

led to expect, was curtly denied him: and as the presidency of Agra had been reduced, by an arrangement made in England, to a lieutenant-governorship, Sir Charles Metcalfe retired from India in 1836, after an unbroken residence there of thirty-six years. 'No man,' writes Mr. Kaye, his biographer, 'ever left India carrying with him so many lively regrets, and so many cordial good wishes from all classes of the community.' The remainder of his official life was passed in the employment of the Crown, and in the administration, successively, of Jamaica and Canada; and he received the highest distinction that could be conferred upon him, in being raised to the peerage; but his connection with the company was never renewed, nor was any recognition made by the court of the faithful services of one of their most useful and most distinguished servants.

He retires from India.

and enters the service of the Crown.

He is raised to the peerage.

In succession to Lord William Bentinck, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone was offered the post of governor-general; but he declined the honour, in consideration of the state of his health, and Lord Heytesbury was appointed. In consequence of a change of ministry, however, this nomination was cancelled, and Lord Auckland dispatched to India, who reached Calcutta on March 3, 1836. One of the first Acts passed by him, on May 9, provided that no person was to be considered exempt in civil suits from the jurisdiction of the native judges who had been established. This regulation, which affected Europeans, who had hitherto held the privilege of appeal to the supreme court, was vehemently opposed in India, and became the subject of much acrimonious discussion, under the appellation of the 'Black Act.' The question was transferred to England, and debated in Parliament, on a motion by Mr. Ward; but it was defeated, and the Act confirmed.

Lord Auckland becomes governor-general.

The 'Black Act.'

The first political question which Lord Auckland had to decide, was the succession to the throne of Oudh. The king, Nasir-ood-deen Hyder, died on July 7, 1837: he left no issue, and having been an only son, the right of succession was not a little involved. Saadut Ally, the grandfather of the late king, had had ten sons; and the two elder being dead, the third, Nasir-ood-Dowlah, became heir according to Mahomedan law. It was asserted, however, by the chief Bégum, widow of the deceased, that her husband had adopted two boys during his life, one of whom had now become heir; and the queen-mother, as she may be styled, took measures to procure his succession by force of arms. Her retainers suddenly took posses-

Succession to the throne of Oudh.

Variety of claims.

sion of the palace by forcible entry, and were followed by the Bégum, with her protégé, Moona Ján, and she immediately proclaimed the boy king and installed him. Colonel Low, who had reached the palace, protested against the act, and escaped with some difficulty; but the king to be, Nasir-ood-Dowlah, remained her prisoner. Colonel Low gave no time for the insurrection to gain head. Having summoned the queen-mother, he allowed her a quarter of an hour for a reply, at the end of which, as she was still defiant, the palace-gate was blown open by a gun, and the courtyard cleared of her adherents, with some loss to them, while the Bégum and Moona Ján were taken prisoners. Nasir-ood-Dowlah was then brought out of his apartments, and enthroned by Colonel Low, who placed the crown on the king's head with his own hands.

Colonel Low's
decided
conduct.

Nasir-ood-
Dowlah en-
throned and
crowned.

On the announcement that the right of succession had fallen on him, Nasir-ood-Dowlah had been required by Colonel Low to execute a paper, by which he agreed to sign 'any new treaty that the governor-general may dictate.' Colonel Low's spirited conduct throughout the disturbance received the governor-general's 'high approbation,' but of the agreement he was not so certain. He 'would have been better pleased,' he wrote, 'if Colonel Low had not accepted the unconditional engagement of submissiveness which the new king has signed. . . . the expediency of obtaining from His Majesty the signature of a previous agreement is the only point on which he feels that difference of opinion may be entertained.' And in reference to the Oudh question at large, the whole of Lord Auckland's minute deserves perusal. Two other claimants to the throne subsequently appeared, and petitioned the Indian Government and the Court of Directors on the subject of succession; but the original decision was maintained.

Lord Auckland's minute
on Oudh.

