These skilful preparations, however, proved altogether ineffectual in arresting the victorious career of the British army, manned though they were by defenders immensely outnumbering them, and inferior in courage and daring to no native force which had yet attempted to withstand the British arms. When the centre of the enemy was seen to give way under the severe fire of the British artillery, Major Stack, at the head of the 3d cavalry, supported by a body of native horse, charged them on their left flank, crossing the nullah, and bearing down upon them with such determined valour, that they gave way before them, and were pursued for several miles with great slaughter.

Sir Charles Napier thus describes the action in the centre and on the left, at the period when the cavalry on his right charged the left flank of the enemy, and drove them from the field:—
“While this was passing on the right, Her Majesty's 22d regiment, gallantly led by Major Poole, who commanded the brigade, and Captain George, who commanded the corps, attacked the nullah on the left with great gallantry, and, I regret to add, with considerable loss. This brave battalion marched up to the nullah under a heavy fire of matchlocks, without returning a shot till within forty paces of the intrenchment, and then stormed it like British soldiers. The intrepid Lieutenant Coote first mounted the rampart, seized one of the enemy's standards, and was severely wounded while waving it and cheering on his men. Meanwhile the Poonah horse, under Captain Tait, and the 9th cavalry, under

Major Story, turned the enemy's right flank, pursuing and cutting down the fugitives for several miles. Her Majesty's 22d regiment was well supported by the batteries commanded by Captains Willoughby and Hutt, which crossed their fire with that of Major Leslie. Then came the 2d brigade, under command of Major Woodburn, bearing down into action with excellent coolness. It consisted of the 25th, 21st, and 12th regiments, under the command of Captains Jackson, Stevens, and Fisher, respectively. These regiments were strongly sustained by the fire of Captain Whitley's battery, on the right of which were the 8th and 1st regiments, under Majors Brown and Clibborne; these two corps advanced with the regularity of a review up to the intrenchments, their commanders, with considerable exertion, stopping their fire on seeing that a portion of the Sinde horse and 3d cavalry, in charging the enemy, had got in front of the brigade. The battle was decided by the troop of horse artillery and Her Majesty's 22d regiment." The enemy stood their ground well, and defended themselves with the utmost bravery, insomuch so that the victory has been pronounced by experienced officers as perhaps the most sternly contested of any in which British troops have ever been engaged in India. The 22d regiment, which had to bear the brunt of the fight, alone lost six officers and 145 men, out of about 300 British killed and wounded. It is in the despatch, in which Sir Charles Napier announced this victory to the governor-general, that he refers to the capture of some prisoners (only eight in all) as a subject of congratulation, since it affords some indications of amelioration in the barbarous and exterminating mode of warfare which their enemies had forced upon them. The reference to this apparently trivial circumstance, in the flush of victory, is a pleasing and honourable trait in the gallant British leader. "It gives me," says he, "great satisfaction to say that some prisoners have been taken, and though the number is small, it is still some advance towards a civilized mode of warfare; for I cannot help thinking that the desperate resistance generally made by wounded Beloochees has arisen from their own

system of warfare, which admits of no quarter being given in action. We are at present employed in collecting the wounded Beloochees within our reach, in order to render them medical assistance."

Many acts of intrepid valour were displayed in this severe contest. The general exposed himself during the whole fight, moving with the utmost coolness where the enemy's shots were flying thickest, and his example was not lost on his officers. Eleven pieces of ordnance and nineteen standards were taken, Hoche Mohammed Seedee, and three other chiefs, fell in the battle, the Beloochee force was entirely routed and dispersed in every direction, and Meer Shere Mohammed fled into the desert, taking his family with him, and attended by only forty followers, whom he could attract to his service. By the 5th of April, Sir Charles Napier announced to Lord Ellenborough that the important fortress of Oomercote had opened its gates to a British force sent against it.

The termination of the Afghan war had been characterized by a practical manifestation of the policy repeatedly dictated to the governor-generals of India by the Home Directory, to refrain from all further augmentation of the vast possessions of British India. The conquests in Sind, however, which so speedily followed our victories in Afghanistan, showed how little reliance can be placed on theories of policy, however well grounded they may appear to be. It is only in the characters of individual men that we can find any certain guarantee for the preservation of peace. Lord Ellenborough, having inscribed the words *Pax Asia restituta* on a medal, proceeded to make war upon Sind. The gallantry of our troops soon humbled the pride of the Ameers, and a stroke of the pen reduced their country to a British province. The acquisition has proved politically advantageous to us; but financially it has been disastrous. Our advanced position has doubtless rendered us comparatively indifferent to the vicissitudes of Central Asian politics; but the revenues of Sind have never paid, and are not likely to pay, the expenses of its civil administration and its military defence.

Considerable annoyance was experienced from the proceedings of such of the Ameers and Beloochee chiefs as were still at large, and especially from those of Shere Mohammed, who was making the most determined exertions to bring another army into the field. Meanwhile the conduct of the chiefs, who had been confided in as friendly to the British, was even more alarming than the threatening position assumed by the defeated leaders. Ali Moorad, who had received repeated marks of favour from the British occupants of Sinde, when put in possession of Kyrpoor, appears to have concluded that whatever other territories the British wrested from the Ameers, would in like manner be transferred to him. As a further evidence of favour, the guns captured at Meeanee had been made over to him, and so soon as he found that his extravagant expectations were not to be realized, he surrendered the artillery captured by our forces to Shere Mohammed.

The near approach of the hot season, when Europeans are exposed to such severe sufferings if forced to take the field, led to much anxiety as to the movements of that chief. The most extravagant and contradictory rumours were afloat. Shere Mohammed was said to be already mustering a more numerous force than either of those which had sustained such complete defeat; while great and well-grounded apprehensions of sickness were entertained within the camp at Hyderabad, where the troops were hemmed in by low marshy grounds and the river, in a situation in which any of the native epidemics could hardly fail to prove fearfully destructive if it should break out among them. By letters from the camp in the month of May, Shere Mohammed is said to be at Sukkurind, at the head of 40,000 men, and a large park of artillery; marauding parties of the Beloochees were moving about, and committing great depredations on the live stock, so that great fears were entertained of a scarcity of provisions. Most of these rumours, however, proved to be grossly exaggerated. A despatch of Sir Charles Napier's, dated 17th June 1843, announces an attack on Meer Shah Mohammed at the head of 2000 men, in which that leader was captured, and his whole forces totally

routed. So complete was their panic, that the British forces suffered much more from the heat than from any opposition offered by the enemy. In order to take them by surprise, Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, who commanded the detachment sent against the Ameer, moved without any camp-equipage, and the sufferings consequent on their exposure to the heat are described as very severe. "The heat," says Colonel Roberts, "after nine o'clock, became most awful, and the whole detachments were much distressed." Two European artillerymen died of *coup de soleil* while on the march. In a despatch, dated two days later, the commander refers to the sudden change to extraordinary heat, and reports the death of a lieutenant, five sergeants, and forty-four men, by the same sudden and terrible stroke.

While Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts proceeded against Meer Shah Mohammed, other parties had been sent out to attempt to surround Shere Mohammed, where he kept the field at the head of a force of about 10,000 men. The Ameer, finding that several strong columns were advancing on him from different quarters, attempted to strike a sudden and decisive blow by attacking Captain Jacob, who, at the head of a comparatively small force, had been sent to intercept him, in case of his attempting to retreat to the desert. The whole of the Ameer's forces were totally routed and broken, dispersing in every direction, and leaving their guns and standards in the hands of the victors. Meer Shere Mohammed fled with only ten horsemen; but though intercepted in his attempt to gain the desert, he succeeded in effecting his escape.

The apprehensions as to the great danger to be dreaded from the effects of the climate, and position of the troops in Sinde, were speedily realized. Every account brought more alarming intelligence of the ravages of disease, insomuch so that before the cold season began to set in, there was a period of about six weeks, during which it is doubtful if, out of a force of 10,000 men, 3000 could have taken the field had any sudden attack occurred; and the whole outposts in the country, exposed to the mountain Beloochees in front, and effectually cut off, by the Indus and the desert

beyond it, from resources in the rear, were in such a condition, that a sudden and well-directed descent upon them by the scattered tribes of Beloochees, might have destroyed them to a man. Fortunately, before this deadly enemy had prostrated for a time the conquerors of Sinde, the point of danger had been removed to an entirely different scene.

The letters brought home by the Indian mail of October 1843, announced the satisfactory intelligence that our Eastern empire, which had been for many months the object of such lively and painful interest, had ceased to furnish any incidents worthy of comment or discussion. The *Bombay Times*, of 6th September, remarks:—"Letters are now received with as much punctuality from Sukkur and Hyderabad, as from any of the most tranquil quarters of our empire. The tidings brought by them are stale, flat, and unprofitable; no fighting, no adventure, no stir of any description, and even rumours of danger have died away. The chiefs, it is said, are daily coming in, and the country becoming pacified with most unexpected celerity." Accounts, however, from the north continued to indicate a very different state of things. Afghanistan furnished frequent reports of distraction and threatened outbreaks. Cabul was in the most disturbed state. Dost Mohammed Khan was stated to be exercising a most arbitrary and despotic sway, and directing his acts of oppression in an especial manner against such of the native chiefs as had manifested any friendly feeling towards the British during their occupation of that country. Ameenoolah Khan had been imprisoned and put in chains, and upwards of twenty of the chief men of Cabul were reported to be held in durance by the same chief. At Candahar, Sufter Jung was stated to be in close confinement with chains, while his adherents and advisers were everywhere seeking safety by flight. In all this, however, British interests were no further concerned than in so far as there might be any risk of the disturbances extending to the provinces under our control. The wise line of policy dictated to Lord Ellenborough had happily freed Britain from the necessity of interfering in these

intestine quarrels, though it could not but be felt that it was more difficult to throw off the responsibility of having to a great extent occasioned such division and strife among that brave but turbulent race.

Another country, beyond the northern boundaries of our Indian empire, was, however, already furnishing cause for apprehension. In the extensive regions comprehended between the Sutledge and the Indus, considerable symptoms of disturbance were already apparent, and we find official correspondents, early in the following year, giving expression to congratulations that the affairs of British India were in such a tranquil state, as to permit the attention of the governor-general and his council to be devoted to the crisis which seemed to be approaching not only in the Punjaub, but also in the Mahratta country, of which Gwalior was the capital. So early as the month of August, the whole troops in the Agra district received orders to keep themselves in readiness to move at a moment's notice. The immediate object of the movement was known to be the suppression of the dangerous civil war then raging at Gwalior; but it was known that the Mahrattas and the Sikhs had been corresponding in a tone unfavourable to our interests; and it was reported, as indeed it had often been reported before, that the army would eventually move upon the Sutlej. The time had not yet come for this movement, but already we saw before us the "beginning of the end." The struggle might be deferred: it could not be prevented. The causes which finally led to a sanguinary revolution in the Punjaub, may be thus briefly recapitulated: Upon the death of Runjeet Sing, in 1839, his favourite wife—after she had ascended the funeral pile, where, along with three others, she was burnt with his corpse—called to her Kurruck Sing, the deceased rajah's son and heir, along with Dhian Sing, his favourite minister, and placing the dead rajah's hand in that of his son, she required the latter to swear to protect and favour his father's minister, and by the like solemn oath bound the minister to be faithful to his new master. Kurruck Sing immediately ascended the throne. He was well-affected to

the British government, but possessed none of the talent or ~~energy~~ requisite for so difficult a post. He had not occupied the throne four months when he died, as has been stated in a previous chapter, not without strong suspicions of poison, and his son and heir, Now Nehal Sing, who should have succeeded him, was killed by the falling of a beam, as he returned from the funeral pile on which his father's corpse was consumed. These successive deaths were both ascribed to the intrigues of Runjeet Sing's favourite minister; and, after some difficulty, chiefly arising from the opposition of one of the widows of the latter prince, he succeeded in his long-cherished project of placing Shere Sing on the throne. During the frequent agitations and alarms that ensued, the British government continued to watch their proceedings with some anxiety; but after a time, the affairs of the kingdom, which chiefly owed its formation to the abilities of Runjeet Sing, seemed to acquire some degree of order and settlement, and ceased to attract special attention from the government of India, occupied as it soon was with objects of more pressing interest. Meanwhile causes of mutual difference and dislike were springing up between the new rajah and his ambitious minister. Various reasons are assigned for these. The Hon. Mr. Osborne, who describes Shere Sing as a fine, manly-looking fellow, adds that he had become especially obnoxious to his minister in consequence of his attachment to European manners, and his friendly inclinations toward the British, whom Dhian regarded with rancorous hate. This, however, was probably only one of the causes of dissension, sufficing to indicate their disagreement on all questions of general policy. It is stated that the rajah had abandoned himself to the indolent and dissolute habits which have so frequently been the ruin of the native dynasties of India, and that during the frequent dissensions which prevailed between Shere Sing and his powerful minister, the latter went so far as to reproach him in open durbar with his dissipation and excesses.

Whatever might be the ostensible grounds of dispute, however, the previous character of the minister leaves little room to doubt

that the real ground of offence was the interference with his policy, and the curtailment of his power. He accordingly organised a conspiracy for the assassination of the rajah, in which he enlisted several of the chief sirdars of the court. His influence with the army is sufficiently apparent, from the time chosen for executing his base design. The rajah had appointed a general review of his troops at the Dusserah festival, and Ajeet Sing, a mild-looking man, was selected as the assassin. Various accounts of the fearful tragedy, in which the faithless originator of it perished, the victim of his own plot, have been given to the public. Perhaps the following, culled from various sources by a trustworthy Indian journal, may be accepted as an approximation to the truth:—"Dhian Sing made the arrangement by proposing to the rajah to inspect Ajeet Sing's troops, which he said he would do the following morning, and orders were accordingly issued. On the rajah's arrival on the parade-ground, he found fault with the appearance and condition of some horsemen, purposely placed to attract attention, when Ajeet Sing became saucy, words ran high, and, drawing a pistol from his bosom, he shot Shere Sing through the head, the ball having entered his right temple. General Ventura and his party attacked the murderer, but being opposed by a powerful body of troops, were defeated. Ajeet Sing cut up the rajah's body, placed his head on a spear, and on entering the town met Prince Purtaub Sing's (Shere's son) suwarie, which was immediately attacked, and the prince killed; the palace was taken, and Dhulleep Sing, the only remaining son of Runjeet Sing, a lad ten years old, proclaimed to the throne. The treasury was thrown open, and the troops paid up their arrears. Troops were sent off to guard all the ghauts, and all the opposite party (except Ventura, who escaped) were made prisoners. Ajeet Sing, after having killed Shere Sing, was returning to the fort, and met Dhian; he told him he had done the deed, and asked him to return; he got into Dhian's carriage, and when they got near the gate of the fort, Ajeet Sing stabbed Dhian, and sent his body to his brother and son, Soochhet and Heera Sing. These two individuals sur-

rounded the city with their troops, and the people within continued plundering all night. In the morning, Heera Sing having entered the fort, seized Ajeet Sing, Lena Sing, and others, and having put them to death, exposed their heads in the plain, and threw their bodies into the bazaar. Dhulleep Sing has been put on the guddea, and Heera Sing made vizier. Six hundred men were slaughtered on both sides."

This barbarous deed was enacted on the 15th September 1843, and by means of it the nominal authority was vested in Dhulleep Sing, a child of ten years old, while the real power, which the unprincipled minister destined for himself, had passed into the hands of Heera Sing, who was now both commander of the army and vizier, and was therefore actual ruler, so long as he could retain the fidelity of the troops.

Meanwhile the affairs of the court of Gwalior, which had so long occasioned anxiety and distrust, were at length brought to a crisis. Confusion and anarchy prevailed there, one party deposing another, and successive chiefs struggling for power, while the country was left at the mercy of licentious and undisciplined troops. The British government being bound by its treaties with the late rajah to protect his successor, and preserve his territories unviolated, the governor-general could no longer overlook the fact that the conduct of the authorities of Gwalior involved a virtual violation of the treaty. Lord Ellenborough accordingly immediately ordered the advance of troops, sufficient, as he said, "to obtain guarantees for the future security of its own subjects on the common frontier of the two states, to protect the person of the rajah, to quell disturbances within his highness's territories, and to chastise all who shall remain in disobedience." This was rendered the more imperative by the tender age and helpless position of the Maharajah, which exposed him to the double danger of being made a tool in the hands of his enemies, and the nominal source of wrongs to his friendly allies. Notwithstanding the preparations which had been made for such an emergency, the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, was met by a much

stronger and more determined opposition than he had anticipated.

The army had left Agra betwixt the 12th and 18th December, and continued steadily to move on. On the 17th, General Valiant, with the advance, arrived at Dholpoor. On reaching the ghant opposite Kentree, the Dholpoor rajah paid a visit of ceremony to the governor-general, who accompanied the army, and his visit was returned by Lord Ellenborough and the commander-in-chief on the following day. On the 22d, they moved, with the headquarters of the 4th brigade, on Kentree Ghaut, and the advance, under Sir J. Thackwell, crossed to the right bank of the river. On the 23d, the second division crossed the Chumbul, and proceeded seven miles in the direction of Hingonah, where the advance was encamped. The road was extremely difficult, winding through a steep ravine scarcely more than twenty feet wide, which a determined enemy might for a time have obstructed almost with impunity. Here for five days the force halted to take rest and counsel. Bappoo Sestoleah had been despatched from Gwalior on the 22d, and on the following day had an audience with the governor-general, when it was believed in camp that everything was settled—the Maharanee and the Sirdars having, it was said, agreed to the terms proposed. On the 24th, the Gwalior Vakeels had a further interview of some duration with the governor-general. Many of the more respectable inhabitants, who came from Gwalior on a visit to the camp, conceived the idea of resistance out of the question. Preparations were made to receive the Maharanee, who was expected in camp on the 28th, with sufficient pomp and circumstance for the rank she held, and audience to which she was about to be admitted. The governor-general, who had originally been moderate in his demands, requiring the restoration of the Mama Sahib and his friends—the surrender of the Khasjee Walla, and dismissal of his partisans—the exchange of certain portions of country, so as to improve the condition of the mutual frontier—and the disbanding of the mutinous portion of the troops—finally demanding the entire

revision of the military establishment, and the surrender of the park of artillery, brought into existence about forty years since by Dowlat Rao Scindia, and regarded as the palladium of the state. This was looked upon as implying the entire destruction of the army, and surrender of the independence of the nation. There is every reason, however, to believe that, throughout, the professions of the Mahratta durbar were hollow and insincere—that so soon as it was found that their earlier and delusive propositions were insufficient to arrest our progress, it was resolved to offer the most determined resistance. Further negotiations appear to have been resorted to, merely to gain time.

It must always, indeed, form one of the greatest difficulties in the diplomatic intercourse between civilized and semi-barbarous nations, the difficulty of knowing what dependence can be placed on the most solemn asseverations and professions of good faith. Among highly civilized nations, the value of national credit and unblemished honour is so thoroughly appreciated, that it is rare indeed for the most unprincipled diplomatist to set it at defiance; but among the native princes of India, such faithless proceedings have been too frequent to excite very great surprise. The formidable character and position of the Mahratta army, however, had not been anticipated, from the vacillating character of their councils. The country generally exhibits features offering great natural obstacles to the operations of disciplined forces, being intersected with numerous deep and almost impassable ravines and gullies, affording great facilities for the irregular tactics of an undisciplined army. It was only by the unceasing labours of the sappers that a practicable passage was effected for the army under Sir H. Gough; and after passing the Koharee river in three columns, at points considerably distant from each other, the whole British army took up their position by eight o'clock on the morning of the 29th of December 1843, about a mile in front of Maharajpooor. The Mahrattas had occupied the ground during the previous night, taking up their position with such skill as compelled the commander to alter the disposition of his forces. Seven

regiments of Mahratta infantry were ranged in front, each corps having four guns attached to it, which opened on the advanced forces of the British as they took up their ground. The 39th regiment of British infantry advanced gallantly to the charge, supported by the 56th native infantry. The Mahrattas stood their ground with great bravery, and the British forces sustained a severe loss, their guns doing great execution as they advanced. But no native force has ever been able to withstand the determined charge of the British bayonet. They drove them from their guns into the village, but there the Mahrattas again rallied, and a most sanguinary conflict ensued. After discharging their matchlocks, they flung them from them, and fought hand to hand with the most determined courage. Meanwhile General Valiant had led on his brigade, and succeeded in taking Maharajpooor in reverse. Twenty-eight guns were captured by this combined movement, but the Mahrattas still stood their ground; nor was their strong position taken till nearly every one of its defenders had been left dead on the spot. The same determined resistance was experienced at every point. They had thrown up intrenchments, and planted their guns with great skill, and in nearly every case the gunners were bayoneted at their posts, without attempting to fly. The consequence was, that the loss of the British, both in officers and men, was unusually great. "I regret," says Sir H. Gough, in his despatch to the governor-general, "I regret to say that our loss has been very severe, infinitely beyond what I calculated on; indeed, I did not do justice to the gallantry of my opponents. Their force, however, so greatly exceeded ours, particularly in artillery, the position of their guns was so commanding, they were so well served, and determinedly defended, both by their gunners and their infantry, and the peculiar difficulties of the country giving the defending force so great advantages, that it could not be otherwise." As usual, where the native forces have displayed peculiar steadiness and skill, it was found that they had had the benefit of more experienced assistance; though they required no aid to give effect to their undisciplined courage and gallant daring.

There was found to have been a considerable number of the Company's discharged native infantry, as well as one or two European deserters among the Mahratta troops. One of the latter, it is stated, named Berry, from the 2d European regiment, had, when he fell, his lighted port-fire in his hand, and fired off his gun, sweeping away fifteen men.

At the same time that the commander-in-chief crossed the Mahratta frontier, Major-General Grey led an auxiliary force towards Punniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, to co-operate with the main body, and place the Mahratta army between two forces, acting in concert. The immense excess of the Mahrattas in point of numbers over the British forces, however, was such as enabled them to counteract this plan of mutual co-operation. A body of 12,000 men, with a large complement of guns, &c., was detached to arrest the progress of Major-General Grey, whose whole force did not amount to a fourth of that number. The two armies met on the 29th of December, in the vicinity of the fortified village of Mangore, near Punniar, where the Mahrattas had taken up a strong position, and were able to begin the attack at considerable advantage, by assaulting the cumbrous baggage-trains which necessarily accompany an Indian army. Towards four o'clock, the commander observed the enemy taking up a strong position on a chain of hills to the east of his camp, and resolved on an immediate attack. By a judicious disposition of his forces, the enemy were assailed simultaneously on the centre and left, and completely broken. The whole guns, twenty-four in number, were captured, and all their ammunition, with a portion of treasure, were taken. The action did not close till nightfall, which prevented the pursuit of the enemy, and enabled them to carry off many of their killed and wounded. Their loss, however, had been very severe, and the occurrence of two such decisive victories on the same day, as those of Maharajpooor and Punniar, effectually put an end to further resistance.

Private accounts would lead to the idea, which the acknowledgments in the despatch of the commander-in-chief may seem

in some degree to confirm, that little or no opposition had been anticipated either by the governor-general or the commander-in-chief, both of them probably conceiving that the presence of so large and effective a British force would have sufficed to overawe the rebellious Mahrattas. The commander-in-chief's staff, with the ladies of his family, are said to have been quietly proceeding towards Maharajpooor when the Mahratta guns opened upon them. Lord Ellenborough was likewise present on the field of battle, but less by accident than design. He was described in the journals of the day as having been under fire, exhibiting throughout much personal gallantry and presence of mind, distributing money and oranges among the wounded and exhausted soldiery, and cheering all men by his animating presence.

The result of the two great battles of Maharajpooor and Punnar destroyed the hopes not only of the mutinous Mahrattas at Gwalior, but of numerous restless malcontents of Hindostan, and had the effect of diffusing tranquillity throughout our whole Eastern empire, where the existence of so many races, still very partially amalgamated, and curbed in their predatory habits and love of plunder only by the well-directed force of disciplined authority, renders the whole empire peculiarly sensitive to such indirect but powerful influences. The rajah was installed with great ceremony at Gwalior, in presence of the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and an immense assemblage of native chiefs. An eye-witness of the imposing ceremonial describes the juvenile rajah as seated beneath a gorgeous canopy of gold, see-sawing his legs beneath his throne according to the fashion of listless schoolboys, seemingly altogether indifferent to the import of the stately proceedings in which he was made to bear so prominent a part.

Meanwhile, however, great and increasing dissatisfaction was expressed in many quarters at the government of Lord Ellenborough. His fondness for military display, and for such pompous exhibitions of vice-regal grandeur as that which immediately followed the victories over the insurgent Mahratta forces, were

occasionally manifested in a way that seemed somewhat inconsistent with the wonted gravity of British rule. His systematic depression of the civil service, and his neglect of the internal government of India, which was, in fact, his principal duty as governor-general, indicated still more clearly the ambitious character of the man. A military *furor* possessed him. His whole course of procedure was erratic, and opposed to the definite policy by which the East India Company had sought to avert a continued system of aggression on the surrounding native states, and to consolidate the vast possessions over which their rule was only very partially and imperfectly extended. In the choice of Lord Ellenborough as governor-general, they had calculated on the probable weight of his influence as a civilian, in carrying out measures in accordance with the peaceful line of policy they were anxious to see pursued; but the character of the proceedings of his successor suffice to show that the false glitter of military glory was more seductive to an inexperienced civilian than to a military veteran.

Lord Ellenborough was not ignorant that his conduct had excited the grave displeasure of the East India Company. But he relied too confidently upon the favour of the Duke of Wellington and the British Cabinet, to greatly concern himself as to the approval his proceedings might meet with from the Directory. Great, therefore, was the sensation created both in India and at home by the sudden recall of Lord Ellenborough, in consequence of the vote of the Court of Directors, in the exercise of their legitimate power, not only without consulting the Crown Ministers, but in direct opposition to their expressed opinions. The Duke of Wellington openly and severely censured their proceedings, and it was generally anticipated that an act so embarrassing, if not humiliating, to the government, and to one of its chief leaders, would have led to still more direct collision in the choice of a successor. Such anticipations, however, were not realized. Sir Henry Hardinge, a distinguished soldier and a ripe statesman, was selected to succeed to the important trust. On the 6th of

May 1844, he was appointed by the Court of Directors to the office of Governor-General of India, and the Crown immediately confirmed the choice. This bold and decisive measure of the Court of Directors excited much discussion and considerable diversity of feeling for a time; but the contrast between the wonted proceedings of Lord Ellenborough and the unobtrusive course adopted by Sir Henry Hardinge, speedily reconciled all parties interested in the affairs of India to the change of its governor-general.

But he had not long devoted himself to the internal administration of the country, when the unsettled state of the Punjab compelled him to turn his eyes towards the frontier. For many months this distracted country continued to furnish the most novel and unexpected intelligence. The Indian papers bristled with accounts of new revolutions, massacres, assassinations, and capricious plottings and schemings, leading to no definite settlement, and keeping up a feeling of anxiety and alarm throughout our whole Indian possessions, where so many elements exist ready to be excited into opposition and rebellion upon every new impediment or threat of danger to British supremacy in India. Politicians, meanwhile continued to discuss the propriety of the annexation of the Punjab to our Indian empire, to round its northern frontiers, and free it from the endless anxiety which must result from the proceedings of a barbarous people in a constant state of revolution, maintaining undisciplined hordes of fierce soldiery ready to take advantage of the first necessity that might induce us to diminish the army on their frontier, to make aggressive inroads on our own possessions.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WAR IN THE PUNJAUB.

Disturbed state of the Punjab—Influence of British policy—Disparaging misconception of the Sikhs—Their origin and singular character—Acts of aggression—War proclaimed by the British—The battle of Moodkee—Its uncertain results—Battle of Ferozeshah—Assault on their convoy—Victory of Aleewal—Its important results—General estimation of Indian policy—Battle of Sobraon—Passing of the Sutledge—Terms of peace—Proud bearing of the vanquished.

FOR many months, the news of each mail which brought to England information of the state of her vast Eastern possessions, consisted chiefly of confused and alarming rumours of revolutions, tumults, and assassinations, in the Punjab. A large military force had been quietly and unostentatiously concentrated by Sir Henry Hardinge on the banks of the Sutledge; but that statesman, ever eager to preserve peace, was resolute to do nothing that might savour of aggression, or precipitate a collision with our neighbours. Our safety was supposed to lie in the disunion of the Sikhs. It was believed that whilst they were contending among themselves, they were little likely to co-operate for a combined attack on the British frontier. A season of intestine tumult and convulsion is not supposed to be favourable to the prosecution of warlike designs against another country. So it happened that many able and far-seeing men predicted, that so long as we assumed a strictly defensive attitude, there was little likelihood of our being plunged into a war with the Sikhs.

It is only now that the peculiar characteristics of this strange people is coming to be rightly understood. Their origin is traced back to the sixteenth century, when Nanuk and Govind, two Khutree prophets, obtained a few converts to a doctrine of religious and social reform, from among the peasants of Lahore and the southern banks of the Sutledge. It is not necessary here, however, to trace their history further than to remark, that by the time the Sikhs came into collision with the British empire in India, they had grown into a powerful nation, bound together not

only by social and political ties, but by the still more stringent bonds of a common creed. The history of Mohammedanism furnishes sufficiently striking evidence of the remarkable effects that may result from such a source, and the Sikhs, or "disciples," appear to be not a whit behind the zeal of the Arabian prophet's followers in their devotion to the "Khalsa," or chosen people. The powerful influence of such a bond of union can hardly be overrated, though unfortunately the true character of the Sikh nation was completely misunderstood previous to the war; and the source, as well as the spirit, of the continued revolutions which created such alarm on the northern frontiers of British India, entirely escaped the notice of the sagacious diplomatists who conducted our intercourse with that people. It would now seem, that so far from the revolutions and tumults being the evidences of disunion and revolt among that people, they originated in their devotion to the essential elements of their singular polity, while it was the successive rulers, who struggled with them and sought alliances with the English, that were in reality mutineers and rebels against the state. Ambition, and the desire for unlimited power, overcame in the minds of successive Sikh rulers the earlier bonds of good faith as members of the Khalsa, but the very cause of alienation between the rulers and the people supplied a stronger bond of union to the latter. The soldiery talked of themselves as pre-eminently the "Punt'h Khalsajee," or congregation of believers, and their leaders were awed into submission by the resolute spirit with which they were animated. It was by this united and resolute body that successive revolutions were brought about, and one ruler after another dethroned and put to death. Doubtless such a state of things was well calculated to excite uneasiness among neighbouring states, and might perhaps be justly enough characterized both as fanatic and revolutionary, according to more civilized notions of social and political compacts. Nevertheless, it was manifestly something altogether different from the mutinies and rebellions of an ordinary army of hireling soldiery, such as has most commonly opposed our arms in the

East, where the only bond which secures the services of the soldiery is the prospect of pay and plunder. Here, therefore, the Sepoy force, by which so much has been accomplished for British power in India, was opposed by native soldiers, actuated by all the inspiring influences of patriotic feeling, as well as by the wilder fire of fanatic zeal. It was doubly incumbent on British India to lean for safety on the indomitable energy and valour of her European troops, who could alone be safely intrusted to cope with such a foe.

The first acts of aggression were characteristic of the uncivilized race, with whom collision had become inevitable. Intelligence reached Ferozepore, on the 5th of December 1845, that a party of Sikhs had crossed the river and carried off fifty of our camels, with which they had retraced their steps, in order to distribute the booty in their own camp. Several parties of their horse continuing on the left bank, it was deemed advisable, on the same day on which this information arrived, to send off a strong force for the purpose of protecting some military stores that were on their way from Dhurumkote to Ferozepore. On the 6th, three days' supplies were ordered to be laid in by the different regiments, and it was supposed that operations against the Sikhs would be commenced without delay. This, however, was not the case, the measure being merely one of precaution. On the 8th, the Sikh troops began to appear in large masses on the right bank of the Sutledge, and their numbers, on the two following days, greatly increased: they had a good deal of artillery with them, which they were constantly discharging. From opposite Ferozepore, they occupied the bank of the river as far as Hurreekee ghaut, some thirty-five miles' distance, and considerable parties of their cavalry crossed to the left bank, within their own territory, however, and commenced cutting of supplies, in a manner which led to some apprehensions in Ferozepore that their store of firewood and bhoosa might run short. Between the 8th and 11th, thirty more camels were carried off to the other side of the river, making a total of eighty. On the 9th or 10th, the main body that was oppo-

site Ferozepore changed its position, and moved a little up the river towards the Hurreekee ghaut; and a rumour having found its way to Ferozepore, on the night of the 10th, that the Sikhs were crossing in numbers, the assistant quartermaster-general, Captain Egerton, was directed to reconnoitre early on the following morning. He went, escorted by a squadron of the 8th light cavalry, and on approaching the point at which he expected to find them, he left the escort behind, and rode forward with two orderlies. The Sikhs were seen to be busy collecting boats about eight miles from Ferozepore, a little beyond our boundary line, and they no sooner perceived Captain Egerton, than they fired upon him. It would appear that the men who fired were on the left bank of the river, and only some 600 yards from Captain Egerton. Certain it is that the balls fell around him, and that the moment the firing commenced by the party, the alarm was given in the whole camp, the drums beat to arms, and the whole of the force turned out with great rapidity.

It was now evident to all that a Punjaub campaign was inevitable. The whole of the ladies in the camp of the governor-general who had proceeded to the frontier to watch the progress of events, now took their departure and returned to Umballah, while orders were issued to troops in all directions to move up with all practicable haste to the frontier. The governor-general paid a hurried visit to Loodiana on the 11th, and inspected the troops there, returning afterwards to Sirhind. The Sikh vakeel at Loodiana received his *congé*, while the British agents at the Lahore court were ordered to withdraw themselves—a sure sign of coming hostilities. By the 12th, about 10,000 Sikhs had crossed the river, with twenty-seven guns, at a place about twelve miles from Ferozepore, and on the 13th they were seven miles from that station, crossing men and guns, by a bridge of boats, with great activity and expedition. The ladies at Ferozepore were now all sent into the fort for safety, and an immediate attack was expected. On the 13th, the governor-general issued a proclamation, setting forth the views and objects of the British government, and summoning

all the chiefs and sirdars of the protected territories to render faithful service against the common enemy.

The Indian mail of February 1846, which brought advices from Bombay up to the 3d of the previous month, startled all who sympathized in the fortunes of our Eastern empire, with the news that a great battle had been fought on the banks of the Sutledge, while it left the result in the utmost uncertainty. Rumour immensely exaggerated the number of the Sikh forces, and the public mind, still agitated with the recollection of the early reverses in Afghanistan, was thrown anew into a state of feverish excitement by the nature of the information thus imperfectly conveyed.

Sir John Littler had been left with a body of 7000 men to defend the exposed post of Ferozepore. This was menaced by the overwhelming forces of the Sikhs, but the British commander showed a resolute and undaunted front, and boldly led out his little force to give them battle. Had the Sikh leaders been as resolutely bent on the defeat and extermination of their opponents as the faithful Khalsa were, it may be well doubted if all the heroism of this isolated division of the British army would have saved it from destruction. But Lal Sing and Tej Sing were both probably in greater dread of their Sikh followers than of their British foes, and regarded the chances of victory with greater dread than the prospect of a defeat, which would disperse the enthusiastic Sikhs, who, amid all their fickleness to their leaders, maintained an unimpeachable fidelity to their faith. A battle, however, had become inevitable, and the rumours which conveyed the first uncertain and contradictory reports, magnified the difficulties experienced by the British forces into renewed disasters, if not absolute defeat. Doubts and fears, however, were speedily dissipated by the arrival of well-authenticated news of victory, though purchased at a cost which served to temper the rejoicings at a partial triumph with many fears.

The first battle fought with the Sikhs took place on the 18th of December, between the Ambala and Loodiana divisions of the British army, which had been prudently united by order of Lord

Hardinge, and a detachment of the Sikh army under Lal Sing. The two armies met at Moodkee, twenty miles from Ferozepore, and the Sikhs immediately began the attack. The whole forces under Lord Gough amounted to about 11,000, while the Sikhs were estimated at 30,000 men, with forty guns. The Sikhs were repulsed with severe loss, and seventeen of their guns were taken; but the British learned in the battle of Moodkee the valour of the enemy with which they had to contend. The forces of Lord Gough, already too few, were reduced by a loss of 215 killed and 657 wounded; among the former of whom were Major-Generals Sir Robert Sale and Sir John M'Caskill. The commander-in-chief remarks in his despatch: "The troops were in a state of great exhaustion, principally from the want of water, which was not procurable on the road, when, about three p.m., information was received that the Sikh army was advancing; and the troops had scarcely time to get under arms, and move to their positions, when the fact was ascertained. I immediately pushed forward the horse artillery and cavalry, directing the infantry, accompanied by the field-batteries, to move forward in support. We had not proceeded beyond two miles, when we found the enemy. They evidently had either just taken up this position, or were advancing in order of battle against us. To resist their attack, and to cover the formation of the infantry, I advanced the cavalry under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, rapidly to the front, in columns of squadrons, and occupied the plain. They were speedily followed by the five troops of horse-artillery, under Brigadier Brooke, who took up a forward position, having the cavalry then on his flanks. The country is a dead flat, covered at short intervals with a low, but, in some places, thick jhow jungle, and dotted with sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their infantry and artillery behind this jungle, and such undulations as the ground afforded; and, whilst our twelve battalions formed from echelon of brigade into line, opened a very severe cannonade upon our advancing troops, which was vigorously replied to by the battery of horse-artillery under Brigadier Brooke, which was soon joined by the two light

field-batteries. The rapid and well-directed fire of our artillery appeared soon to paralyze that of the enemy; and, as it was necessary to complete our infantry dispositions without advancing the artillery too near to the jungle, I directed the cavalry under Brigadiers White and Gough to make a flank movement on the enemy's left, with a view of threatening and turning that flank, if possible. With praiseworthy gallantry, the 3d light dragoons, with the 2d brigade of cavalry, consisting of the body-guard and 5th light cavalry, with a portion of the 4th lancers, turned the left of the Sikh army, and, sweeping along the whole rear of its infantry and guns, silenced for a time the latter, and put their numerous cavalry to flight. Whilst this movement was taking place on the enemy's left, I directed the remainder of the 4th lancers, the 9th irregular cavalry, under Brigadier Mactier, with a light field-battery, to threaten their right. This manoeuvre was also successful. Had not the infantry and guns of the enemy been screened by the jungle, these brilliant charges of the cavalry would have been productive of greater effect. When the infantry advanced to the attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed on his horse-artillery close to the jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry under Major-Generals Sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir John M'Caskill, attacked in echelon of lines the enemy's infantry, almost invisible amongst wood and the approaching darkness of night. The opposition of the enemy was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of being irresistible. Their ample and extended line, from their great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours; but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected. Their whole force was driven from position after position with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre; our infantry using that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, whenever the enemy stood. Night only

saved them from worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object."

The experience acquired by this victory taught the British leaders the necessity for bringing every available means to bear against their brave and resolute enemy. When it became evident that the Sikhs were marching in force towards the Sutledge, bent on assuming the initiative in the war, Sir Henry Hardinge, who had proceeded to the expected scene of contest, tendered his services to the commander-in-chief, and assumed the position of second in command. By the arrangements which he effected, the largest possible force was placed at the command of Sir Hugh Gough, to oppose the Sikh invaders. According to the governor-general's despatch, the Sikh army, which occupied the intrenched camp at Ferozeshah, amounted to 60,000 men, while the British forces opposed to them did not exceed 17,000 men; whilst the Sikhs, at the same time, possessed an artillery vastly superior to our own, both in respect of the number and weight of their guns.

The Sikh army encamped in the form of a horse-shoe around the village of Ferozeshah, about ten miles from the scene of their partial defeat at Moodkee, and nearly at an equal distance from Ferozepore. On the 21st of December, a junction was effected with Sir John Littler's division, and an immediate attack on the enemy's position was resolved upon; but considerable delay occurred before the arrangements could be completed, and it was within an hour of sunset before the assault was commenced. Captain Cunningham, who is no less eager to paint the evidences of bravery and military skill displayed by the Sikhs, than to speak of the errors and shortcomings, real or supposed, of their opponents, remarks of the proceedings on the evening of the 21st December:—"The confident English had at last got the field they wanted; they marched in even array, and their famed artillery opened its steady fire. But the guns of the Sikhs were served with rapidity and precision, and the foot-soldiers

stood between and behind the batteries, firm in their order, and active with their muskets. The resistance met was wholly unexpected, and all started with astonishment. Guns were dismounted, and their ammunition was blown into the air; squadrons were checked in mid-career; battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks, and it was not until after sunset that portions of the enemy's position were finally carried. Darkness, and the obstinacy of the contest, threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and arms were mixed together; generals were doubtful of the fact or of the extent of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded, or of the army of which they formed a part. Some portions of the enemy's line had not been broken, and the uncaptured guns were turned by the Sikhs upon masses of soldiers oppressed with cold, thirst, and fatigue, and who attracted the attention of the watchful enemy by lighting fires of brushwood to warm their stiffened limbs. The position of the English was one of real danger and great perplexity; their mercenaries had proved themselves good soldiers in foreign countries as well as in India itself, when discipline was little known, or while success was continuous; but in a few hours, the five thousand children of a distant land found that their art had been learnt, and that an emergency had arisen which would tax their energies to the utmost. On that memorable night, the English were hardly masters of the ground on which they stood: they had no reserve at hand, while the enemy had fallen back upon a second army, and could renew the fight with increased numbers."