It will be remembered that, in the year 1819, the descendant of Sivajee, rescued from the imprisonment in which he and his family had been kept by the Peshwah, had been presented with the territory of his ancestor, and with Sattara as its capital. Here he had continued to reign, at first in an unobtrusive manner; but latterly, many acts of intrigue were brought home to him: attempts to tamper with the fidelity of native soldiers of the Bombay army were detected: and it was evident that the naturally weak mind of the rajah was being inflated by adventurers of all descriptions. He was warned on several occasions, in a kindly and friendly spirit, but in vain; and on September 5, 1839, he was finally deposed, under a proclamation by the governor-general, and his brother received

Case of the
Rajah of
Sattara.

He is
deposed.

investiture as rajah in his room—but with no modification of the original treaty—and the ex-rajah was sent to reside at Benares. The folly and presumption of his conduct, the schemes by which he proposed to re-establish the Mahratta power, are unparalleled in the histories of such efforts in India, and are only accountable by the weakness of his own intellect and the unceasing intrigues of the unscrupulous Brahmins and women by whom he was surrounded and influenced.

Stern and more extensive subjects than the insurrection at Lukhnow or the affairs of Sattara were now to occupy

Lord Auckland's attention. Runjeet Singh had become involved in a war with Dost Mahomed, ruler of Af-

War between the Sikhs and Afghans.

ghanistan. While Shah Soojah was occupied in an attempt to regain his dominions, Runjeet Singh had crossed the Indus, in 1835, and occupied the province of Pesháwur, up to the mouth of the Khyber pass; and about the same time he had assembled an army on the northern frontier of Sindé, with the view of attacking the Ameers, who, in nowise dismayed, prepared to meet the Sikhs. This quarrel was arranged by Colonel Pottinger, the political agent in Sindé; but that with the Afghans proceeded. Dost Mahomed, hoping to recover Pesháwur, caused a holy war to be preached against the Sikhs, and a large force descending the passes, appeared before Pesháwur. The agents of Runjeet Singh had, however, been at work, and on the desertion of Sooltan Mahomed from his brother, the whole Afghan army broke up and dispersed. Dost Mahomed now addressed himself to the governor-

general, who replied that he would send an officer 'to discuss questions of commerce,' but he declined any interference with the affairs of the Punjáb. Left to

Dost Mahomed applies to the governor general.

his own resources, Dost Mahomed assembled another army, and sent it against Pesháwur, under his son, Akbur Khan, by whom, on April 30, 1837, the Sikh forces were completely defeated near Jumrood, at the entrance to the Khyber. The victory, however, was of little use, for Runjeet Singh sent heavy reinforcements to his army, and the Afghans were again driven into the passes. At that time, Lord Auckland's envoy, Lieutenant Burnes, had reached Kabool, and his proceedings there must be briefly reviewed, as they formed the basis of the Afghan war.

Burnes at Kabool.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD AUCKLAND—THE AFGHAN WAR,
1837 to 1839.

In September 1837, Lieutenant Alexander Burnes reached Kabool as envoy from Lord Auckland to Dost Mahomed. The governor-general had not delayed the fulfilment of his promise to send an officer to discuss questions of commerce. After his mission to Runjeet Singh, in 1831, Lieutenant Burnes had proceeded to Kabool, where he was hospitably entertained by Dost Mahomed, and thence travelled into Central Asia, as far as Bokhára, returning to Bombay by way of Persia; and his book of travels, soon afterwards published, is full of information in regard to countries then imperfectly known in England. No one better fitted for the deputation to Dost Mahomed could, therefore, have been found; for Lieutenant Burnes's acquaintance with the languages and the people of Central Asia and Persia was then unrivalled. He was received hospitably by the Ameer, with every demonstration of welcome, and a commercial treaty was duly discussed; but it was evident from the first that this was a very secondary object in the Ameer's mind. He was chafing under the loss of Pesháwur; and his whole endeavours were applied to regain it. The governor-general had certainly given him no room to hope for assistance; but, as communications among Eastern potentates usually represent one thing, and mean quite another, the Ameer perhaps concluded that Burnes's mission, openly in regard to trade, meant, in reality, the discussion of the politics of Afghanistan and the Punjáb. He had also discovered that a morbid dread of Russian influence existed in India; and he knew that the people, credulous and ignorant, had already become impressed with the possibility of Russian interference. Dost Mahomed, therefore, contrived to fill Burnes's mind with apprehension of Russian intrigue, which was confirmed by news from Persia; and on December 19, 1837, Captain Vicovich, an aide-de-camp of the Russian consul-general at Orenburgh, arrived at Kabool, with a letter from Count Simonich, the Russian ambassador at Tehran.