The night that intervened between the commencement and the close of the battle of Ferozeshah, must have been one of the deepest anxiety to the British commanders; but it was a night, too, rendered memorable by the display of heroic qualities of the truest stamp. The private letters of the governor-general, cited with enthusiasm by Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, to an admiring and sympathizing audience, afford some glimpses alike of the sufferings and the glories of that terrible night. "The night of the

21st of December," wrote Sir Henry Hardinge to the minister, "was the most extraordinary of my life. I bivouacked with the men without food or covering, and our nights are bitter cold. A burning camp in our front, our brave fellows lying down under a heavy cannonade, which continued during the whole night, mixed with the wild cries of the Sikhs, our English hurrah, the tramp of men, and the groans of the dying. In this state, with a handful of men who had carried the batteries the night before, I remained till morning, taking very short intervals of rest by lying down with various regiments in succession, to ascertain their temper and revive their spirits. . . . I found myself again with my old friends of the 29th, 31st, 50th, and 9th, all in good heart. . . . My answer to all and every man was, that we must fight it out, attack the enemy vigorously at daybreak, beat him, or die honourably on the field. The gallant old general (Sir Hugh Gough), kind-hearted, and heroically brave, entirely coincided with me."

But little were the exhausted troops allowed to slumber in peace, where they lay, with their arms at their side, ready with the dawn to renew the bloody struggle. "Night fell," says Lord Gough in his despatch, "while the conflict was everywhere raging. Although I now brought up Major-General Sir Harry Smith's division, and he captured and long retained another part of the position, and her Majesty's 3d light dragoons charged and took some of the most formidable batteries, yet the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of the great quadrangle, whilst our troops, intermingled with theirs, kept possession of the remainder, and finally bivouacked upon it, exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit. In this state of things, the long night wore away. Near the middle of it, one of their heavy guns was advanced, and played with deadly effect upon our troops. Sir Henry Hardinge immediately formed her Majesty's 80th foot and the 1st European light infantry. They were led to the attack by their commanding-officers, and animated

in their exertions by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, who was wounded in the outset. The 80th captured the gun, and the enemy, dismayed by this counter-check, did not venture to press on further. During the whole night, however, they continued to harass our troops by fire of artillery, wherever moonlight discovered our position. But," adds the commander-in-chief, "with daylight came retribution. Our infantry formed in line, supported on both flanks by horse-artillery, whilst a fire was opened from our centre by such of our heavy guns as remained effective, aided by a flight of rockets. A masked battery played with great effect upon this point, dismounting our pieces, and blowing up our tumbrils. At this moment, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Hardinge placed himself at the head of the left, whilst I rode at the head of the right wing. Our line advanced, and, unchecked by the enemy's fire, drove them rapidly out of the village of Ferozeshah and their encampment; then, changing front to its left, on its centre, our force continued to sweep the camp, bearing down all opposition, and dislodged the enemy from their whole position. The line then halted, as if on a day of manoeuvre, receiving its two leaders, as they rode along its front, with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army. We had taken upwards of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and were masters of the whole field."

The victory was most opportune, and might well fill the minds of all with joy and gratitude. Nevertheless, though a complete, it was not a decisive victory. The Sikhs had, indeed, been routed and driven from the field. "For twenty-four hours," says Lord Gough in his despatch, "not a Sikh has appeared in our front. The remains of the Khalsa army are said to be in full retreat across the Sutledge, or marching up its left bank, towards Hurree-keepthur, in the greatest confusion and dismay. Their camp is the scene of the most awful carnage, and they have abandoned large stores of grain, camp-equipage, and ammunition." However satisfactory such evidences of flight might be, the narration of the commander-in-chief betrays the fact, that the exhausted victors

had been unable to follow in pursuit of the retreating foe, and that the flying Sikhs, who might have been scattered and irretrievably broken by a timely pursuit, had been allowed to cross the Sutledge at their leisure, and to re-form on the opposite bank. The loss of the British was very severe. The official despatches state 694 killed and 1721 wounded, or 2415 in all, amounting to about a seventh of the whole British force in the field.

The battle of Ferozeshah threatened to prove a fruitless victory. Within a few days of the termination of that great battle, the Sikhs were preparing to renew the struggle—to recross the Sutledge in the face of our victorious army. The advantages which we had gained we could not follow up: we had learnt that our artillery was not sufficiently powerful to silence the Sikh guns, and that though our force might be strong enough for the purposes of defence, for which it had been assembled, it was incompetent for the greater work of rolling back the tide of invasion, and carrying the war into the country of the enemy. It was determined, therefore, by the British chiefs, that our army should remain in an attitude of defence, until the reinforcements from Meerut, and the heavy guns and ordnance stores, which had been ordered up from Delhi, could reach the banks of the Sutledge.

Meanwhile, in the middle of January, a strong body of Sikhs under Runjoor Sing, with a train of seventy pieces of artillery, crossed the Sutledge within a few miles of our frontier-station of Loodiana. It was said that his object was to intercept our convoy with the heavy guns; but subsequent inquiries proved the fallacy of this conviction. Be this as it may, Sir Harry Smith, with a force of all arms, was sent to the relief of Loodiana, which the enemy were thus threatening. Loodiana was relieved, but a skirmish with the enemy at Buddowal terminated in what must be regarded as a disaster. Sir Harry Smith lost a large portion of his baggage; and if it had not been for the admirable efforts of the cavalry under Brigadier Cureton, would probably have lost a large portion of his force.

The Sikhs seemed about to retrieve their losses, and march

victorious into the British dominions. Golab Sing was chosen their leader, and with the unanimity and vigour of determined councils and a definite plan of action, the Khalsa forgot their previous losses, and boasted that the British army should be annihilated, or driven in dishonour from the field. But the time was gone when unity in the councils of Sikhs could secure their triumph over the conquerors of the East. Sir Harry Smith was the first to give the check to those who had momentarily tarnished his well-won reputation. With the reinforcements he had received, which raised the forces under his command to 11,000 men, he marched on the 28th of January 1846, determined to give the enemy battle. The commander-in-chief had reinforced him on the 26th both with cavalry and guns, and on the following day he occupied their deserted position. The Sikhs retreated about ten miles, towards the banks of the Sutledge, where they were joined by a reinforcement, which raised their forces to fully 15,000 men, and they took up a position, with the village of Aleewal on their left, and threw up banks of earth to protect their line in front, and oppose additional impediments to their assailants. Sir Harry Smith's narrative of the battle which followed is characterized by singular coolness and precision: "As I neared the enemy," he remarks in his despatch, "the ground became most favourable for the troops to manoeuvre, being open and hard grass land. I ordered the cavalry to take ground to the right and left by brigades, thus displaying the heads of the infantry columns, and as they reached the hard ground I directed them to deploy into line. Brigadier Godby's brigade was in direct echelon to the rear of the right, the Shekawatte infantry in like manner to the rear of my left, the cavalry in direct echelon on, and well to the rear, of both flanks of the infantry. The artillery massed on the right, and centre and left. After deployment, I observed the enemy's left to outflank me; I therefore broke into open columns, and took ground to my right: when I had gained sufficient ground, the troops wheeled into line; there was no dust, the sun shone brightly. The manoeuvres were performed with the celerity

and precision of the most correct field-day. The glistening of the bayonets and swords of this order of battle was most imposing, and the line advanced. Scarcely had it moved forward 150 yards, when, at ten o'clock, the enemy opened a fierce cannonade from his whole line. At first his balls fell short, but quickly reached us. Thus upon him, and capable of better ascertaining his position, I was compelled to halt the line, though under fire, for a few moments, until I ascertained that by bringing up my right and carrying the village of Aleewal, I could with great effect precipitate myself upon his left and centre."

The capture of the village proved an easier task than was anticipated. The holders of the post speedily gave way before the determined charge of the British brigades. The Sikhs stood their ground on the field, however, with the most resolute valour, and even threatened at one time to outflank the right wing of the British. "The enemy," says Sir Harry Smith, "fought with much resolution: they maintained frequent rencounters with our cavalry hand to hand. In one charge of infantry upon her Majesty's 16th lancers, they threw away their muskets, and came on with their swords and targets against the lance." But their brave resistance proved unavailing. They made several ineffectual attempts to rally, but at length were driven across the Sutledge with immense loss, and in the utmost confusion and terror. The whole artillery of the enemy was either captured or destroyed; 52 guns remained in the hands of the victors. The whole of the Sikh camp, baggage, stores of ammunition, grain, and nearly everything brought into the field, remained as the spoils of the conquerors; and the commander exultingly exclaims in his despatch, "I am unwont to praise when praise is not merited, and I here must avowedly express my firm opinion and conviction that no troops in any battle on record ever behaved more nobly."

The victory of Aleewal was an important one. The number engaged was indeed comparatively small; but the effect of this opportune defeat of the Sikhs, at the very time when they were rejoicing in united councils, and exulting in anticipated victory,

completely overthrew their whole schemes. Golab Sing, instead of attempting to rally his defeated forces, upbraided them with the rashness and folly of hoping to overcome the conquerors of India, and immediately opened negotiations with the English commander. Another battle, however, had to be fought, and another victory won, before the British conquerors could dictate terms to the hardy and resolute race whom they encountered on the northern boundaries of British empire in the East. The terms offered by the British leaders in reply to the negotiations of Golab Sing were such as must be acknowledged to afford reasonable evidence of the integrity of their motives in entering on the contest. They disclaimed all desire of annexation or conquest, and intimated their readiness to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty in Lahore, so soon as the army should be disbanded. But, however reasonable and even generous such terms might appear to those that dictated them, they struck at the very root of the Khalsa's dreams of supremacy and integrity.

The Sikhs, meanwhile, were not wanting in preparation for renewing the contest. The brilliant achievement of Sir Harry Smith's division at Aleewal, had been conducted with an amount of boldness, caution, and military skill, worthy of a brave and experienced commander, and it had been productive of the happiest effects on British interests in India; nevertheless, it was only the victory of a division. Its moral effect in confirming the courage and high faith in the destiny of British arms of the one party, and in moving the opposite party to despondency and dread, was doubtless great. Fortune had deserted the Khalsa. Defeat and subjection already impended over them, and divided councils were hurrying on their fate. A decisive victory was, however, still needed, ere the British could force the passage of the Sutledge, and become masters of the Punjab.

While Sir Harry Smith was manœuvring his division, and the indispensable reinforcements were being brought up from the rear, the main body of the Sikhs had been no less active in their preparations for the final struggle. They had gradually brought the

greater part of their available force into an intrenched camp formed on the left bank of the Sutledge, and which comprised within its irregular ramparts the whole possessions they still held by force of arms in the British dominions. Their force was estimated at 35,000 fighting-men. But the defeat at Aleewal, which had proved so welcome and so important in its results to the British, had a corresponding depressive effect on the Sikhs. Some of the older and more experienced Sikh chiefs looked forward with sad forebodings to the approaching contest, and one favourite leader, Sham Sing, announced to the desponding Khalsa his resolution to meet death in the foremost ranks that engaged with the enemy, and so to offer himself up as a sacrifice on behalf of the sacred commonwealth, threatened with such impending danger.

Confidence and joyful anticipations of triumph prevailed throughout the British camp. The victory of Aleewal had restored the faith of the Sepoys in the fortune of British arms, while the European forces exulted in the anticipation of victory. Substantial grounds of confidence had meanwhile been supplied by the arrival of the heavy ordnance, with abundant ammunition and stores. The obstacles which had impeded their earlier operations, and made victory so difficult and so hardly won, no longer existed to check the bold advance of the British forces, or the daring impetuosity of the commander-in-chief. The 10th of February, only twelve days after the victory of Aleewal, was fixed for storming the Sikh position, and driving them beyond the river. Through indifference or neglect, the British had allowed a post of observation of some importance to fall into the hands of the Sikhs, and the surprising of this was determined upon as the first proceeding. Long before dawn, the whole British camp was in motion, and an advanced party was ordered to drive in the enemy's pickets. The additional gloom of a thick haze added to the darkness of the night, as the British forces silently advanced to assume the initiative in the contest; but the posts of observation, both at the Sobraon and in front of Koodewalla, were found unoccupied, though held

by a strong force on the previous day. The Sikhs were everywhere taken by surprise, and beat loudly to arms throughout their wide intrenchments on both sides of the river. The English heavy ordnance had been arranged in masses on some of the most commanding points opposite the enemy's intrenchments, and at sunrise the batteries opened upon them. For three hours, the deadly shower of iron hail poured down upon the Sikh forces within their intrenchments, mingled with the more deadly shells, that scattered death on every side as they fell. But the Sikh intrenchments bristled with the heavy ordnance which had told so effectively against the light field-pieces that formed the sole British artillery in the earlier engagements, and the sun's level rays hardly pierced through the clouds of sulphurous smoke that loomed over the scene of deadly strife. "Our battery of nine-pounders," says the commander-in-chief in his despatch, "opened near the little Sobraon, with a brigade of howitzers formed from the light field-batteries and troops of horse-artillery, shortly after daybreak. But it was half-past six before the whole of our artillery fire was developed. It was most spirited and well directed; but notwithstanding the formidable calibre of our iron guns, mortars, and howitzers, and the admirable way in which they were served, and aided by a rocket-battery, it would have been visionary to expect that they could, within any limited time, silence the fire of seventy pieces behind well-constructed batteries of earth, plank, and fascines, or dislodge troops covered either by redoubts or epaulements, or within a treble line of trenches. The effect of the cannonade was, as has since been proved by an inspection of the camp, most severely felt by the enemy; but it soon became evident that the issue of this struggle must be brought to the arbitrement of musketry and the bayonet. At nine o'clock, Brigadier Stacey's brigade, supported on either flank by Captains Horsford's and Fordyce's batteries, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lane's troop of horse-artillery, moved to the attack in admirable order. The infantry and guns aided each other correlatively. The former marched steadily on

in line, which they halted only to correct when necessary. The latter took up successive positions at the gallop, until at length they were within three hundred yards of the heavy batteries of the Sikhs; but, notwithstanding the regularity, and coolness, and scientific character of this assault, which Brigadier Wilkinson well supported, so hot was the fire of cannon, musketry, and zumboorucks, kept up by the Khalsa troops, that it seemed for some moments impossible that the intrenchments could be won under it; but soon persevering gallantry triumphed, and the whole army had the satisfaction to see the gallant Brigadier Stacey's soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them within the area of their encampments." The resistance of the Sikhs was terrible. The deadly fire of their muskets and well-served artillery, mowed down the advancing lines of the British, and compelled them to give way. The first assailants were repulsed, but they rallied and returned to the charge, and, supported by the advance of the second division, after a severe struggle, they obtained possession of some of the enemy's most important batteries in the front. Still the Sikhs stood their ground. No panic seized these hardy enthusiasts, though thus assailed within their own intrenchments. One point after another was forced. The sappers levelled spaces sufficient for the cavalry to pour into their camp, and sustain the efforts of the infantry, who had borne the brunt of the deadly struggle. But still the Sikhs fought with all the wild fury of despair. Single batteries still held out, and hundreds fell in the attempt to arrest their persevering efforts to retrieve the hopeless fortunes of the Khalsa. "The interior," says Captain Cunningham, "was filled with courageous men, who took advantage of every obstacle, and fought fiercely for every spot of ground. The traitor, Tej Sing, indeed, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assault, and, either accidentally or by design, sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication. But the ancient Sham Sing remembered his vow; he clothed himself in simple

white attire, as one devoted to death, and calling on all around him to fight for the Gooroo, who had promised everlasting bliss to the brave, he repeatedly rallied his shattered ranks, and at last fell a martyr on a heap of his slain countrymen. Others might be seen standing on the ramparts amid showers of balls, waving defiance with their swords, or telling the gunners where the fair-haired English pressed thickest together. Along the stronger half of the battlements, and for the period of half an hour, the conflict raged sublime in all its terrors. The parapets were sprinkled with blood from end to end; the trenches were filled with the dead and the dying. Amid the deafening roar of cannon, and the multitudinous fire of musketry, the shouts of triumph or of scorn were yet heard, and the flashing of innumerable swords was yet visible; or, from time to time, exploding magazines of powder threw bursting shells, beams of wood and banks of earth, high above the agitated sea of smoke and flame which enveloped the host of combatants, and for a moment arrested the attention amid all the din and tumult of the tremendous conflict. But gradually each defensible position was captured, and the enemy was pressed towards the scarcely fordable river. Yet, although assailed on either side by squadrons of horse and battalions of foot, no Sikh offered to submit, and no disciple of Govind asked for quarter. They everywhere showed a front to the victors, and stalked slowly and sullenly away, while many rushed singly forth to meet assured death by contending with a multitude." The bridge had been broken through; the waters of the Sutledge had risen in the night. The ford was impassable. So the routed host tried to swim the river; and as they went, the guns of our horse artillery opened upon them with murderous effect. Charging right down to the river side, they poured upon the flying masses a deadly shower of grape and canister. In such a crisis it would have been false humanity to leave our victory incomplete. The one great object of the British leaders was so to break the power of the Khalsa as to render another sanguinary conflict a contingency not to be expected.

We had already had enough of half victories. The triumph of Sobraon was to be complete and consummate.

Never before had British arms been opposed to such determined bravery and skill, as strove with them on that bloody plain. The deadly struggles which had hung disgrace for a time on the British banners in the passes of Afghanistan, owed their fatal terrors to the natural character of the country, far more than to the bravery of its hardy but undisciplined forces. But here our battalions were withstood on a fair field by a foe that listened unappalled to the thunders of their cannon, and stood unmoved before the glittering points of their bayonets when laid to the charge. Even the brave Sikhs, however, sustained by all the nerve that fanaticism can add to native valour, found British skill and daring more than a match for them on an equal field. "At one time," says the British commander, in his despatch from the field of battle, "the thunder of full 120 pieces of ordnance reverberated in this mighty combat through the valley of the Sutledge; and as it was soon seen that the weight of the whole force within the Sikh camp was likely to be thrown upon the two brigades that had passed its trenches, it became necessary to convert into close and serious attacks the demonstrations with skirmishers and artillery of the centre and right; and the battle raged with inconceivable fury from right to left. The Sikhs, even when at particular points their intrenchments were mastered with the bayonet, strove to regain them by the fiercest conflict, sword in hand. Nor was it until the cavalry of the left, under Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, had moved forward, and ridden through the openings of the intrenchments made by our sappers, in single file, and re-formed as they passed them, and the 3d dragoons, whom no obstacle usually held formidable by horse appears to check, had on this day, as at Ferozeshah, galloped over and cut down the obstinate defenders of batteries and field-works, and until the full weight of three divisions of infantry, with every field-artillery gun which could be sent to their aid, had been cast into the scale, that victory finally de-

clared for the British. The fire of the Sikhs first slackened, and then nearly ceased, and the victors then pressing them on every side, precipitated them in masses over the bridge, and into the Sutledge, which a sudden rise had rendered hardly fordable. In their efforts to reach the right bank, through the deepened water, they suffered from our horse-artillery a terrible carnage. Hundreds fell under this cannonade; hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage. Their awful slaughter, confusion, and dismay, were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the early part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier whom, in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy. Sixty-seven pieces of cannon, upwards of 200 camel-swivels (zumboorucks), numerous standards, and vast munitions of war, captured by our troops, are the pledges and trophies of our victory. The battle was over by eleven in the morning, and in the forenoon I caused our engineers to burn a part and to sink a part of the vaunted bridge of the Khalsa army, across which they had boastfully come once more to defy us, and to threaten India with ruin and devastation."

The victory was complete; but it was not purchased without a severe loss on the part of the victors; 320 British soldiers lay dead on the field, including Major-General Sir Robert Dick, a veteran soldier, who had served with honour in the Peninsula and at Waterloo; Brigadier Taylor, and other distinguished officers, who fell while leading on their men, or recalling them to a sense of their duty, as they recoiled from the deadly fire of the enemy. In addition to these, the British had 2083 wounded, some of them fatally. But the loss of the Sikhs did not amount to less than 8000, while they were irretrievably broken and scattered, without hope of again being able to take the field. "We have to deplore a severe loss," says the commander-in-chief, "but certainly not heavy when weighed in the balance against the obstacles overcome and the advantages gained."

That same night, several regiments were pushed across the Sutledge opposite Ferozepore, but no enemy appeared to resist their progress. On the 11th, the British forces pushed on to Kussoor, and on the following day its fortress was occupied by them without opposition. On the 13th, the British army encamped under the walls of that ancient town. They learned there that the Sikhs had reassembled to the amount of 20,000 men; but they were no longer formidable to the victorious invaders of the Punjab. Their whole artillery and munitions of war were in the hands of the enemy. The power of the Khalsa was effectually broken, and no force of innate courage or fanatic zeal could replace to it the indefensible provisions for continuing the struggle, or even restoring the confidence which had before nerved them to the fight, and upheld them with the hope of victory, even after repeated defeats.

The official proclamation of the governor-general, issued only four days after the victory of Sobraon, contains both a declaration and a defence of British policy. It thus proceeds to announce, and to justify the course pursued under the immediate surveillance of the governor-general, who had combined in so unwonted a manner the duties of the civilian and the soldier. "The British army has crossed the Sutledge, and entered the Punjab. The governor-general announces by this proclamation that that measure has been adopted by the government of India, in accordance with the intentions expressed in the proclamation of the 13th of December last, as having been forced upon the governor-general for the purpose of 'effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace.' These operations will be steadily persevered in and vigorously prosecuted, until the objects proposed to be accomplished are fully attained. The occupation of the Punjab by the British forces will not be relinquished until ample atonement for the insult offered to the British government by the infraction of the treaty of 1809, and by the unprovoked

invasion of the British provinces, shall have been exacted. These objects will include full indemnity for all expenses incurred during the war, and such arrangements for the future government of the Lahore territories as will give perfect security to the British government against similar acts of perfidy and aggression. Military operations against the government and army of the Lahore state have not been undertaken by the government of India from any desire of territorial aggrandizement. The governor-general, as already announced in the proclamation of the 13th of December, 'sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh government re-established in the Punjaub, able to control its army, and to protect its subjects.' The sincerity of these professions is proved by the fact, that no preparations for hostilities had been made when the Lahore government suddenly, and without a pretext of complaint, invaded the British territories. The unprovoked aggression has compelled the British government to have recourse to arms, and to organize the means of offensive warfare, and whatever may now befall the Lahore state, the consequences can alone be attributed to the misconduct of that government and its army. No extension of territory was desired by the government of India; the measures necessary for providing indemnity for the past and security for the future will, however, involve the retention by the British government of a portion of the country hitherto under the government of the Lahore state. The extent of territory which it may be deemed advisable to hold will be determined by the conduct of the durbar, and by considerations for the security of the British frontier. The government of India will, under any circumstances, annex to the British provinces the districts, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Sutledge and Beas, the revenues thereof being appropriated as a part of the indemnity required from the Lahore state."

From the sketch we have already drawn of the singular religious commonwealth of the Sikhs, the reader will readily perceive that, however consistent with sound policy and the just claims of

the victors the proposed terms might appear, they were dictated without any reference to the peculiar consistency of the Sikh commonwealth, if not indeed in ignorance of the peculiar features on which it was based. For the British governor-general to dictate terms by which a government might be established in the Punjaub capable of controlling the Sikh army, might not unreasonably be compared to the liberal offers of the English Edward to Baliol, on condition that he should control the patriot army of Scotland. The defence of British policy, however, lies in the fact that, whoever may be justly chargeable with the initiative in the war, the movements of the British were purely defensive. They desired no accession of territory, and did not seek to interfere in the control of the Sikh soldiery, until their revolutionary movements menaced the British frontier, and endangered the peace and safety of the empire. In the conclusion of the same official proclamation, the governor-general thus confidently appeals to the integrity of purpose which had influenced the whole course of British policy. "The governor-general, at this moment of a most complete and decisive victory, cannot give a stronger proof of the forbearance and moderation of the British government than by making this declaration of his intentions, the terms and mode of the arrangement remaining for further adjustment. The governor-general, therefore, calls upon all those chiefs who are the well-wishers of the descendants of Runjeet Sing, and especially such chiefs as have not participated in the hostile proceedings against the British power, to act in concert with him in carrying into effect such arrangements as shall maintain a Sikh government at Lahore, capable of controlling its army and protecting its subjects, and based upon principles that shall provide for the future tranquillity of the Sikh states, shall secure the British frontier against a repetition of acts of aggression, and shall prove to the whole the moderation and justice of the paramount power of India. If this opportunity of rescuing the Sikh nation from military anarchy and misrule be neglected, and hostile opposition to the British army be renewed, the government of India will

make such other arrangements for the future government of the Punjaub as the interests and security of the British power may render just and expedient."

If the Sikh soldiers did not acquiesce in the justice of British policy, which dictated the necessity for a supreme and independent power, by which their future motions would be controlled and kept in check, they at least acknowledged the right of dictation, which victory had placed in the conquerors of Sohraon. They agreed to authorize their chosen minister, Golab Sing, to treat with the British, and empowered him to concur in arrangements on the basis announced in the proclamation, of recognising a Sikh government in Lahore.

On the 15th of February, the governor-general was visited at Kussoor by the rajah and several of the most influential Sikh chiefs, to whom he stated the terms upon which he was willing to conclude a peace. These included the recognition of Dhuleep Sing as sovereign of Lahore, but required the cession of the country between the Beas and the Sutledge, as specified in the proclamation. They were likewise required to pay to the conquerors a million and a half sterling, as some indemnity for the expenses of the war. The governor-general was induced to dictate humiliating terms, in order that the full conviction of the supremacy and invincibility of British arms might be felt wherever rebellious thoughts had been cherished, among the allies or the dependents of our Indian empire. After vain endeavours to evade some of the most unpalatable requirements, the Sikh chiefs reluctantly accepted the offered terms, and the young rajah personally tendered his submission. Still more effectually to demonstrate how effectually the Khalsa was humbled under the supremacy of their conquerors, the British army entered Lahore on the 20th February, and, two days afterwards, an English garrison occupied the citadel of the Sikh capital.

In the arrangements which followed, Golab Sing contrived that his own interests should be advanced, however those of the great body of the disciples of Govind might suffer. His influence with

the Sikh forces, and his own wealth both in treasure and munitions of war, rendered him still formidable, should he be driven, by the exacting demands of his conquerors, to fall back on the support of the Sikhs. He had played the part of a neutral during the war, that is, he had watched the issue of the conflict, and was prepared to side with the conqueror. When the war was over, he came forward to treat with the British government on the part of the Sikhs. He did so, and, at the same time, he made a bargain for himself. The British had received Cashmere as part payment for the indemnity money. They bought it, in fact, for a crore of rupees; and for a crore of rupees they sold it again to Golab Sing. The Jummoo rajah was, at least, not a worse man than his neighbours, and he was likely to make a better ruler. His energy and ability were unquestioned. As a Rajpoot, he was sure to be more tolerant towards his subjects—a mixed population of Rajpoots and Mohammedans—than any Sikh chief in the country. The arrangement was one, therefore, not to be impugned on grounds of general humanity, whilst, as a political expedient, the wisdom of the measure is unquestionable. Events have sufficiently shown that Lord Hardinge was not mistaken. We have found in Golab Sing an ally who has sagacity enough to know that he holds his kingdom only by sufferance of the British; and he has shown his desire to conciliate us, by promoting, at the suggestion of Sir Henry Lawrence, many measures for the advancement of humanity and civilization throughout his dominions.

CHAPTER XIX.

WAR IN MOULTAN AND THE PUNJAUB.

Confident anticipations of peace—Sudden outbreak at Moulton—Acquirement of the district by Runjeet Sing—Its original inhabitants—Succession of Lalla Moolraj—Sirdar Khan appointed Governor—Assassination of British officers—Alarming conspiracy at Lahore—Prompt measures of Lieutenant Edwardes—Native allies—Siege of Moulton—Junction of General Whish—Fall of Moulton—Battle of Chillianwallah—Doubtful nature of the results—Decisive victory of Gooferat—Pursuit of the Afghans—Annexation of the Punjaub—Consideration of British policy.

THE campaign of 1846 closed with the total route of the Sikhs, and their unequivocal submission to the supremacy of British arms. No combination of civil and military genius, however, could in so brief a period convert the wild Sikhs of the Punjaub into peaceable subjects or faithful allies. The Indian mail of June 1848, once more announced that the note of war had sounded on the north-western frontiers of British India. The locality of renewed aggression and treachery was Moulton, the capital of a large tract of the same name, extending between the Indus and the Sutledge, to the south of Lahore. The city of Moulton is a place celebrated of old for its great strength. Its more recent history exhibits the Sikh not as the patriot defending his native soil, but as the aggressor subjecting neighbouring districts by his sword. After various unsuccessful attempts, extending over a long period, Runjeet Sing succeeded in taking Moulton, though not without immense loss. Here, as in so many other instances in our Indian wars, Britain appears only as a new and stronger power superseding a previous conqueror, whose right of possession is of the sword. The inhabitants of the province of Moulton consist chiefly of Jats, the descendants of the Scythian invaders of India, who offered a fierce resistance to the Mohammedan invaders, and, since their conquest by Mahmoud of Ghizni in 1026, they have repeatedly asserted their independence. Towards the close of last

century, this province was nominally dependent on the Afghan empire, between which and Runjeet Sing repeated struggles took place for its possession. After the Sikh rajah had been again and again foiled by the Afghan governor, Mozuffer Khan, he at length succeeded, in 1818, more by good fortune than skill, in gaining possession of the long-coveted place of strength, and annexing the province to his kingdom. By the treaty of 1838, Moulton was finally ceded by Shah Sooja to the ruler of the Punjaub, who committed it to the care of Sawan Mull, a subordinate governor, who held it by a species of feudal tenure, administering its affairs as a dependent of the Sikh state. Sawan, who is described as a ruler of great ability and moderation, perished by the hands of an assassin in a durbar affray, in September 1844. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Lalla Moolraj, whose name so frequently occurs in the narratives of recent events on the frontiers of British India. Differences occurred between Moolraj and Lall Sing. One of the districts of his government was violently snatched from him by the rajah. Subsequently he was summoned to Lahore to settle his accounts, at all times a complicated and reluctant proceeding in the East. He went under British guarantee, effected some sort of settlement, and returned in safety to Moulton; but negotiations were being still carried on, with the object chiefly of bringing the whole Sikh kingdom under a uniform mode of government. These, it was believed, had at length been brought to a successful issue. Sirdar Khan Sing was appointed governor, and Mr. Vans Agnew, assistant to the British resident at Lahore, was deputed to proceed, along with Lieutenant Anderson, to install the new governor in his office. No opposition was anticipated, and they were attended, apparently, by a force fit for little more than a guard of honour. The two British officers arrived at Moulton early in April 1848, and received from Lalla Moolraj the formal resignation of his fortress, &c. On the following day, while inspecting the fortress, Mr. Agnew was suddenly assaulted by assassins, and dangerously wounded. He was rescued by the new governor, and conveyed to a small fort outside the town. In

the meantime, Lieutenant Anderson had been attacked in like manner, when riding in company with Lalla Moolraj, and was borne to the same fort, severely wounded. There a fire was opened upon them from Moulton, and three days after, the Moultonese troops moved out to attack the fort in which they lay. The wounded officers resolved to hold out the fort, in hope of relief. They sent out messengers to claim assistance from a neighbouring chief of Bahawalpore, who retained his allegiance to the British. Had their garrison been faithful, these officers might have been able to maintain the fort till effectual aid reached them; but the Sikh troops within joined the assailants without, and, flinging open the gates, both Lieutenant Anderson and Mr. Agnew were assassinated, while vainly defending themselves against a host of assailants.

It was believed for a time that this violent outbreak was entirely referrible to some temporary and accidental misunderstanding with the Sikh soldiery, and was unconnected with any organized plan of opposition to established rule, or to any designed hostilities with the British. Long experience, however, suffices to prove that the more recent acquisitions of our Eastern empire resemble, in their most quiescent state, rather the stillness of a powder magazine than the calm of the untroubled sea. A single spark suffices for the explosion, and it is scarcely possible to calculate how far its effects may extend. Amid their most sanguine hopes, this was not overlooked by those at the head of affairs in India; but the scene of danger was remote from means of defence or supply, the warm season was at hand, when active operations are scarcely possible, and rumours of the instability of affairs at Lahore, and of the equivocal fidelity of the rajah, Gholab Sing, furnished grounds for the deepest apprehension. The confidence expressed by Sir Henry Hardinge, who had now been created a Viscount, in the peace of the Punjab, was based, doubtless, to a considerable extent, on the admirable military arrangements made by him previous to his departure. At Lahore, these were rendered fully available by the vigilance

of the British officers in charge. The troops all along the frontier were commanded to hold themselves in readiness for immediate action. Officers absent on leave were ordered to join their troops without delay, and every precaution was taken to guard against surprise. The wisdom of such precautions soon became apparent. The outbreak at Moulton was followed by the discovery of a conspiracy of the most alarming character at Lahore, having for its object the massacre of all the British officers, the expulsion of our whole troops from the Punjaub, and a revolution in the Sikh government. Attempts had been made, not without some slight success, to seduce the Sepoys from their allegiance. On the discovery of this, Sir Frederick Currie, who had succeeded to the Residency on the departure of Sir Henry Lawrence, under a severe pressure of ill health, directed certain native officers, whose fidelity could be relied upon, to fall in with the plans of the conspirators, by which means the whole plot was disclosed. Three native corps, it was found, had been tampered with, but only a small number of the men had yielded to the temptations by which they were assailed. Undoubted proofs, however, were discovered of persons of the highest rank being privy to the plot, by whom the fakeers had been employed to use their influence over the Sepoys in seducing them from their fidelity. It was at the very time that the Indian papers were filled with the accounts of this abortive conspiracy at Lahore, that statesmen and journalists in England were declaring that there was nothing to apprehend for the tranquillity of the Punjaub. So impossible is it for the most experienced to anticipate the changes which a few months may effect on the state of our Eastern empire.

The indomitable courage and skill of a British officer of youth and inexperience, sufficed at this critical juncture to do more for the safety of the British empire than all the experience and foresight of the civil and military rulers of India. It speedily became apparent that the zeal of Dewan Khan Sing, in the defence of the unfortunate British officers deputed to accompany him to his new government, was altogether assumed, and that he was in

league with the conspirators in Lahore and elsewhere, by whom a scheme had been matured for everpowering the British, and expelling them from the country. In the neighbourhood of Lahore, a Gooroo, or priest, named Maharaj Sing, had raised the standard of revolt, and speedily collected a numerous force of the disbanded Sikhs, among whom he enjoyed a reputation for great sanctity. By this means the British forces at Lahore were prevented attempting any movement upon Moulton, and every successive mail brought news of fresh difficulties or alarms, tending still further to confound the speculations of the most experienced politicians as to the extent or probable issue of this new revolution in the Punjab. At this time, Lieutenant Edwardes was stationed on the Indus with a force consisting only of one regiment of infantry and 300 sowars, with two guns. His duty was the collection of the land-tax due to Moolraj, and the occupation of Leiah, a town situated on the left bank of the Indus. "Hearing of the affair at Moulton, and finding himself exposed to risk, many of his Sikh soldiers deserting him on learning the rumour of a general rising, he crossed the river into the Derajat, whence he wrote to the Khan of Bhawalpore, to make a demonstration which should prevent Moolraj from executing any design against him or Colonel Cortlandt, who commanded the garrison of Dhera Ismael Khan. The Khan lost no time in making preparations to act. A party of 300 horse had been left by Lieutenant Edwardes to complete the collection of the revenue at Leiah, where they were attacked, on the 18th of May, by 400 Moulton horse, with ten zumboorucks (light field-guns), who were completely defeated, with the loss of their guns. Meanwhile, Colónel Cortlandt, with his force, amounting to about 4000 men, quitted Dhera Ismael Khan, and proceeded to the southward by the base of the mountains, being joined on his way by a Beloochee chief named Melah Khan, with 100 of his tribe, who were sent to take the fortress of Sunghur, a place to the west of Attock, which surrendered after six hours' fighting, the garrison retreating upon Moulton. Another Beloochee chief, named Kora Kh-

Khosa, soon after joined the colonel, who despatched him with 800 of his tribe, horse and foot, against the fort of Dhera Ghazee Khan, the second city in the province. The Beloochee chief seems to have executed his orders with great zeal, expedition, and success. He marched his men along the skirt of the hills, sending forward a messenger to the commandant of the fort, with a summons to give it up. The Sikhs, however, resolved to fight for the place. They went out to give battle, and were defeated; the fort was surrendered, and the karder slain. Colonel Cortlandt (who appears to have expected that the Beloochees would have only amused the garrison) found the business over when he came up. He occupied the town, where Lieutenant Edwardes joined him on the 20th of May, and on the morning of that day another engagement took place between the British forces and the Moulthanese insurgents, who were routed with great slaughter, their chief, Chatur Mull, being killed, and another chief, Lunga Mull, taken prisoner."

Lieutenant Edwardes effected a junction with Colonel Cortlandt's forces, by which a body of about 7000 men was placed under their joint command. With this force considerable success was achieved, and it was confidently anticipated for a time that these young officers, at the head of such a small and irregular force, were to bring the rebellion summarily to a close, and re-annex Moulthan to the Punjab, ere the British resident or the commander-in-chief could adopt any definite line of policy for the suppression of this unexpected outbreak. The press as usual were as severe in their criticisms on the tardy operations of the commander-in-chief, as they afterwards were on his supposed rashness and indiscretion. The "Friend of India" censured in the severest terms "the tame conduct of the chief authorities," and predicted that there would be no Moulthan laurels but for Edwardes and Cortlandt. None more worthy, indeed, could be achieved. The gallant lieutenant led his raw levies to the very walls of Moulthan, after twice defeating a force greatly superior to them in numbers. But the fortifications of Moulthan were such.

as bade defiance to the efforts of an irregular force, with no other artillery than a few light field-pieces. Edwardes at once perceived his inability to make the slightest impression on the fortress with the troops under his command, and he accordingly despatched a messenger to the British resident at Lahore, for reinforcements and heavy artillery. Meanwhile the position of the British force in the neighbourhood of Moulton was somewhat critical. The hold he had upon his native allies had owed much of its force to his own tact and the success which had hitherto attended his operations; and to the latter cause also may be ascribed the successive junction of Shere Sing and other Sikh chiefs, at the head of about 10,000 men. Such allies, however, were a source of far more apprehension than confidence to Edwardes. Many of the Sikhs were known to be disaffected, and he was obliged to watch their camp, situated about a mile from his own, with scarcely less jealousy than that of Moolraj. His suspicions of his Sikh allies proved only too well-founded. Their defection speedily turned the scale against him, and he was obliged to take up a new position, at a much greater distance from the stronghold of Moolraj. But though it was no longer to be hoped for that the gallantry of this British officer would prove sufficient to counteract the deep-laid plots and machinations of the Sikhs, the check he had given at so critical a period was productive of the most important results. Much valuable time was gained. The cautious deliberations of those at the head of affairs were carried on while he held the enemy at bay, and by the time it became obvious that the most decisive measures were indispensable, they were ready to forward to his aid a force capable of coping with such difficulties. On the 21st December 1848, General Whish at length effected a junction with Edwardes, in the neighbourhood of Moulton, by which he found himself at the head of an efficient force, amounting to 15,000 British troops, and 17,000 allies, and with 150 pieces of ordnance, nearly half of which were of the largest calibre. The result became no longer doubtful. After one of the most obstinate and gallant defences on the part

of the enemy ever recorded in the annals of Indian warfare, the city of Moulton was yielded to the British commander, and its citadel occupied by a British garrison, though not till the principal powder magazine of the defenders, containing some 16,000 pounds of powder, had been blown into the air, and their principal granary and stores had been burned.

When the citadel of Moulton had at length fallen into the hands of the British, one of the first acts of the victors was to pay a graceful though vain tribute to the remains of those who had been the first victims of Sikh treachery. The proceeding is thus narrated by an officer who bore a part in the sad rites, with which the conquerors sought to repair the wrongs already so signally avenged:—"On the evening of the 26th, I joined in a very pleasing, though melancholy ceremony. The burial-place of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson had been discovered, and it was determined to exhume the bodies, and move them to the fort. The grave was opened under the superintendence of one of their most intimate friends, and the bodies were found to be in a sufficient state of preservation to be identified. A carrying and funeral party, with the band of the fusiliers, to which regiment Lieutenant Anderson formerly belonged, attended, with a large portion of the officers in camp, and moved off from the Eedgah, near which the bodies had been found, at five o'clock, and, *entering the fort by the breach*, the coffins were deposited in a grave which had been prepared in the highest part of the fort. The chaplain was in attendance, and read the funeral service in a most impressive manner."

While the united forces under General Whish were breaching the walls of Moulton, and reducing Moolraj to the desperate position which at length compelled him to capitulate on the 21st of January 1849, and to yield up the ruined city and its shattered but still strong and formidable fortress to the British general, the commander-in-chief had to withstand a still more formidable resistance in the open field. Notwithstanding the dear-bought experience of the former Sikh campaign, Lord Gough was

found at this second outbreak of the turbulent soldiery of the Punjab fully as unprepared as before. It was not indeed to be expected, that an establishment was to be kept along the banks of the Sutledge, ready to take the field at a moment's notice; still the knowledge acquired of the character and motives of the Sikh revolutionists during the previous war, was such as showed the necessity of constant watchfulness and preparation for war, so long as British forces occupied any portion of the territory of the disciples of Govind.