Burnes's
mission to
Dost Ma-
homed.

Dost Ma-
homed's
opinions.

Arrival of
Captain
Vicovich.

Burnes's
opinion of
the mission.

There was nothing definite in the letter; but the expressions, 'trust him with your secrets,' and 'I beg you will look upon him as myself, and take his words as if from me,' might mean a great deal. If Burnes had considered for

a moment the impossibility of any sudden advance by Russia, or the equal impossibility of any real impression by Persia on the Afghans, in furtherance of Russian designs, he would not have written as he did to Lord Auckland, that 'much more rigorous proceedings than Government might wish or contemplate are necessary to counteract Russian or Persian intrigue in this quarter than have yet been exhibited.' When an explanation was sought by the British Government, Captain Vicovich's proceedings were entirely disowned by Count Nesselrode; but meanwhile, Vicovich had been the means of bringing the affairs of Burnes's mission to a crisis. Dost Mahomed would have infinitely preferred an alliance with the English; but the envoy's instructions left no loophole for a political treaty, and in proportion as the truth became more and more evident, the encouragement of Vicovich became the more impressive. Lord Auckland's letters to Dost Mahomed were also, unhappily, of a curt and dictatorial nature; for they not only held out no hope of friendly intervention between him and Runjeet Singh, but bade him dismiss Vicovich and the Russians, and allow matters with the Sikhs to remain as they were. At this crisis, too, Dost Mahomed was labouring under the pressure of other perplexities. The chiefs of Kandahar, his brothers, had, under Russian influence, thrown themselves into alliance with Persia; and the King of Persia, assisted by Russian money, Russian officers, and the presence of Count Simonich himself, had laid siege to Herát. By what means that important place was defended by a young English artillery officer, Edward Pottinger, who was travelling in Central Asia, and was at Herát when it was invested, forms one of the most interesting episodes of the period. The Persians were ultimately obliged to raise the siege, in 1838, and retire; but the complicity of the Russians was too public to escape animadversion, and, added to the apprehension which Burnes's dispatches had produced, no doubt excited much uneasiness in India, as well to the Government as among the people.

Lord Auckland considered one of three courses must be followed. First, strict adherence to the line of the Indus; to assist Dost Mahomed; or to re-establish Shah Soojah, the ex-king, in Kabool, assisted by men and money. He unhappily decided on the latter course. To assist Dost Mahomed and his brothers at Kandahar would at once provoke the enmity of Runjeet Singh, and the only safe and consistent course—to guard the Indus, and abandon Central Asian politics and intrigues—was thrown aside. Accordingly, Mr. Macnaghten, then secretary to Government, was dispatched to Runjeet Singh; and after detailing the views of the governor-

Lord Auckland's letters.

Persian intrigues.

Defence of Herát.

Lord Auckland's opinion.

Mr. Macnaghten's negotiations.

general, succeeded in negotiating a tripartite treaty between the British, the Sikhs, and Shah Soojah, the ex-king of Afghanistan, who, for many years a fugitive from his country, had resided at Loodhiana on a pension granted him by the Government of India.

Execution of
the tripartite
treaty.

In Kabool, Dost Mahomed had continued to hope to the last. On April 23, 1838, he frankly informed Burnes that, as he had now no expectation from the British Government, the necessities of the country required that he should seek for assistance elsewhere—a conclusion not surprising, when the Persians, assisted by the Russians, were, it was considered, on the point of taking Herát—when his brothers of Kandahar had already joined the Persians—and when the needlessly supercilious letter of Lord Auckland contained expressions which not only forbade hope, but were offensive enough to provoke retaliation. His last letter to Burnes, however, is calm, truthful, and friendly in spirit, and its conclusion runs as follows:—‘I expected very much from your Government, and hoped for the protection and enlargement of Afghanistan. Now I am disappointed, which I attribute, not to the ill-favour of the English, but to my own bad fortune.’ Lieutenant Burnes left Kabool on April 26, on his return to India, and for the present, his diplomatic opponent, Vicovich, remained there, triumphant.