Lord Hardinge was no longer present to control the impetuous hardihood of Lord Gough, and the public, however willing to overlook the rashest daring when it is successful, are little inclined to charity or even to reason, when it leads to loss or to defeat. Lord Gough had been compelled, as in his former campaign, to manoeuvre instead of fight, from the want of an effective force and sufficient supplies. On the 5th of January, the British forces under his command lay encamped at Janiki, within a day's march of the Sikh army, under Shere Sing, which had taken up a formidable position at Moong, on the left bank of the Jelum. Lord Gough had at one time intended to wait the fall of Moulton before he attacked the Sikhs, but he had reason to dread the unfavourable effects which his inactivity was calculated to exert on that portion of the natives whose co-operation and neutrality depended solely on his success, while it afforded Shere Sing an opportunity of largely augmenting his army. Accordingly, on the 11th of January, the British forces left their encampment at Janiki, and marched in the direction of the Sikh camp at Chillianwallah. Shere Sing's forces were found to be intrenched in a position of great natural strength, which they had still farther secured by works of formidable extent. The commander-in-chief is affirmed to have hastily changed his plan of operations, and to have perilled the safety of the whole British forces by ordering an attack on the enemy's camp about two hours after noon, when it had been previously resolved to defer all active operations till the following day. The ground was impeded with jungle, which

concealed the Sikh matchlock men, and afforded them an immense advantage. The British forces were compelled to storm the Sikh batteries at the bayonet's point. Darkness put an end to the engagement, leaving the British in possession of the field of battle. But their loss had been terrible. Nearly an hundred officers were killed or wounded; 2269 troops, including nearly 1000 Europeans, were disabled, or left dead on the field, while whole troops had been compelled to give way before the determined front of the enemy, and the deadly fire of their artillery. Such a questionable victory sufficed to overshadow the triumphs at Moulton, and to increase the anxiety and apprehension with which the overland mail was anticipated in England.

Meanwhile the fall of Moulton had released a large body of our troops; and General Whish, with a promptitude which did him the highest honour, pressed forward to reinforce the army of Lord Gough. The total inaction of Shere Sing proved that the bloody field of Chillianwallah had paralyzed the movements of the Sikhs, even more than it had crippled the available resources and damped the exulting anticipations of the British. The suspension of hostilities was most fortunate. By a rapid forced march Whish contrived to reunite his forces with those of the Commander-in-Chief before the enemy were sufficiently recruited to attack our position; and thus we were prepared to renew the war with every prospect of brilliant success.

Victory had not deserted the British arms in India. A great battle was fought at Goojerat. The Sikh army estimated at 60,000 men, with fifty-nine pieces of artillery, and a powerful auxiliary force of Afghan cavalry, were completely routed. "Their ranks broken; their position carried; their guns, ammunition, camp-equipage, and baggage captured; and their flying masses driven before the victorious pursuers from mid-day to dusk." Fifty-three pieces of artillery left in the hands of the victors, along with the camp, baggage, magazines, and a vast store of ammunitions, abandoned by the flying Sikhs, abundantly testified to the triumph which had at length dissipated the apprehensions of thousands,

who waited with anxious dread the announcement of the first despatch that should narrate the proceedings subsequent to the dear-bought field of Chillianwallah.

The victory of Goojerat proved to be complete and decisive. Once more the van of the British army had maintained its ground on this remote border of British India until reinforcements could be brought up, and supplies forwarded to the point of attack, and then trying the strength of the opposing power on a well-fought field, victory had unequivocally declared for the conquerors of the East. The fruits of this battle were the entire surrender of the Sikh army, including their commander, Rajah Shere Sing, his father, Chuttur Sing, his brothers, and most of the principal Sikh sirdars and chiefs. Forty-one pieces of artillery, the whole that remained uncaptured by the British, were at the same time unconditionally surrendered, and the remains of the conquered army, to the number of 16,000 Sikh soldiers, laid down their arms in the presence of the British troops. The principal scene of this act of surrender by the vanquished was a place called Hoormuk, at one of the principal fords of the river, across which their broken ranks had fled in dismay before the final charge of the victors of Goojerat. At this spot the Sikh soldiers crossed and delivered up their arms, passing through the lines of two native infantry regiments appointed for this duty. Each of the Sikhs received a rupee to subsist him on his return home, in addition to which they were permitted to retain their horses.

In the general order of the governor-general, with which he accompanied the welcome despatches announcing the result of the campaign, he adds: "But the war is not yet concluded; nor can there be any cessation of hostilities until Dost Mohammed Khan and the Afghan army are either driven from the province of Peshawur, or destroyed within it." The most determined measures were accordingly adopted against the Sikh allies who still remained in arms. But the greatest apprehension of the victors was that they should escape them by flight, there being little reason to apprehend that any Afghan force would alone withstand the British

arms on the open field. On the evening of the same day on which Major-general Sir Walter Gilbert superintended the disarming of Shere Sing's army, he pushed on by forced marches towards Attock, in hopes of overtaking the Afghans before they could succeed in crossing the Indus. In this, however, he failed. The Afghans were already across the great river, and the impatient general pushing on with his staff, and accompanied only by a small escort, beheld them from a neighbouring eminence busily engaged in the destruction of the bridge of boats by which they had effected their timely passage. The sight of the British staff filled the flying enemy with new apprehensions, as they had believed the British to be still two days' march behind. The artillery was speedily brought to bear upon them, and fifteen of the best boats forming the bridge were secured. By means of this the British troops were passed across the Indus, and negotiations were entered into with the Khyberries to obstruct the retreat of the Afghans through the dreaded defile of which they were the guardians. But the Indus was rising. Its deep and rapid flood retarded the passage of the cavalry and artillery indispensable for the pursuit, while fear urged on the retreat of the flying foe, who were struck with such panic at the sudden appearance of the British at the passage of the Indus, that they abandoned their baggage in order to accelerate their flight. By this means, Dost Mohammed Khan succeeded in reaching Dakka, on the western side of the Khyber Pass, and thereby escaping the vengeance he had provoked by his junction with the rebellious Sikhs.

With the flight of the Afghans beyond the Khyber Pass the war was at an end; but new measures were requisite to guard against the renewal of similar outbreaks of the restless and daring Khalsa. Within the brief period that had elapsed since the summary recall of Lord Ellenburgh, experience and necessity had overthrown every theory of British policy in India. One critic in summing up the record of events of the previous year, at the time when only the first steps in the new war beyond the Sutledge had transpired, remarks: "A year barren of events, although a tame

and unattractive period to readers of history, is a propitious one to good rulers, especially rulers of such a country as India. The want of time, and opportunity, and political quiet, to digest plans of improvement, has been the ready and unanswerable excuse of every governor of India since the administration of its affairs has been transferred to our hands from those of the Moguls. The fault is not theirs; it is the vice, or rather a misfortune, inseparable from the circumstances of British rule in India in relation to the native powers, which clothe it with progressive (or, as some say, aggressive) attributes, that a stationary policy is not only irreconcilable with the security of our Indian empire, but impracticable, and the intervals of suspension of war and conquest are few and brief. The last three governors of India furnish examples which the next three may be compelled to follow.

“ Lord Ellenborough, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Lord Dalhousie, proceeded to India with visions of peace, of prosperous revenues, and of the realization of benevolent schemes of social benefit for the people of India. The first was, upon his arrival, immersed in the perils and perplexities of the Cabul outbreak and the Mahratta campaign. The second was most unwillingly forced by a Sikh invasion into a war, first of defence and then of conquest, beyond our frontiers. Lord Dalhousie, in like manner, has been compelled to desert the seat of Government, where he was busied with plans of domestic improvement, and to enter upon projects which, from the magnitude of the preparations, appear to embrace the conquest of an extensive territory, the cost of which will exhaust the present and pledge the future revenues of India, postponing every scheme of local and general improvement and moral amelioration which demands an outlay of money. Should our presage be correct, and the British empire be extended to the Indus, that ‘forbidden’ river, conveniently termed the ‘historical boundary of India,’ will not be a final boundary any more than the Sutledge has been; the expansion of our line of frontiers, bringing us into contact with new neighbours, jealous of our greatness or alarmed at our proximity, will involve us in fresh quarrels, and we shall be led onward, until,

as Baron Hugel predicts, we reach Herat. This is the condition of our existence as a ruling power in India; and critics of our administration there, instead of exposing its imperfections, and proclaiming the vast amount of what has not been done to ameliorate the people, would be more just if they compared what has been accomplished with the time and means at our command,—in snatches of repose, broken by sudden political explosions, which engross the attention and the energies of the government, amidst the financial incumbrances created by an increasing expenditure, which cannot be met, as in other countries, by increase of taxation." The result has proved the justice of these remarks. By a proclamation of the governor-general of India, dated March 30th 1849, the Punjaub is declared to be a portion of the British empire in India; and the same official document thus enters on the defence of British policy:—"For many years, in the time of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, peace and friendship prevailed between the British nation and the Sikhs. When Runjeet Sing was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the counsels of the state, the sirdars and the Khalsa army, without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British territories. Their army was again and again defeated. They were driven with slaughter and in shame from the country they had invaded, and at the gates of Lahore the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing tendered to the governor-general the submission of himself and his chiefs, and solicited the clemency of the British government. The governor-general extended the clemency of his government to the state of Lahore; he generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and, the maharajah having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the states. The British have faithfully kept their word, and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them. But the Sikh people and their chiefs have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound. Of their annual tribute, no portion whatever has at any time been paid, and large loans advanced to them by the government of

India have never been repaid. The control of the British government, to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, has been resisted by arms. Peace has been cast aside. British officers have been murdered when acting for the state; others engaged in the like employment have treacherously been thrown into captivity. Finally, the army of the state and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the sirdars in the Punjaub who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power. The government of India formerly declared that it desired no further conquest, and it proved by its acts the sincerity of its professions. The government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound, in its duty, to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge. To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the state from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the governor-general is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have now shown) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace. Wherefore the governor-general of India has declared, and hereby proclaims, that the kingdom of the Punjaub is at an end; and that all the territories of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing are now and henceforth a portion of the British empire in India."

The wonted justice of British rule tempered the policy thus forced upon it. The maharajah has been treated with due consideration of his rank; the property of all who had not forfeited their rights by their own conduct, has been respected; and the utmost care has been taken to preserve to all the free exercise of their religion. What the final results of this new annexation to our Indian empire may prove to be, it is vain to speculate. Whether the Indus, "the historical boundary of India," shall prove a barrier against foreign aggression and a limit to British acquisition, remains to be seen; but many years must elapse, even under the

most peaceful sway, ere the diverse races and creeds of British India can be reconciled, and the vast peninsula consolidated into one kingdom, united by the safe bonds of mutual confidence and the sense of a wise, just, and benignant rule. Experience has heretofore overturned every speculation. The first campaign in the Punjaub was regarded by many, whose judgment was worthy of confidence, as final. Events proved the error of the calculation. But a new state of things has now arisen, and the prophecy may be repeated with more confidence than before.

Such is the history of the latest and perhaps the most critical struggle which Britain has yet been compelled to engage in, in order to maintain the integrity of her Indian empire. The disastrous struggles in Afghanistan are altogether insignificant, when compared with a war thus waged on terms so nearly equal, and yet so hardly brought to a triumphant close. When we take into consideration all the circumstances of the former campaign, we can readily account for them. The real strength of the Afghans was shown in their final retreat from the Punjaub. They are indeed formidable in their native fastnesses; but this arises more from the natural features of the country, than from the skill of their brave but undisciplined bands. Even in their strongholds and amid their terrible passes, British arms, under proper and skilful leaders, found no difficulty in coping with them, and on a fair field they proved how little apprehension could be excited by them, even though greatly outnumbering their opponents. But the Sikhs were altogether different. Their bravery was fully equal to that of their opponents. Their skill and discipline were not greatly inferior. The contest therefore was a perilous one. But still the victory, when accomplished, was complete; the Sikhs were not only beaten but disarmed. They could not enter upon another contest with us, for the muniments of war have been taken from them, and cannot now be replaced. Britain, however, long to lay aside the weapons of the conqueror, and to consolidate her Eastern empire by arts of peace. Time alone, however well em-

ployed, will bind the native Hindoo to the British sceptre by the only safe ties, those of mutual interest and the confidence of mutual justice. The necessity of this is acknowledged. All the efforts of British rulers are now directed to render our sway in India alike beneficent and just. Should they succeed in accomplishing such a purpose, it will be a more noble and lasting victory than the proudest triumph of British arms; and it is only by converting the devotion of the Sikh foe into the patriotism of the British subject, that a safe, a lasting, and a beneficial peace shall be secured on the north-west frontiers, so long the source of anxiety and apprehension to the British rulers of India

CHAPTER XX.

THE PUNJAUB AFTER ITS CONQUEST, ETC.

State of the Punjaub after its conquest by the British—Our administrative efforts—Settlement of the country—The Lahore Board—Sir Charles Napier and the mutiny—Discussions with Lord Dalhousie—The Burmese war—Its causes—Engagements with the enemy—Annexation of Pegu.

WHEN our work is done in the field, then we commence our labours in the cabinet. The conquest of the Punjaub was a great military achievement; but it was the forerunner of a still greater work. The historian turns with delight from the bloody fight of Chillianwallah, and the crowning triumph of Goojerat, to dwell upon those great victories of peace and civilization which have now become inseparably associated in men's minds with the administration of the Punjaub under the new rule of the British.

When the irresistible strength of our well-worked artillery had broken to pieces, never again to re-unite, the remnant of the old Sikh military power, the governor-general, it has been seen, at once declared the whole country of the Punjaub to be thenceforth an integral part of our British dominions in the East. A difficult problem then presented itself for solution to Lord Dalhousie, called upon as he was to consider the form and character of the administration which it had now become his duty to impose upon the subject country. A series of experiments, extending over nearly a century, were before him to instruct or to caution—to invite or to deter. Bringing all the energies of a vigorous mind to bear upon the subject, and divesting himself of all prejudices and foregone conclusions, he endeavoured to extract from the experience of the past and from a close consideration of the peculiar characteristics of the country and the people now brought under our rule, those lessons of wisdom which would guide him not only towards a system of government theoretically sound, but

towards its right practical application to the case immediately before him. And he soon began to see his way through the difficulties of his position. To have introduced into these newly-acquired provinces, still disordered and impoverished by years of anarchy and misrule, the administrative machinery by which our long-settled districts are regulated, would have been clearly a mistake. But at the same time it was certain that there would be much to call forth the experience acquired in the settled districts—that a large knowledge, especially of revenue business, would be essential to the due performance of the work which then lay before us. So Lord Dalhousie wisely determined to render the new administration of the Punjaub neither an exclusively military nor an exclusively civil government, but one combining the advantages of both. The promptitude and energy of the first were to be united with the order and security of the last. The protection of law was to be yielded to the people without its incumbering formalities and its embarrassing delays. The province was marked out into a certain number of divisions, at each head of which was placed a commissioner, who might be a civil or a military servant of the Company, with certain deputy-commissioners or other functionaries under him. To these officers were entrusted all the general revenue and judicial business of the country. But the better to give effect to this machinery, and to direct generally both the civil and political affairs of our new territories, a Board of Administration was established, as the local head of the government, sitting at Lahore, and communicating directly with the governor-general. The chief seat at this Board was to be occupied by Sir Henry Lawrence, who had been for some time virtually at the head of the Lahore administration, directing its affairs in the name of the infant sovereign; an officer of rare energy and activity of character, the exercise of which was only limited and restrained by the soundness of his judgment and the benevolence of his heart. His colleagues at the Board were his brother, Mr. John Lawrence, and Mr. Mansel, two civilians of distinguished ability: the one greatly experienced in

matters of revenue-settlement, and the other bearing the reputation of the ablest finance-officer in India. Of the propriety of these nominations sufficient proof was afforded in due time by the result of their measures.

If any doubts had lingered in the minds of men regarding the entire subjugation of the Punjaub and the prospect of continued tranquillity, they were now about to be dispersed. The settlement of the Punjaub went on from year's end to year's end without interruption; and even the most reluctant believers acknowledged that the progress was gratifying, and the workmen were efficient. A recent writer of great ability and experience, summing up the good things that were done under the Lahore Board of Administration, says :—

“ A revenue of more than two millions has been raised from the land revenue, from salt, from the excise, and from other legitimate sources, by means which fetter neither the resources of the country nor the lawful claims of the state. A surplus, in spite of all that the Napiers can say, lies at the disposal of the government, amounting to one quarter of a million, after large disbursements on great public works. The Baree Doab Canal, and the military road to Peshawur, are progressing towards completion. Other great lines for commercial and social purposes are in progress, and cross-roads are covering the districts in every direction. Violent crimes have been entirely put down: and secret ones have been traced to their source. Justice is dealt out in a fashion which combines the salutary promptness of the Oriental with the scrupulous investigation of the European court. The vexatious inquiries into rent-free tenures are fast drawing to a close. Churches and dispensaries, the medicine of the soul and of the body, may be seen side by side in many of the principal stations. In sanatoria on the hills, the wounded or invalid soldier, and the worn-out civilian, can recruit their strength. Warlike subjects may enlist in our irregular troops, and find something better to do than to sit down and grumble at their lot. Not six months ago a grand meeting was convened at Umritsair, where measures

were adopted to put down the fearful crime of infanticide, by the exercise of authority combined with persuasive influence and moral force. A civil code, sufficient to meet the growing requirements of a commercial and agricultural population, has been compiled by the joint efforts of Messrs. Montgomery and Temple, has been revised by the chief commissioner, who is now a sort of lieutenant-governor,* and submitted for sanction to government. The missionary is endeavouring to win converts at Lahore. An agricultural society is striving to improve the produce of the plains. Tea cultivation is being extended in the hills. The whole face of the country tells its own tale in expanding cultivation, secure highways, long lines of camels, and carts laden with rich merchandise. There is not one of the above summary and downright assertions which we cannot prove incontestably by an appeal to printed papers, to written words, and to the testimony of hundreds of living witnesses. Had the governor-general effected no other reform, planned no other great work, grappled with no evil, given to India no one single benefit, the pacification and prosperity of the Punjaub would be enough, by itself, to place his name amongst the foremost of the benefactors of the East."†

Whilst these great ameliorative measures were in progress, an incident occurred, the results of which, involving a vast amount of public discussion, have imparted to it an importance far exceeding its original and intrinsic significance. On the annexation of the Punjaub to our British dominions in the East, the troops posted in the province were no longer entitled to those extra foreign-service allowances, which they had drawn when the Punjaub was the enemy's country. It would take long to speak in detail of the different military regulations bearing upon this subject of compensation, and the changes which have from time to time been introduced into the pay-code of the Indian army. It is enough to state here that a reduction of the sepoy's allowances neces-

* The Board having recently been abolished.

† *Coleridge Review*, March 1854.

sarily came into operation after the annexation of the Punjaub, and that the soldiers, either not clearly understanding the matter or being somewhat unreasonable in their expectations, manifested some disaffection. One regiment, indeed, which had shown a bad spirit on a former occasion, broke out into something like revolt. Sir Charles Napier was, at this time, at the head of the Indian army. When intelligence of the sanguinary action of Chillianwallah first arrived in England, a panic had arisen in certain quarters, and people had cried out that the best blood of England and of India was being poured out in vain on the scorched plains of the Punjaub. Sir Charles Napier had beaten the Belloochees in fair fight. So it was believed that he could beat the Sikhs. The distance between the banks of the Thames and the banks of the Hyphasis was ignored. It was forgotten, when the cry was raised for Sir Charles Napier, that his services were not required to disperse a mob in Hyde Park, or to put down an *émancipé* in Manchester. Thousands of miles had to be traversed before he could reach the seat of operations—and what might not happen whilst the general was steaming along the Mediterranean or crossing the deserts of Egypt?—nay, what might not have happened even before the tidings of the Chillianwallah massacre fluttered the Volscians of the Horse-Guards? As was anticipated by all reasonable men, the war in the Punjaub had been brought to an honourable termination before Sir Charles Napier arrived in India. What he had to deal with on his arrival was not a hostile Sikh army, but a few disaffected sepoys. A general mutiny of the native army of India would be a danger more formidable than any hostile menaces from without—greater than a Russian army in full march upon the frontier, or a Sikh force at the gates of Delhi. Sir Charles Napier thought that we were now threatened by some such gigantic calamity, and he dealt with it as though the peril were imminent. In doing so, he encroached upon the authority of the civil governor, by improperly suspending an order of government, and Lord Dalhousie, who could not see the danger, resented the interference, and impliedly censured

the commander-in-chief. Upon this, a vehement recriminatory controversy arose between the two functionaries. The argument was on the side of the governor-general, and therefore the moderation. Sir Charles Napier tendered his resignation of the command of the Indian army; and the Duke of Wellington, after recording his opinion, that "the governor-general in council was right, and did no more than his duty, in the expression of his disapprobation of the act of the commander-in-chief in suspending an order of government relative to the pay of the troops," recommended Her Majesty to accept the resignation. Sir Charles Napier, therefore, returned to England and wrote a book. But many years of hard service in the field and much contention with hostile climates had enfeebled the frame of the gallant veteran, and he did not live to see the reception with which his explanations were fated to meet from the British public; and, perhaps, it was well that the last days of one of England's finest soldiers and most gallant sons were not embittered by the reflection that the applause which had so long followed his career could not be continued to the end. No history of India, under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, would be complete without some reference to Sir Charles Napier's last visit to the East, and the circumstances of his retirement; but the subject is one on which the annalist will ever enter with reluctance and dwell with regret. Collisions between the civil and military authorities in India have not been infrequent; but the good sense and good feeling of the contending functionaries have generally preserved them from an open rupture, and the history of the conflict has never before been brought so prominently and so painfully to public notice. The voice of the community at large has decided the question in favour of the statesman; but even the failings of so brave a soldier as Sir Charles Napier will be handled with tenderness, and all will rejoice when the errors of his declining years are suffered to rest with him in the grave.

The conquest of the Punjaub accomplished, the people disarmed, and the administration of our new territories in course of

adjustment, it was believed that peace at length was about to cover the land from Cape Comorin to the Indus. But, at the extremest point of our dominions, where the Punjabee territory jutted into Afghanistan, and we were brought by our new acquisitions into dangerous proximity with the tribes inhabiting the passes beyond the Peshawur, it was only to be expected that our troops would for a time be kept upon the alert, either by our own unsettled people on the frontier or our neighbours beyond it. These expectations were realised; but the hill warfare in which we were at one time engaged was of so little account that it could hardly have been said to disturb the general tranquillity of the country, much more than the depredations of a gang of dakoits. It was not long, however, before, at the very opposite extremity of the country, far down in the regions of the south-east, there were indications of an unsettled state of the political atmosphere, which threatened soon to grow into a storm. Ever since the war with the Burmese in 1825-26, our relations with the court of Ava had been distinguished by the utter absence of anything like cordiality between the two states. Partly in suspicion of our designs, partly with that arrogance of exclusiveness which is habitual to those barbarous potentates on the outskirts of civilization, and wholly in a state of the profoundest ignorance of the character and resources of the British nation, the Burmese court had discouraged all our efforts to cement a closer alliance with them, and had thrown impediments in the way of the permanent location of a resident at the Burmese capital, in accordance with the terms of the treaty concluded at the end of the first war. In 1838-39, there had been such threatenings of an immediate rupture that the Supreme Government had directed its thoughts with much anxiety to the eastward, and had considered the expediency of strengthening our frontier posts. But the wisdom and moderation of the council had prevailed to avert a war, which would have involved the Indian government in a calamitous expenditure, both of men and money, without, under the most prosperous circumstances, gaining anything either of profit or of

honour to compensate us for the outlay. The certain loss and the uncertain gain—or rather the certain no-gain—of another war with the Burmese had rendered the government slow to resent the contumelies of the remote barbarian of the Eastern coast. It was felt, moreover, that even though our empire in India might be an empire of opinion, we might, without any injury to our prestige, submit to the slights or even the insults of a foreign potentate, so entirely beyond the circle of that brotherhood of Indian princes and chiefs, whose actions are known to one another, and whose presumption is mutually contagious. A rebuff at Ava or Amreepoora, or a squabble at Rangoon, would have little effect, it was argued, upon Gwalior or Catamandoo.

In this unsatisfactory state, our relations with the Burmese court had continued for a quarter of a century, when circumstances occurred at Rangoon which precipitated an open rupture with the barbarians, who had so long treated us with insolence, and who had, doubtless, regarded the impunity with which they had been suffered to flout us, as an evidence of our inability or want of courage to chastise them. In the latter part of the year 1851, the governor of Rangoon committed a series of outrages on the persons and property of some English subjects—captains of merchant-vessels—and refused the reparation which was due to them. One of these ship-captains was fined and put in the stocks. Our trade was impeded; our merchants were oppressed. The stipulations of the treaty of Yandaboo, concluded at the end of the preceding war, were wholly disregarded; and it appeared impossible, consistently either with the dignity of the British state or the safety of its subjects, to suffer such indignities to pass without an open expression of our resentment.

When, therefore, the statements of the ship-captains, backed by certain testimonials from the merchants of Rangoon, reached the Supreme Government, it was determined to send an ambassador to the offending governor to demand reparation for the outrage he had committed. In the ordinary course of things, the ambassador would have been the political officer in charge of the adja-

cent provinces of Tenasserim, but Lord Dalhousie, regarding the treatment which our ambassadors had ordinarily experienced at the hands of these barbarous potentates, determined to send one more likely to be respected. "Experience," he said, "of the course pursued by the Burmese authorities towards former envoys seems to dissuade the government of India from having recourse to the employment of another mission, if the object of the government can be accomplished in any other way." So he tried the effect of a ship-of-war and a couple of steam-vessels, under the command of Commodore Lambert, to whom the negotiations with the governor of Rangoon were entrusted, with little hope, and certainly no reasonable expectation of their being brought to a favourable issue.

Commodore Lambert had been instructed only to demand pecuniary compensation for the injuries inflicted on the ship-captains; and if this were refused, to forward a letter, with which he was charged, from the governor-general to the king. But on arriving at Rangoon, so many new stories of the indignities put upon the British residents saluted him, and the conduct of the governor exhibited so little of a pacificatory spirit, that Lambert determined to depart from the instructions he had received, to waive the immediate question of compensation, and at once to forward the letter to the king, stating at the same time, in a written communication to the governor of Rangoon, that he had come only to ask for reparation to the injured captains, but that he had found it his duty to take other measures than those which he had intended to pursue. This letter, translated into the language of the country by Captain Latter, was read aloud to the governor by that officer, who then returned to the frigate, and was soon afterwards dispatched to Calcutta to inform the Supreme Government of the circumstances under which Lambert had determined to deviate from the original intentions of the expedition.

That a high-spirited naval officer, keenly alive to the rights of Englishmen, and very sensitive of anything resembling an indignity to the British flag, should have acted as the Commodore

acted in such a conjuncture, was natural—indeed, commendable. But for this very reason sailors are not the best negotiators. They see the evils of forbearance and submission more clearly than those of resentment and vindication. It was only by setting before him, in all their distinctness, the immense evils of another war with the Burmese—evils of which the necessary results of the completest success were not likely to be the least—that an officer could conduct such negotiations as these with due regard to the interests of his country. There was nothing to be gained by a war with the Burmese; there was much to be lost by it. The Indian government were not unmindful of this; but they considered that it was necessary to vindicate the honour of the nation; and they called upon the King of Ava to remove the Rangoon governor, within a given time, and to make compensation for the losses which had been sustained by our countrymen at Rangoon. “At the same time,” added Lord Dalhousie, “while it is the imperative duty of this government to maintain the rights of its people, secured by solemn treaties to them, it is a duty not less imperative, that the government should endeavour to obtain redress by the least violent means, and that it should not have recourse to the terrible extremity of war, except in the last resort, and after every other method has been tried without success. If the king’s reply should be unfavourable, the only course we can pursue, which would not, on the one hand, involve a dangerous submission to injury, or, on the other hand, precipitate us prematurely into a war, which moderate counsels may still enable us with honour to avert, will be to establish a blockade of the two rivers at Rangoon and Moulmein, by which the great mass of the traffic of the Burmese Empire is understood to pass. To bombard Rangoon would be easy, but it would, in his lordship’s judgment, be unjustifiable and cruel in the extreme, since the punishment would fall chiefly on the harmless population, who already suffer from the oppression of their rulers, even more than our own subjects. To occupy Rangoon or Martaban with an armed force would be easy also, but it would probably render inevitable the

war which we desire in the first instance by less stringent measures to avert. An armed ship of war should remain off Rangoon, or near enough to receive British subjects, should they be threatened. If, however, the aspect of affairs, on the receipt of the king's reply, should be menacing, his lordship thinks that British subjects should, for security's sake, be brought away at once, when the blockade is established."

The remonstrances of the Indian government seemed to have the desired effect. The King of Ava consented to remove the obnoxious governor, and a new functionary was dispatched in his place to Rangoon. But these appearances were deceptive. The new governor treated Commodore Lambert with studied disrespect. He refused to receive the British officers deputed to wait upon him. So Lambert determined to break off negotiations, and to blockade the Rangoon river; nor was this all—one of the king's ships happened to be lying within reach of our vessels, and the indignant commodore seized it by way of "reprisal."

These proceedings having been communicated to the governor-general by Commodore Lambert himself, who went to Calcutta for instructions, Lord Dalhousie forwarded his *ultimatum* to the Burmese Court. The demands of the British-Indian government were that the governor of Rangoon should transmit a written apology for the insult to which the British officers had been subjected at Rangoon, on the occasion above alluded to (on the 6th of January); that he should pay immediately the sum of 9900 rupees (less than £1000), demanded as compensation to Captain Sheppard and Captain Lewis; and that he should consent to receive, in due and fitting manner, the agent who should be appointed under the provisions of the treaty of Yandaboo.

These moderate demands were, however, rejected. So Lord Dalhousie determined "to exact by force of arms the reparation which he had failed to obtain by other means." In plainer language, he determined to make war upon the Burmese. All the available troops necessary for such an undertaking were mustered, both in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies; and General God-

win, an officer of the Queen's service, who had distinguished himself in the first Burmese war, in command of a regiment, was appointed to the charge of the expedition.

To all who remembered the first Burmese war—who knew the cost of it both in men and money—who knew how disease had mown down our men by hundreds, and how rapidly millions of money had disappeared from the public treasury, this second war would have appeared a formidable and a perilous undertaking, if the quarter of a century which had elapsed since the signing of the treaty of Yandaboo had not, whilst everything was in a state of barbarous stagnation in the Burmese territories, seen the development amongst us of a great and mysterious agency, equally serviceable, in instructed European hands, for purposes of peace or war. The progress of Steam Navigation seemed to give an entirely new aspect to the coming war, freeing it from all those chances and uncertainties by which our previous operations had been trammelled, and rendering, in prospect at least, the campaign short, decisive, and uncostly. We had gained, moreover, much experience from the reverses and sufferings of the past; and it was believed that we should fall into none of the same errors which had rendered the first Burmese war so ruinous to the finances of the state.

Still we had a difficult country as the scene of our operations, and still we were arrayed against a Government, insolent and ignorant in the extreme. If we could have moved a force at once upon the capital of the Burmese Empire, and brought the thunder of our guns within reach of the interior of the royal palace, we might have brought the war to a speedy termination. And there were those who thought that a movement, by the route of the Aeng Pass, would effect rapidly and decisively that, which by the line of the Irrawaddy could only be done slowly and uncertainly. But it was considered expedient, after the old fashion, to commence our operations at the mouth of the river, and it was hoped that the increased facilities afforded by our war-steamers would ensure rapid success. It was not, however, until the season

was far advanced that the expedition was ready for action. On the 2nd of April, the Bengal troops had reached the Rangoon river. There was no doubt, by this time, that the Burmese had fully resolved to try conclusions with us. They had fired on a flag of truce, and had otherwise exhibited their determination to brave the enmity of the British. So Godwin lost no time in commencing operations.

The Madras squadron had not arrived. But there were now abundant means for commencing the war with vigour at the command of the British general. The first movement to be made was for the capture of Martaban, a place of no great consequence, on the Burmese side of the river, opposite to Moulmein. The place was taken after the slightest possible resistance. The fire of the war-steamers, indeed, did the work. There was little to be accomplished by our fighting-men when they were landed.

By the 8th of April, the Bombay steam squadron and the Madras troops had reached the place of rendezvous, so General Godwin prepared to move upon Rangoon. The war-steamers having been sent up the river to silence the enemy's stockades on its banks, the approaches to Rangoon were cleared on the 11th, and at day-break on the 12th, a body of British troops, consisting of Her Majesty's 51st and 18th regiments, the 40th Bengal sepoy regiment, and some details of artillery were landed. Soon afterwards, Her Majesty's 80th, and the 35th and 9th Madras native infantry were also on the river-banks. With the former body, constituting his right column, General Godwin advanced; but had not proceeded far when a brisk fire was opened upon him from a stockade in his front, known as the White House Stockade, and skirmishers appeared in the jungle. Our guns returned the fire of the enemy, but, owing to a scarcity of ammunition, with less effect than might have been expected; and a storming-party was told off to carry the place by escalade. The heat of the weather was intense. The sun, a more deadly enemy than the Burmese, struck down some of the best and bravest of our British officers. But the courage of the 51st and the sappers and miners was not

to be repressed. The ladders were planted, and the stockade was carried. The enemy, as we entered, fled precipitately, leaving many dead in the place.

During the remainder of the day, and throughout the whole of the 13th, Godwin was engaged in landing his heavy guns and his reinforcements, and preparing for the contest on the 16th, which was to witness the capture of Rangoon. In the meanwhile, our ships were bombarding the town with terrible effect. Shot and shell were poured incessantly into the place, destroying their stockades, exploding their magazines, burning their houses, dispersing their soldiery, putting the frightened people everywhere to flight. The town of Rangoon is described as a square, with sides something less than a mile in extent, surrounded by stockades, except at the north-east corner, where a hill rises, on which is planted the great Shoa Dagon Pagoda. At this point Godwin determined to attack the city. Soon after daybreak on the 14th, our troops advanced in the finest possible temper. When about 800 yards from the eastern face of the pagoda, the general halted until the heavy guns, which were drawn by men, arrived on the spot. Once brought into position, such a fire was opened from them as soon intimidated the garrison; and when a storming-party was told off, under the guidance of Captain Latter, one of our chief political officers, there was little doubt of the result.

The party consisted of two companies of H. M. 80th, and the same details drawn from the 18th Royal Irish, and the 40th native infantry (Bengal). Under a heavy fire from the enemy, they advanced steadily to the attack. Having gained the gate at which an entrance was to be effected, they rushed up the terraced hill with a cheering shout. Lieutenant Doran, at the head of the column, fell pierced by four musket-balls; but he died in the arms of victory. The enemy made an ineffectual attempt to resist the rush of the British infantry, but everything went down before our stormers; the great pagoda was carried, and Rangoon again fell into our hands.

From this time up to the 19th of May, no event of any magnitude occurred in the progress of the war; but that day was celebrated by the capture of Bassein. The natural position of the place invested it with an importance which recent circumstances had enhanced. It lies on that one of the three navigable branches of the Irrawaddy which runs nearest to the western coast, about ninety miles' distant from Rangoon. In the preceding war, Sir Archibald Campbell had attached great importance to the possession of this post, and since the capture of Rangoon, it would seem that the Burmese government had designed "to make it a most powerful place, and to repair the loss of Bassein as their mart of communication with this country, as well as a powerful position to keep in subjection the Pegu population, so decidedly and ever our friends, and also to maintain a threatening attitude towards the south of Arracan." These considerations, thus stated in the general's words, suggested the capture of the place by the joint operation of the sea and land forces. On the 17th of May, a detachment of British troops embarked. Moving up the river from Point Negrais, our steamers, ignorant as we were of the navigation, made good their passage—a distance of some sixty miles—and came to off Bassein on the 19th. The enemy threatened to blow us into the river, and were told in reply that if they fired upon us, they would be exterminated root and branch. No further time was wasted, therefore, in parleying. Our troops were landed, and before evening had closed in upon us, the place was in our hands. A mud fort of considerable strength was stoutly defended by the enemy, but the gallantry of Major Errington and a detachment of the 51st overcame all opposition, and thus the seaward districts of the great province of Pegu fell into our hands.

But the experience of the former war had taught us that however great might be our military success on the coast, such littoral operations were not likely to make any impression on the court of Ava. The political advantages, indeed, which we had gained, fell far short of our martial triumphs. It was apparent that the

objects of the war would be unattained, unless we struck a blow at the interior of the Burmese empire, and menaced the capital itself. To accomplish this, it was necessary that reinforcements should be placed at General Godwin's command. By the agency of steam, this was done with comparative despatch; but still some months of inactivity intervened, and it was not until the middle of September that the general actually commenced the ascent of the Irrawaddy river. Then he embarked some 5000 men on board the steam flotilla, and operations were begun in earnest. The capture of Prome was readily effected. On the 9th of October, the fleet anchored off that place, and the troops were disembarked. A slack fire, which was soon silenced, was opened upon our force; but the enemy, having taken up a good position on a range of hills, threatened to make an obstinate resistance to our advance. When, however, on the following morning Godwin moved forward, he found that the Burmese had abandoned their position and declined the contest. The town itself was almost wholly deserted.

The capture of Prome placed the whole province of Pegu at our feet. But the town itself had still to be the theatre of an obstinate conflict. It had been taken in June by Major Cotton, who, not having troops to garrison the place, was compelled to abandon it, and it was reoccupied by the enemy. It was now to be captured again. In the middle of November, four river-steamers were sent with a force of 1000 infantry, with details of artillery and sappers, under Brigadier M'Neill, to recapture the place. General Godwin accompanied the force. There was considerable resistance, and not without some loss was the place eventually carried. A British garrison was left in the town, but the conflict was not then over. It was not anticipated that the Burmese would make any vigorous effort to repossess themselves of Pegu, and the force which was left to hold it was totally inadequate to the work. The enemy came down in great force and invested the place. The defence was of that gallant character which really merits the name of heroism; and Major Hill, of the

Madras Fusiliers, and his little band of warriors, fairly earned for themselves a place in history.

The intelligence of the investment of Pegu caused much excitement at Rangoon, and immediate steps were taken to despatch troops to release the garrison from their dangerous position. On the night of the 11th of December, 1200 men embarked on board our steamers, and on the 14th, disembarked near Pegu. General Godwin accompanied the expedition, the success of which was never doubtful. There was what he called "a hard day's work," but it was a good one. The enemy were dispersed. Major Hill and his gallant comrades were relieved, and Pegu was so garrisoned as never to be in danger again from investment by a barbarous enemy.

Whilst these military operations, which placed the whole province of Pegu at our feet, were in progress, the governor-general and the home authorities were in earnest correspondence on the subject of the political and territorial arrangements which must result from the war. Several courses were open to us at this time; but there were two between which the choice of our rulers more immediately lay. Having captured Prome, we might have pushed on, partly by the river, partly by land, to Ava, and dictated, amidst the roar of our guns, a treaty to the king at the gates of his palace. Or we might quietly declare Pegu to be a British province, and, content with this, both as a measure of retaliation and a measure of defence, concern ourselves little or nothing about treaties or any other diplomatic business. To the former course, though the more imposing of the two, there were many serious objections. We might frighten the Burmese court into a humiliating treaty, but were little likely to teach such barbarous potentates to respect its obligations. The less, indeed, that we had to do with treaties, the better. There were difficulties, too, of more than one kind attending our progress into the heart of the Burmese dominions — local difficulties, obstructing the march of our armies, and others involving a great question of humanity, which Lord Dalhousie earnestly considered. It would

have been obviously impolitic to "annex" the whole of the Burmese empire; but to conquer up to the walls of the palace, and then to abandon our conquests, would be to place at the mercy of a cruel and vindictive government all the people of the country who had in any way sided with or assisted the invaders, or were suspected of so doing. On the other hand, the annexation and administration of Pegu was, if an evil, one of comparatively limited extent. We had already seen that the people were well inclined to settle under our government, and to regard us rather as deliverers than as usurpers. But even this measure Lord Dalhousie was unwilling to decree without the specific sanction of the home government. Differing greatly in this respect from Lord Ellenborough, he declared that he would not on his own authority amputate any portion of the Burmese territory. The authority, however, was delegated to him before he had occasion to exercise it. The Secret Committee, or in other words, Her Majesty's Government, as represented by the President of the Board of Control, granted full and unqualified permission to the governor-general to declare Pegu to be a British province; and accordingly, on the 20th of December 1852, a proclamation was issued, setting forth that the just and moderate demands of the government of India having been rejected by the king (of Ava), the ample opportunity afforded him for past injuries having been disregarded, and the timely submission which alone could have been effectual to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom being still withheld, the governor-general in council had resolved, in compensation for the past, and better security for the future, that the province of Pegu shall be henceforth a portion of the British territories in the East.

Of the events which followed the issuing of this proclamation, we may allow the government of India to be the historian, for nowhere are they more succinctly stated than in a notification published on the 30th of June, 1853: In the Proclamation it is said—

"In the proclamation by which the province of Pegu was annexed

to the British dominions in the East, the governor-general in council declared that he desired no further conquest in Burmah, and was willing to consent that hostilities should cease. Thereafter, the Burman troops were everywhere withdrawn. The king was dethroned by his brother, the Mengdoon prince, and an envoy was sent from Ava to sue for peace. The Burman envoy, confessing their inability to resist the power of the British government, and submissively soliciting its forbearance, announced his willingness to sign a treaty in accordance with the proclamation, objecting only to the frontier being at Meeaday. The government of India, while it maintained its undoubted right to fix the frontier where it had been placed, at the same time gave signal proof of the sincerity of its desire for the renewal of friendly relations between the states; for, in the hope of at once concluding a treaty of peace, the governor-general in council consented to withdraw the frontier from Meeaday, and to place it, in strict conformity to the most literal wording of the proclamation, immediately to the northward of Prome and Tonghoo, cities which have been described at all times as within the northern limits of Pegu in the official records of transactions between the two states. But when this concession was offered, the Burman envoy, wholly receding from his previous declarations, refused to assent to any treaty, by which a cession of territory should be made. Hereupon the negotiations were at once broken off. The frontier of the British territory was finally fixed to the northward of Meeaday and Tonghoo, and the envoy was directed to quit the camp. The envoy proceeded to the capital, whence he has now conveyed to the government of India the sentiments and proposals of the court of Ava. The king expresses his desires for the cessation of the war. The king announces that 'orders have been issued to the governors of districts not to allow the Burmese troops to attack the territories of Meeaday and Tonghoo, in which the British government has placed its garrisons.' Furthermore, the king has set at liberty the British subjects who had been carried prisoners to Ava, and he has expressed his wish that 'the mor-

chants and people of both countries should be allowed, in accordance with former friendship, to pass up and down the river for the purpose of trading.' Mindful of the assurance he gave that hostilities would not be resumed so long as the court of Ava refrained from disputing our quiet possession of the province of Pegu, the governor-general in council is willing to accept these pacific declarations and acts of the king as a substantial proof of his acquiescence in the proposed conditions of peace, although a formal treaty has not been concluded. Wherefore the governor-general in council permits the raising of the river blockade, consenting to the renewal of former intercourse with Ava, and now proclaims the restoration of peace."