Its effect
upon Dost
Mahomed.

To strengthen Mr. McNeill's position with the Persian Court, Lord Auckland directed the Bombay Government to dispatch a small expedition to Karrack, an island in the Persian Gulf: which, consisting of 400 men, arrived there on June 19, 1838; but as no war had been declared against Persia, no notice beyond a complimentary offer of the place was taken of the movement by the Persian court. It was, nevertheless,

Expedition
from Bombay
to Karrack.

less, the means of procuring the execution of a paper of several important clauses by the king; one of which guaranteed Herát from any future molestation by Persia. The whole of these entangled affairs might very well have rested here. Herát was saved and made safe for the future; the Russian instigations of Persia had failed of effect. Dost Mahomed could not but see that, apart from Persia, the Russian promises meant nothing, and the interposition of good offices between him and Runjeet Singh would, there is little doubt, have been accepted by both. The governor-general, and his secretaries—for there is no question now, that they had far more to do with the succeeding measures than he had—were, however, determined to carry out their original plan: to displace Dost Mahomed, and to replace him by Shah Soojah; and on October 1, 1838, the celebrated manifesto was issued at Simlah, which explained the grounds of

Its effect in
Persia.

The Simlah
manifesto.

procedure on the part of the Government of India in a distinct and authoritative manner.

It is a recapitulation of all the previous events; but it is as weak in argument as untrue in the assumptions it indulged in; unfair to Dost Mahomed, unjust to the people of Afghanistan, in forcing upon them an unpopular monarch already expelled from his throne, and whose repeated attempts to regain it had been resented and defeated; and in respect to the object of the expedition, altogether as delusive as it was dangerous and inexpedient. It is unfair, however, to throw the whole obloquy of the measure on Lord Auckland. Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, openly declared in the House of Commons, that he had authorised, perhaps directed, the interference; but as his dispatch has never become public, it is impossible to state how far its provisions agreed with the manifesto drawn up by the Indian secretaries. With the exception of Sir John Hobhouse, however, every Indian statesman of consideration disapproved of the war in the strongest terms, and between Lord William Bentinck, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wellesley, and the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, there was no difference of opinion—which, indeed, was shared by all reflective men in England and in India. But the die was cast: and towards the close of November 1838, one of the best equipped armies that India had ever furnished assembled at Ferozepoor, and on December 10 commenced its march, under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton—Sir Henry Fane the commander-in-chief, remaining in India. Lord Auckland and Runjeet Singh met at Ferozepoor, where the army was inspected, and an interchange of magnificent hospitalities took place; but the ceremonies did not pass over without an occurrence which was accepted by the Sikhs as a disastrous omen. In proceeding to inspect two highly-finished guns, which were part of the presents to be made to him, Runjeet Singh stumbled, and fell flat on his face before them. He was not injured, but the omen was not the less considered evil.

Before the final departure of the troops, news of the abandonment of the siege of Herát, and the collapse of the Russo-Persian intrigue, had been received. It afforded an opportunity for the reversement of the whole policy of the movement, which ought not to have been neglected; but the actors in the great drama were too far compromised by the manifesto to recede, and after retaining a portion of the army, the rest proceeded to Dádur, on the northern frontier of Sindé, to form a

Its character.

Sir John Hobhouse's policy.

Opinions of Indian statesmen.

An Indian army marches for Afghanistan.

The Bengal force waits in Sindé.

junction with the Bombay force of 5,000 men advancing from Bombay by way of Sindé, under Sir John Keane.