Nor was the proclamation of peace a mere empty sound. From that time, with the exception of a few local disturbances, attributed to the lawlessness of organized bands of dakoits, or professional robbers, there have been cheering indications of the good and loyal feeling of our new subjects. Of the pacific intentions of the Burmese court, there is no reason to entertain a doubt. Towards the close of 1854, a complimentary embassy, despatched by the King of Ava, visited Calcutta, and was received with overflowing hospitality and gratifying respect. The usual military spectacles having been exhibited to him, the ambassador, after a somewhat protracted sojourn at the Anglo-Indian capital, was taking his leave of the governor-general, when, seemingly encouraged by the respect which had been shown to him, he blurted out an unauthorized request for the restoration of Pegu.* Unexpected as was the demand, and preposterous as was its character, Lord Dalhousie received it with remarkable self-possession, and answered with the greatest coolness, that as long as the sun shone in the heavens, the British ensign should wave over Pegu. The crest-fallen ambassador took his departure, and embarrassed by the failure into which his own presumption had

* It is stated by some authorities that the demand was made under instructions from, and on the part of, the king, but the balance of evidence is in favour of a contrary supposition.

precipitated him, hesitated to make known at the court of Ava an incident so little to his credit. Whether the new king, though he may not have authorized the demand made by his representative, will ratify a treaty for the formal cession of Pegu, is a question which time only can solve; but, in the meanwhile, there seems to be little probability of any outward disturbance of the existing peace.

Thus has it been the fortune of Lord Dalhousie, a ruler by no means of a restless and ambitious nature, to extend at both its extreme points—both at its north-western and south-eastern boundaries—our ever-expanding Indian empire. The necessities of war, however, have not disturbed the just balance of his mind. A man of first-rate administrative capacity, he has devoted his rare energies to the internal improvement of the country, and his yet unfinished administration will be as celebrated in history for the triumphs of civilization as for the victories of war.

Nor would this chapter be complete without brief mention of another circumstance, illustrative of the administration of Lord Dalhousie—a circumstance gratifying in itself, and of a very extraordinary and suggestive character when viewed in connexion with the striking incidents detailed in a preceding chapter. In the early part of 1855, after some preparatory correspondence, Hyder Khan, one of the sons of Dost Mohammed, the Ameer of Cabul, came down to Peshawur to conclude, on the part of his father, a friendly treaty with the British government. And the negotiations were brought to a close in the most satisfactory manner. When all circumstances of place and persons are considered, this will appear a very remarkable practical comment on the history of the war in Afghanistan. Peshawur, now a British cantonment, was the very bone of contention which had rendered it so difficult, seventeen years before, to bring Dost Mohammed into a friendly alliance with us. Hyder Khan was governor of Ghuznee, when the English carried it by assault and, by the capture of the place, dispersed the last hopes of Dost Mohammed. And Mr. John Lawrence was the brother of Captain George Lawrence, who had seen

Hyder Khan's brother slay Sir William Macnaghten. And thus, it may be said, after some twenty years of war and diplomacy, after an enormous waste of blood and of treasure, that has been accomplished at the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration which might have been done at the commencement of Lord Auckland's. We have concluded a friendly treaty with the man whom the Affghans are content to recognize as their chief.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCLUSION.

The Internal Government of India—Administrative Agencies—The Home Government—The Indian Governments—Constitution of the Civil Service—The Revenue—Judicial and Diplomatic Lines—The Indian Army—General Results—Ameliorative Measures—Concluding Remarks.

THE preceding pages have been mainly devoted to a narrative of war and conquest. But the history of the progress of British dominion in the East is not wholly a military history. There are other achievements to be recorded; other triumphs to be chronicled—the achievements of good government, the triumphs of civilization. Our statesmen and administrators have completed the great work which our soldiers have commenced. We have not merely pitched a great camp in the East: we have erected also a great empire.

A history of British administration in India—even an outline of such a history—would occupy another volume of equal dimensions with the present one. We can only, at the close of this narrative, touch upon some of its most prominent features. The East India Company, once a Merchant Company, has ceased to be one even in name. Previous to the year 1814, the Company enjoyed the privileges of an exclusive trade with India and China. In that year, a new charter came into operation—a charter continuing in the hands of the Company the exclusive trade with China, but opening the ports of India freely to the private merchant. Twenty years afterwards, another charter was granted to the Company. The country had by this time grown somewhat intolerant of monopolies of all kinds. It could discern no sufficient reason why the trade of China should not be thrown open like the trade with India—why the nation should depend for its tea upon a Company with a great mart in Leadenhall Street, and certain periodical sales of the fragrant produce of Cathay. It clamoured, therefore, for the entire abrogation of the last remnant of

the Company's privileges. The Legislature granted what the public sought. The Company wound up their commercial affairs, and ceased altogether to be a "Company of Merchants." But they continued to hold their political position and to perform their administrative duties. The Company, indeed, became the stewards of the Crown; and all the expenses of government at home and abroad, and the dividends of the proprietors, were to be paid out of the resources of India.

The manner of government was this:—From among the proprietors of East India stock, thirty members were selected by that body, twenty-four of whom formed the Court of Directors, the remaining six going out by annual rotation, and being re-elected at the end of the year. Whenever a vacancy occurred by death, resignation, or disqualification, it was filled by a new member of the Court of Proprietors, elected by the suffrages of that body. The possession of a certain amount of India stock (£1000 stock, or about £2500 in money) was the only necessary qualification. The Directors consisted, therefore, of gentlemen of different callings and professions; some were London bankers or merchants, others (the majority) were members of the Company's civil and military services. When the functions of the Company were partly of a commercial character, it was advisable that there should be in the Direction a considerable infusion of the commercial element. But as these functions gradually ceased, the expediency of electing into the administrative body influential members of the mercantile community diminished; and a decreasingly small proportion of such members were elected. The financial business of the Company still, however, remained; and it was doubtless advisable, and ever will be advisable, that to the supervision of these vast pecuniary transactions, including intricate exchange operations, should be brought the experience of a few able and influential men of business, trained not in the camps or in the courts of India, but in the counting-houses of the British metropolis.

The twenty-four Directors, thus elected, were divided into committees, for the separate consideration of the judicial, the revenue,

the military, the political, the financial, and miscellaneous business of the Company, and met in general court collectively for the subsequent discussion and decision of the several questions brought before them. In addition to these committees, there was another, and a very important one, of a different class and character. There was a committee known as the "Secret Committee." Before the year 1781, the Directors of the Company had enjoyed the privilege of governing India after their own fashion, without ministerial or parliamentary control. But in that year a charter had been enacted, conferring certain controlling power upon the Crown Government, acting through one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State. Three years afterwards, Pitt introduced his India Bill. By this Act, the Board of Control, or as it was called, the "Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India," was first established; but in 1793, the constitution of the Board was modified. It was then made to consist of certain members of the Privy Council (the two principal Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, included); the first named in His Majesty's commission being the President of the Board, and practically the Indian Minister. The President so appointed was to act in concert with a Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. This Secret Committee was to consist of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman and the senior member of the Court. It was decreed that all matters connected with the levying of war or making of peace, or treating or negotiating with any of the native princes or states in India that should seem to require secrecy, should be under the control of this Secret Committee. The President of the India Board was here, indeed, absolute. The India-House members of the Committee acted merely in a ministerial capacity. They signed their names to whatever the Crown Minister was pleased to write. The general constitution of the Court of Directors has undergone a change, of which we shall speak presently; but the Secret Committee remains unchanged.

Under the system thus established, the most important functions

of the governing body known as the East India Company were, in reality, performed by the President of the India Board. Of the most important measures affecting the interests of the native princes of India, or of neighbouring Oriental Powers, he was indeed—as far as events in the East are shaped by the authorities of the West—not the controller, but the author. With respect, however, to the business of internal administration, the initiative was taken by the Court of Directors, and the powers of the India Board were properly only those of a controlling body. But it is hard to fix the boundaries between control and initiation. There have been cases in which the controlling authority has so altered the despatches of the Court of Directors, as to invest them with an entirely new character, and to convey to the local government instructions almost the very reverse of those designed by the authorities of the Company. The two bodies, indeed, have sometimes come into violent collision with each other; and the Court of King's Bench has been applied to to issue a *mandamus* to compel the recusant Directors to sign despatches forced upon them by the Board of Control.

We have said that the Court of Directors was composed of twenty-four (with a farther ineffective list of six) members, the whole appointed by the suffrages of the Court of Proprietors. But when, in 1853, the entire subject of the machinery of Indian government again came before Parliament, the ministers of the day, compelled by a pressure from without to introduce certain changes into the Act for the government of India—the old twenty years' lease being then about to expire—recommended that the number of Directors chosen by the proprietors should be reduced to fifteen, and eventually to *twelve*. In addition to these twelve or fifteen members, there were to be six—or, in the first instance, three—Directors appointed by the Crown, making up the entire number to eighteen, of which the Court is now composed. The recommendation was accepted by Parliament. The Bill provided, that on the second Wednesday in March the old Court of Directors should proceed to the election of fifteen of their own body, the

remainder retiring from office, or rather being expelled from their seats. However ungracious the task—however painful the duty—it was generally felt that the Directors performed it with a due regard for the public interests. The selection was such as the judgment of the public, or rather that section of it which concerns itself about the details of Indian government, unhesitatingly confirmed. And when, in the following month, three Directors were chosen by the Crown—those three being, Sir George Pollock, whose great military exploits in Afghanistan we have recorded in a previous chapter; Sir Frederick Currie, of whom we have also spoken in connexion with the incidents of the Sikh war; and Mr. J. P. Willoughby, who had earned a high reputation as a diplomatist and administrator in Western India—the public ratified the choice of the Ministers; not a word was spoken against the selection.

The Court of Directors, then, as constituted in the spring of 1854, consists of fifteen members, elected by the proprietary body, and three elected by the Crown, with a provision that the three next vacancies should be filled by the nomination of the latter. The Act declared that the Directors selected by the Crown should have resided ten years in India—a stipulation which, it was believed, would sufficiently prevent these appointments from being turned to account for party purposes by the minister of the day. But whether the working powers of the Court of Directors have been improved by this reduction of their numbers remains yet to be seen.

Whilst such is the constitution of the Home Government of India, the especial powers and duties of the different agencies and authorities for the local administration of the different Presidencies of India, require also to be clearly described. It was remarked by a distinguished orator in the House of Commons, during the debates on the India Bill of 1853, that the constitution of the Home Government of India was of comparatively little importance, for that all the real power was in the hands of the governor-general. But Mr. Macaulay, when he cited certain

cases within the range of his own experience, seems to have forgotten that that experience dates back some twenty years to a period when the communication between the two countries was tardy and irregular—when the governor-general was compelled either to wait for ten or twelve months for an answer to his references, or else to act on his own responsibility. But in more recent days, when steam communication has brought the two countries within a few weeks' passage of each other, the facilities of reference are so greatly increased, that it rarely happens the local authorities are compelled to prosecute any important undertakings without communication with the government at home. Still, much depends, and must always depend, upon the wisdom and prudence, the energy and ability of the local authorities. Of these the Supreme Government of India is, as its name implies, the chief. It is a great central authority. By many experienced men it is questioned whether there is not too much of centralisation in India. The Supreme Government is composed of a Governor-General, appointed by the concurrent authorities of the Crown and the Company, and a certain number of Members of Council appointed by the Company. Previous to the year 1786, the governor-general had possessed no power independent of the Council. That is to say, he was simply President of the Council, with a casting-vote, when the members were equally divided. But as the number of councillors, exclusive of the governor-general, was four, this power was rarely exercised. At this time, no Indian experience—no qualification, indeed, of any kind was requisite to make a member of council. The Council with which Warren Hastings long sat to administer the affairs of the Indian Empire was composed of one civil servant of the Company, and three strangers sent out from England. It often happened, therefore, that the governor-general was outvoted in Council. The contention which was thus engendered obstructed the progress of administration, and it was felt that uninstructed soldiers or civilians, fresh from England, did not make the best Indian Councillors. A new Act was, therefore, passed by the

Legislature, reducing the number of Councillors to three, and determining that no one (the governor and commander-in-chief excepted) should be competent to sit in Council, until he had served twelve years in the civil service of the East India Company. The same Act empowered the governor-general and the minor governors to act, in certain cases, without the concurrence of their Council, declaring that the exercise of such power would tend "to the strength and security of the British possessions in India, and give vigour and dispatch to the measures and proceedings of the Executive Government." Under this Act, the Supreme Government of India, in effect, consisted of the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and two members of the Bengal Civil Service. This constitution was retained until the year 1834, when considerable changes were introduced. The Supreme Council was then made to consist of two members of the Bengal Civil Service, a military officer, selected from any one of the three Presidencies, and the commander-in-chief of the Indian army. In addition to these, a legislative member of council, selected from the legal profession at home, was also appointed. But he had properly no concern with the ordinary executive business of government, it being decreed that he was "not to be entitled to sit or vote in council, except in meetings thereof, for making laws and regulations." The constitution of the Supreme Council, as established in 1834, was not affected, except in its legislative capacity, by the subsequent Act, passed twenty years afterwards.

The Presidency of Bengal, which is the seat of the Supreme Government, now stretches from Orissa to the Punjaub. Though, in 1834, it extended no farther north than the banks of the Sutledge, it was rightly considered that the administrative duties of so vast a tract of country could not be adequately superintended by one man. It was proposed, therefore, to divide the Bengal Presidency into two, calling the northern portion of it the Presidency of Agra. For this, the India Bill of 1834 provided. It was originally intended that this new Presidency should have a council of its

own; but, on further reflection, it was considered sufficient to appoint a lieutenant-governor, with certain ministerial officers, the duties of the appointment being almost entirely of an administrative character, and within the ability of an able and energetic servant of the Company to perform. The change was attended with the most satisfactory results; so satisfactory, indeed, that no one doubted that if the remaining portion of the old Bengal Presidency were placed under a lieutenant-governor, with similar powers, so as to relieve the governor-general altogether from the details of local administration, whilst exercising a general superintendence and control over the political affairs of the great Empire, another step forward in the good government would be made. For this salutary change, the Act of 1854 has provided; and the old Bengal Presidency has now passed under the administration of two lieutenant-governors, able and experienced servants of the Company; the Supreme Government exercising over them, as over the Governors of Bengal and Madras, a general control. The lieutenant-governorship of the North-western Provinces, since its first institution, has been held by Sir Charles Metcalfe, by Mr. Alexander Ross, by Mr. T. C. Robertson, by Sir George Clerk, by Mr. Thomason (who, after holding the office for many years with great distinction, died at his post, shortly after his nomination to the government of Madras), and by Mr. J. R. Colvin. For the government of Bengal, the Company have been fortunate in the election of an officer peculiarly qualified for the duties devolving upon him. For some years, Mr. Halliday, a civilian of high character and uncommon ability, as Secretary to the Bengal Government had been little less than the Governor of the Lower Provinces of India. His nomination to the office, therefore, found him ripe for his work.

The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay have each a Governor and a Council of their own. The Council consists of two members of the Civil Service, with the local Commander-in-Chief, as an "extraordinary member." The governors and councillors are appointed in the same manner as are those of the chief Presi-

dency. The power of these local governments has been much limited by their subordination to the Supreme Government; and the necessity of frequent reference to the great central authority, especially in matters compelling an expenditure of the public money, is said to cramp their energies and to limit their utility. The armies of the different Presidencies are entirely distinct from each other—each being under its own commander-in-chief, and serving within its own local limits—except when the emergencies of the service call them together into the field beyond the limits of our own territories, as, for example, in Burmah or Afghanistan.

Under these several governments, the administrative business in the dominions of the East India Company is performed chiefly by the covenanted civil servants of the Company. Up to the year 1854, these civil servants were appointed by the Directors. The patronage was divided among the several members of the Court; and each individual appointment (civil or military) was in the gift of one particular Director. No patronage belonged to the Court collectively, and so long as the Director's nominee was of the required age, and was sufficiently endowed, mentally and financially, to pass through a certain course of study at the Company's college at Haileybury, there was nothing to restrict the selection of youths destined to become the judges and financiers and diplomatists of our Eastern Empire. The objections to such a system were rather apparent than real; that is to say, they were based rather upon certain presumed theoretical defects than upon any sufficient practical proofs of its evil operation. It was, however, denounced as a close system; its exclusiveness was said to be detrimental to the interests of the country. It was, indeed, a monopoly of patronage—as though patronage were not always a monopoly—and, therefore, to share the fate of all the other monopolies which had been wrenched from the Company's hands. The India Bill of 1853 proposed to strip the Directors of all their civil patronage, and to throw it open to public competition. There were not wanting able and experienced men, who contended that the change would be rather an innovation than a reforma-

tion; but the Company's Government was eminently unpopular, and the proposition was carried through Parliament. In what manner effect was to be given to the clause was not known, even by the framers of it; but a commission, of which Mr. Macaulay was a member, was subsequently appointed to mature a practicable system, under which all the civil appointments in the Company's service might be held up to public competition, and the best qualified candidates selected from among the crowd of competitors.

The principle is so excellent, that it is especially to be hoped that the practical operation of the new system may not disappoint public expectation. Looking back to the past results of the old *regime*, it is apparent that good government has not made such rapid strides in India as the philanthropist would desire. But it would be unjust to deny that there has been a steady progressive improvement; that the Company's servants have every year become more zealous and more efficient; and that under British rule, judged by every legitimate test, the prosperity of the country, and the happiness of the people, have been greatly augmented. Of some of the more remarkable improvements which have been carried into effect, or are in progress of execution, it will presently be our duty to speak. But something more may be said in this place about the chief agency of these improvements—the civil service of the Company, the old constitution of which is now becoming an historical fact.

That the time was when these servants of the Company—being partly traders, and partly administrators—by their unrestrained appetite for unhallowed gains, and the general lawlessness of their conduct, made for themselves unsavoury reputations, is not to be questioned. They went out to make rapid fortunes; and they made them. They were, with rare exceptions, unscrupulous, rapacious, corrupt. Their administrative powers, as superintendents of revenue-collection, or dispensers of justice—then, however, of comparatively limited extent—were often made subservient to personal objects, and prostituted to their cupidity. Little by little, this reproach of our administration was wiped

away; and every year has seen an improvement, both in the moral purity, and the intellectual efficiency of the men to whom the executive duties of the government have been intrusted. The civil servants of the East India Company have long forgotten that they were traders. They are now forbidden to trade—~~forbidden~~ to have pecuniary transactions of any kind with the natives of the country; and it is only by men, overpowered by a weight of ignorance and malignity, that the charge of corruption is now ever brought against them. But corruption is one thing, inefficiency is another; and, throughout the discussions of the year 1853, the inefficiency of the civil service was a common topic of discourse with the opponents of the East India Company.

The duties of the Company's Civil Service may be said to be threefold. There are Fiscal duties, Judicial duties, and Diplomatic duties. Under one or other of the two former heads a very large proportion of the covenanted civil servants may be said to range themselves. The collection of the revenue is a matter of greater importance, and demands the possession of higher administrative qualities, than may at first be apparent to those who square their notions of such matters by their knowledge of the duties and capabilities of an English tax-gatherer. The great bulk of the Indian revenue is derived from the land. The payment made to the state by the occupant, whether a large landholder, or a petty cultivator, is of the mixed character of rent and tax. The collector of the revenue so raised is not (to use the words of a recent writer, himself a member of the Company's civil service), "is not so much a receiver of taxes, as a representative of the great land-lord of the country. . . . The collector registers, in minute form, all the landed property of the district, and all the rights connected with it, and all transfers as they occur; he estimates the rent of the land, fixes the share thereof to be taken by government, and the share to be left to subordinate holders. When it is so fixed, he collects the revenue as it becomes due. If delay or remission is granted, it can only be through him. If there is failure of payment, he investigates

the cause; and, if there be no good excuse, he exercises the summary power of realising by distraint, imprisonment, and (under the orders of his superior) annulment of leases, or sale. He also receives and manages the miscellaneous revenue derived from several other sources. He has a large, summary jurisdiction in everything connected with the rent, and with the possession of landed property. He decides all suits by superior against inferior holders for the rent of the season; he hears complaints of the latter against the former regarding alleged exaction, and gives summary remedy for forcible dispossession of land. He manages the property of government."* This is something very different from mere tax-gathering. An Indian revenue-officer is invested, to a certain extent, in all cases, with the office of the judge; that is to say, he decides, in disputed cases, what is to be paid, as well as collects the payment. But beyond this, in some parts of India, the fiscal and magisterial duties are combined, so that an officer is at once in the titular and actual condition of collector and magistrate. No uniformity in this respect has yet been attained; and the advantages of the combination of the two offices, are at least open to discussion.

It has been often remarked, that the tendency of recent arrangements for the distribution of the administrative agencies of the Company, has been to elevate the revenue department of the public service at the expense of the judicial; and it is acknowledged, even by the defenders of the old system, that the judicial department is the weakest point of the Company's administration. Great efforts were made by Lord Cornwallis, at the close of the last century, to elevate the character of the Company's judges. The administration of justice had been considered as "a subordinate duty attached to the office of collector of the revenues." But he determined to "vest the collection of the revenues, and the administration of justice, in separate officers." The principal judgeships, he determined, should be the "first in importance in the Civil Service," and conferred only on men "distinguished for

their integrity, ability, and knowledge of the manners, customs, and languages of the natives; and their allowances should be proportionate to the greatness of their trust." But somehow or other, in process of time, under other governors, this wise system deteriorated, and the elevation of the judicial character, aimed at by Lord Cornwallis, was never effected. The judicial department has never been kept distinct from others, nor has any legal and judicial training been considered necessary to qualify a Company's servant to sit on the Bench. Men have sometimes made choice of a particular line of the public service, and, as far as circumstances and the will of their masters have admitted of the adhesion, have adhered to it with some steadfastness. But the general rule is to pass from one line of the public service to another, as appointments fall vacant; so that, when a public functionary has been serving for some time with credit in one department, and has earned promotion by his zeal and assiduity, he is, not improbably, sent to another part of the country to serve in a different department; and he has, perhaps, all his local and functional experience to acquire anew.

The machinery of judicial administration varies in different presidencies of India, so that it is difficult to give an exact description of it that will suit all parts of the country. But the following account may be accepted as of sufficiently wide application to represent the general system. The principal civil business is entrusted to certain native judges. In almost all cases the first appeal is to them. The increase, both in the number and the importance of these native judgeships, is one of the greatest administrative improvements of modern times. The native judges are of different grades. The judicial officer of the lowest grade is called a "Moonsiff." He is empowered to adjudicate suits involving questions of money not exceeding £30. From among these the next higher grade of judges are chosen. They are called "Sudder Aumeens," and their jurisdiction extends to suits of £100. From these, again, the highest class of native judges, called "Principal Suddur Aumeens," are chosen. The

jurisdiction of these last is unlimited; but, in all cases, there is a right of appeal to the higher functionaries; and in the last, where suits extending to more than £500 are concerned, the appeal is to the Suddur Court, or chief judicial tribunal at the capital. By these native judges almost all original suits are decided. It has been stated by a recent writer, on the authority of official statistics, that in the north-west provinces of India, in the year 1840, only 20 original suits were decided by European officers, whilst nearly 45,000 were decided by native judges.

Thus the European judges became, almost exclusively, judges of appeal. The system is one of native agency, with European supervision. The English "Zillah Judge," only in very special cases, exercises original jurisdiction. He sits mostly as a judge of appeal. In cases involving a larger amount than £500, an appeal lies from him to the Suddur or chief court, at the capital. This is at once a supreme civil and criminal tribunal. "There are," says Mr. Campbell, "at present, (1852), five judges in the court at Calcutta, and three at Agra; at Madras, one member of Council is president, and there are three ordinary judges; at Bombay, one member of Council is president, and there are four judges." These judgeships are appointments of great importance, with high salaries attached to them, and they are generally conferred on some of the ablest men in the service. From these Sudder Courts, again, there is an appeal to the Privy Council; but as such appeals involve much expense, and much delay, they are necessarily few.

We have hitherto spoken only of civil justice. The criminal justice of the country is more in the hands of European officers. A class of functionaries, called "Deputy-Magistrates," has been recently established, and natives of India find entrance into it. But the business, generally, is conducted by European magistrates and judges. The magistrate either exercises summary jurisdiction, in cases sent before him by the police, or he commits the prisoner to be tried by the Sessions' judge, according to the nature and extent of the offence. Much depends, therefore, upon the

character of these Sessions' judges. The due administration of justice is not easy, in any part of the world. In India, it is especially difficult. The proceedings before the English judge are carried on in a foreign language; and he has to fathom such depths of perjury, as in this country, are wholly unknown. In India, almost any amount of false-swearing may be obtained for a few shillings—almost, it might be said, for a few pence—so that a judge has not only to decide according to the evidence before him, but according to what appears to be the balance of credibility, where different parties swear to totally opposite facts, and in all probability, both are lying. To do this satisfactorily, it is necessary that the judge should possess a distinct knowledge of the language, a clear insight into native character, and a good perception of all those local and incidental circumstances, which may throw a side-light upon the case adjudicated. He ought, too, to be experienced in the work of judicial investigation—to possess a mind habituated to the weighing of evidence—and an energy, which neither the distressing effects of the climate, nor the weariness of business without interest, can overcome or reduce. But it is not always that the Sessions' judges are selected for these qualifications. "Some judges," says an able member of the Company's civil service, who is not likely to over-state the case as against his own class, "are old and nervous; some are old, disappointed and capitious; and cases are brought before them under the most unfavourable circumstances. Some weigh straws, and unable to make up their minds, think acquittal the safest course; some considering themselves charged with the interests of the prisoner, as opposed to the magistrate, seek for every argument for acquittal, substantial, or technical; and none have any direct interest in the success or failure of the executive administration. Indeed, with Indian police, Indian witnesses, Indian contradictions, and clever Indian criminals, and cut off as the judge completely is from many of the best means of discovering the truth, it requires great nerve and great confidence in the proceedings of the magistrate to convict, unless the evidence is more overwhelming than can be

generally obtained." The tendency, indeed, is rather to the acquittal of the guilty, than the punishment of the innocent. It has sometimes happened, that for want of legal and technical evidence, notorious offenders, as *Thugs* and *Dakoits* (professional murderers and gang-robbers), have been acquitted, upon the evidence of members of their own fraternity, who have personated priests, bankers, or other respectable witnesses, and sworn an *alibi* in favour of their comrades. Instances, on the other hand, of excessive or inconsistent punishments awarded in the Company's criminal courts, might be adduced; but there are few judicial tribunals, against which, some such charges might not be brought. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that this department of the Company's executive government is more deficient than any other. We shall speak presently of measures, which is supposed, will have the effect of improving the system.

The third and last of the three great classes into which the civil functionaries in the Company's service are divided, is the political or diplomatic. The ablest, the most energetic, and the most ambitious members of the service, have generally attached themselves to this line. The diplomatic appointments, however, have not been conferred solely upon the civil servants of the Company. Distinguished military officers have also enjoyed their share of them. The names of Kirkpatrick, Close, Sydenham, Ochterlony, Malcolm, &c.; and in more recent times, of Low, Stewart, Fraser, Sutherland, Lawrence, Outram, and others, indicate a large participation by the military service in the highest diplomatic appointments. The situations of which we now speak, are, for the most part, those of Residents or Agents at the courts of the native princes of India, who hold their principalities under sufferance of the paramount power. As the real independence, and the political importance of these native princes gradually dwindled down, the responsibility of the British envoys gradually diminished, and their functions became rather administrative than diplomatic. The progress of events on the great continent of India has tended to the concentration of all real power in the British Government; the

sovereignty of the native princes, whose territory we have not actually absorbed, is at best only a shadow. As the external influence of these states has decreased, the representative of the British government has concerned himself more in affairs of internal administration. The principle of our connexion with these states, as regards their domestic government, is that we should exercise a salutary influence, but should not attempt to control their affairs. The post is one that requires great judgment and great tact;—readiness of resource, sometimes vigour of execution, and always a thorough acquaintance with the manners, the institutions, and the languages of the people. In these posts, the civil servants of the Company have often exhibited consummate address. Mr. Mounstuart Elphinstone at Poonah; Sir Richard Jenkins at Nagpore; Sir Charles Metcalfe at Delhi and Hyderabad; Sir George Clerk in the Punjaub, and others, whom it would be easy to name, have exhibited diplomatic and administrative powers of the highest character, and have gathered around their names imperishable historic associations.

But it is not upon the individual reputation of a few men—men who would have distinguished themselves in any position—that the high character of a service is to be founded. It might be said that these men have become great, not by reason of, but in spite of, a bad system. Such men, however, as Metcalfe and Elphinstone, though brilliant exceptions, are exceptions only as to degree. The civil servants of the Company are, as a whole, a body of men unsurpassed in ability and integrity by any similar body of men in the world. The very circumstances of their position, often thrown as they are on their own resources, when little more than boys, have an unfailing tendency to develop their early powers, and give a certain readiness and robustness to their minds. When no more than twenty-three years of age, Charles Metcalfe found himself alone in the camp of Runjeet Singh—at once the most astute and the most unscrupulous of Eastern potentates—charged with a mission of the highest importance, at a time when the invasion of India by the confederate armies of Napoleon Buona-

parts and the Emperor Alexander was considered an event of probable contingency. Men thus thrown, in very early life, on their own resources, acquire a confidence in themselves, and a readiness of execution, not to be acquired by any other kind of training. All the previous study in the world—the highest degree of forcing that can be obtained in the colleges of the West—will not fit men to play their part, with success, in the strenuous realities of Anglo-Indian administration.

It would, however, appear probable that the system of preparatory training in England might be rendered of a somewhat more practical and serviceable kind. The intent of the Legislature in throwing open, under the Act of 1853, the service to public competition, seems also to have embraced an improvement in the education of those destined to take their place in the rank of Indian administrators. Hitherto it would appear that too much time has been devoted to the study of the classical languages, and too little to that of law and political economy. Perhaps, too, the Oriental languages, in which few acquire any real proficiency in this country, have occupied too large a space in the curriculum of Haileybury education. In the scheme of education propounded by Mr. Macaulay and his colleagues, general literature, history, mathematics, and law, are more considered than under the old system. On the whole, there is little to be said against the new educational course, judged simply on its own merits. The best training, however, as we have said, is that which men make for themselves on the spot; and book-learning of any kind may be acquired at too heavy a cost, when excessive study weakens the energies, and undermines the health of the student.

The admitted want being a want of that kind of training which fits men to do their duty efficiently as magistrates, it might seem easy to supply a remedy. But nothing, indeed, is more difficult. It would be hard to say what a youth is to acquire from books in England that will greatly assist him in the work of preparation for the Indian Bench. The study of English law, unless very cautiously pursued—pursued with a due understanding of the

manner in which it may be turned to account—will only confuse and bewilder, and land a man on the borders of the service with more to unlearn than to learn—with a mind rather warped by prejudice than expanded by available knowledge. In this respect it may be doubted whether the change which has allowed a larger margin of *age* to the candidate for employment in the Indian civil service will be beneficial to any one beyond the individual himself who profits by it. To the student of Indian history it is no new fact that the most distinguished members of the two services went out to India as boys, and were actively employed in important and responsible situations at a time of life which, under the new system, will see our future Indian judges and diplomatists cramming at the universities, or unfitting themselves for the isolation of life in India, by a foretaste of the social amenities of the salons of an European capital. Men who leave home earliest take the firmest root in India, and are most likely to render the country emphatically one “of their adoption.”

Whilst these changes are being introduced into the civil service of India, the military service remains unchanged. It was a part of the original scheme for the better government of India, under the act of 1853, to throw open the scientific branches of the Company's army to public competition. But it was felt, both in and out of Parliament, that as the Company's engineer and artillery regiments were surpassed by none in the world, any interference with the existing system was uncalled-for, and more likely to prove injurious than beneficial to the public interests. The proposed innovation, therefore, was abandoned; and the initiatory power of appointment to all branches of the service left, as before, in the hands of the Directors.

The army of the East India Company is divided into three large establishments under the governments of the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Slowly expanding, under the force of necessity, it has grown, from a paltry garrison of a few Portuguese soldiers and sailors, into an immense force of all arms, admirably officered, disciplined, and equipped. The great bulk

of this army consists of sepoy, or soldiers recruited from among the people of the country, Mohammedans and Hindoos of different castes. These regiments of sepoy are doubly officered—officerd by men selected from their own ranks, and by Europeans appointed by the Company, the latter holding the superior commands, and having the actual control of the battalions. The sepoy are loyal, tractable, patient under hardship, and brave in action when led by officers in whom they rely. They are well paid and well pensioned, and are true to their salt. They have abundant confidence in the good faith of their employers, without caring to inquire into the nature of the government by which they are so punctually paid. It may be doubted whether any change in their masters would not have the effect of disturbing this confidence, which lies at the very root of the fidelity by which alone we are able to maintain our position in the country.

The officers of the Company's army, whether attached to native or to European regiments, rise by seniority in their respective branches of the service, and up to a certain rank in their respective regiments. There is no promotion by purchase, or by favour, or in reward of services—except, in the last case, promotion by brevet. But, of the 5000 officers of the Company's army, a thousand are always absent from their regiments on staff-employ. These staff situations are various. Some are military, some diplomatic, some administrative. Commands of irregular corps, commissariat appointments, offices at native courts, commissionerships in newly-acquired tracts of country, situations in the department of public works (surveyorships included), with many others that might be named, are all objects of ambition, and all detach officers from their corps. In the more recently acquired territories, as in Arracan, Scinde, the Punjaub, Pegu, &c., a large proportion of the business of civil administration is entrusted to military officers; and no doubt can exist that in these provinces it has ever been most efficiently performed.

Under this mixed agency the administration has been carried on with increasingly good results. At first the English in India

were mere merchants. Subsequently they became half-merchants and half-soldiers. They are now soldiers and administrators; and every new year, it is hoped, will witness the absorption of the former character by the latter. To prophesy that we have reached the limit of our conquests would be unwise; but it is certain that we have never before been impressed with so strong a sense of the necessity of devoting all our national energies to the great work of ameliorating the condition of the people, by a benevolent and judicious system of internal administration. What we have already accomplished merits the approbation of the philanthropist. Much, under our rule, has been done to mitigate the evils directly or indirectly resulting from the cruel and degrading superstitions of a false and barbarous religion. Education, under British superintendence, has made great, and is now making still greater, strides. The English in India are manfully exerting themselves to diffuse among their dusky brethren the enlightenment of the Western world. When it is considered over how large an area their educational efforts must be spread, and into what deep recesses they must penetrate—with what a mass of prejudice and selfishness they have to contend—what vested interests in darkness and ignorance are to be encountered—and how much has to be unlearnt before anything can be learnt—how the people are fenced in by social institutions which render what is neighbourly kindness in the West only insult and outrage in the East—it will readily be understood that such efforts, however well directed and however zealously pursued, must be slow in their operation. The masses of the people are still ignorant—still sunk in degraded superstition; but not hopelessly sunk. Every year adds largely to the number of the enlightened; and every enlightened Hindoo or Mohammedan is more or less an apostle of education. From the great towns, in which public authority or private enterprise has reared colleges and schools, the light of knowledge is gradually radiating into remote districts. Nor is it only in the great towns that the schoolmaster pursues his calling under the fostering encouragement of the European ruler. The village schools are

increasing in number and efficiency; and every year sees not only a vast increase in the number of scholars, but a still more striking improvement in the character of the instruction which is afforded to them.

It is not permitted to us to enter into details; but it may be briefly noted, before we pass on to glance at other ameliorative efforts, that the year 1854 was distinguished by a great educational movement, from which the happiest results are expected to flow, when the system then initiated is more fully developed. Up to this time there had been in our educational efforts something desultory and incoherent. But the great measure of 1854 was one of organization and combination. The educational became an integral department of government under a responsible minister. The administrative agency was at once elevated and extended. For the first time there was an open and authoritative recognition of the efforts of missionary and other private bodies. Grants in aid were offered to all without reference to the peculiar tenets of the presiding authorities. And orders went forth for the institution of universities, which were to confer degrees upon their *alumni*. In all this there is good hope of progress; and there is little doubt that the hope will be fulfilled.

All other remedies for the evils, under which India has so long suffered, are merely secondary and subordinate to this—applied to certain obtrusive symptoms rather than to the seat of the disease. But they have, nevertheless, been productive of much benefit to the people, and are sufficient in themselves to show that we have not wholly neglected our duties as civilized and Christian men. If the English in India have done nothing else for the country over which they have been mysteriously ordained to rule, they have caused Suttee (or widow-burning)—Thuggee (or systematic gang-murder)—and the wholesale destruction of female infants, to cease from off the face of the land. The burning of widows was declared illegal in the Company's territories during the government of Lord William Bentinck; and since that period great efforts have been made to bring about the abolition of this bar-

barous rite in the states subject to the native princes. Under a system, distinguished as much by its wisdom and humanity, as by its energy and vigour, Thuggee was almost wholly suppressed during the administration of Lord Auckland. All the mysteries of the murderous profession being thoroughly mastered by our British officers, the gangs were hunted down and broken up; and the children of the murderers, who would have followed the same terrible calling, were trained to peaceful pursuits. But even more difficult than the suppression of these enormities has been the extinction of Female Infanticide. The magnitude of the evil was increased by the darkness in which it was enveloped. The social exclusiveness of the people rendered the crime, however palpable the gross results, difficult of proof in individual cases. But by a variety of well-considered measures—by the institution of a census, the establishment of a wise system of rewards and punishments—by the discouragement of those costly marriage-ceremonies which lay at the root of the evil—and by the extraordinary energy and activity of some of the officers of Government, this atrocity has been greatly diminished, and in some places wholly suppressed. Among those who have been foremost in the good work of striking down the three monster-evils of which we have spoken, we may make honourable mention of Colonel Sleeman, Colonel Ludlow, Mr. Willoughby, Colonel Melvill, Mr. Raikes, and Sir Henry Lawrence.

The highest honour is reflected by these measures upon all who were concerned in giving them effect. Nor less worthy of honourable mention are the successful efforts which have been made to civilize savage tribes, and to introduce order, security, and good government into tracts of country previously ravaged by the depredational excesses of a lawless people, following no other calling but that of habitual rapine, and perhaps given up to the most horrible superstitions. It would be difficult to over-value the services, in the great cause of humanity, rendered by such men as Ovens and Outram, in the Bheel country of Kandeish; by Hall and Dixon, in Mhairwarah; and by Macpherson, among the

Khonds of Orissa, a people given up to the inconceivable barbarism of offering up human sacrifices to one of their false gods.

But it is not by these moral agencies alone that we have endeavoured to regenerate the natives of India. India is indebted to her European conquerors for many great material works, tending to develop the resources of the country and to enrich the people. That they have risen slowly—that time was when the English in India were taunted, without any stretch of exaggeration, with having stamped upon the face of the country no memorials of their presence—is not to be denied. But, in this respect, recent years have witnessed a great revolution. More *might* have been done; but still much *has* been done. The canals of irrigation, which do so much to fertilize the north-western provinces of India, are in themselves imperishable monuments of the greatness of the English people. The Great Ganges Canal is one of the noblest works which the world has ever seen. The vast problem of railway communication in India has been solved. In spite of the doubts, and, in some instances, the sneers of the experienced, the railway in India has already become a great success. The prejudiced native has gratefully accepted the boon. The “lightning-post,” as the people felicitously call it in their own language, is regarded as a blessing, which every man desires to see extended in his own direction. Temporary inconvenience may be created in some quarters by the diversion of the stream of commerce into new or more exclusive channels; but the balance will soon be readjusted, and an impulse given to the general trade of the country of the healthiest and most enduring kind.

With the prospect of continued peace, with the energies both of governing bodies and of individuals now straining in the right direction, with an enlarged national sense of the duties of the mother country towards her great Eastern dependency, there is hopeful assurance of a future for India far brighter than anything which the retrospect yields in the most prosperous epochs of her past. But much remains yet to be done for the people; and it is only by unintermittent zeal in behalf of the subject millions, and

by sustained efforts wisely directed towards the public good, that we can satisfactorily solve the great problem of government which has been laid before us. There is a tendency towards a fitful spasmodic kind of well-doing against which it were to be desired that the rulers of India should guard themselves. The stimulus to exertion ought not to reside in any accidental or transient circumstance—in the fleeting attention of Parliament, the casual interest of the public, the activity of a reform society, or the hostility of disappointed individuals. It is only by continually striving, as though every year were the last of an expiring charter, and every day the eve of a great Parliamentary conflict, that we can prove ourselves worthy of the great charge entrusted to us, and justify the ways of God to man in the foundation of the British Indian empire.

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