When the Bombay army landed at Vikhur, on the south coast of Sindé, there seemed every probability of its having to fight its way through the country. As long as the fate of Herát was doubtful, the Ameers, it was alleged, had intrigued deeply with Persia. Persian envoys had been re-

ceived at their capital, and the British agent, Captain Eastwick, had been insulted, and even threatened with assassination. The Ameers had most reluctantly submitted to the treaty of 1832, which precluded that military stores or troops should pass along the line of the Indus, by land or by water; but they were now informed by the governor-general, that in the present emergency, the provisions of this article must be suspended. Before two British armies, one on the north and one on the south, the Ameers were, however, perfectly helpless. They were obliged to pay a proportion of arrears of tribute, which had not been demanded for thirty years,

and for which they held Shah Soojah's solemn acquittance, in consideration of a sum of three lacs of rupees, paid to him in 1833; and on the arrival of Sir

John Keane's force at Hyderabad, they executed a subsidiary treaty, on February 5, 1839, which had already been prepared, binding them to pay three lacs a year for the support of troops to be stationed in Sindé. It was their only alternative, as Colonel Pottinger informed them, against complete subjection, if not annihilation; and the important fort of Bakkur was obtained from the Ameers of Northern Sindé by Sir Alexander Burnes under similar intimidation. There was no doubt, as Lord Auckland wrote to the Secret Committee, that 'our political and military ascendancy in that country (Sindé) is now finally declared and confirmed;' but the means employed, and in particular the exaction of the obsolete tribute from the Ameers, and the imposition of a subsidiary treaty, have left these transactions under a stigma which they will never recover.

The Bengal and Bombay armies, now united under the command of Sir John Keane, advanced from Sindé into Afghanistan, by the Bolán and Khójuk passes—tremendous narrow defiles between precipices several thousands of feet high. At Quettah, between the Bolán and Khojuk passes, the army halted for a few days, already much straitened for want of provisions; and on the 25th of the same month, Shah Soojah, at the head of his own troops, entered Kandahar without opposition, where, on the arrival of the rest of the army, he was formally enthroned on May 8, 1839.

Movements
of the
Bombay
force.

Conduct of
the Ameers.

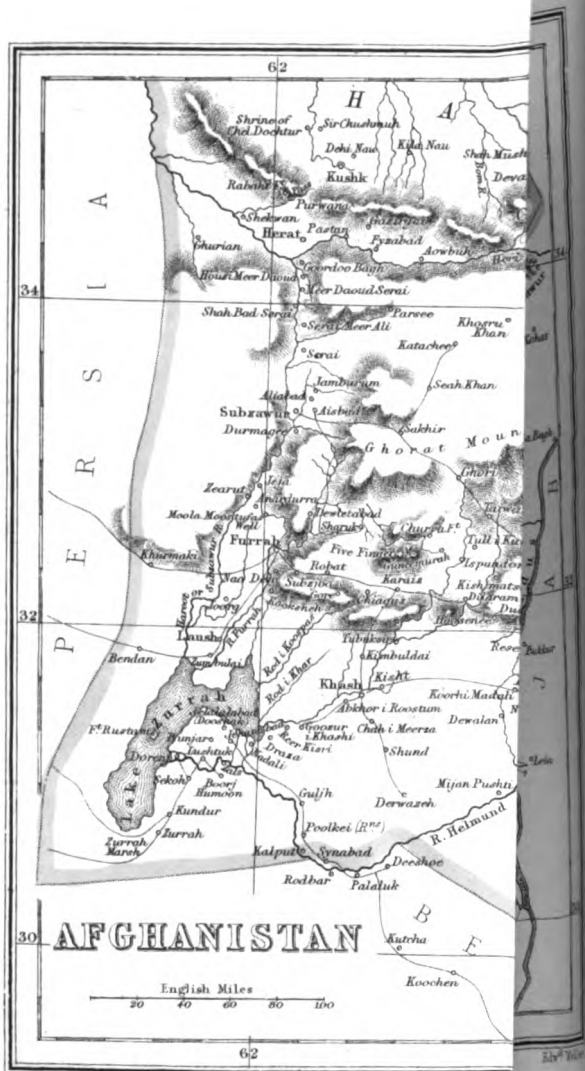
Subsidiary
treaty
executed.

Intimidation.

Advance
by the
Bolán pass.

Shah Soojah
enthroned at
Kandahar.





CHAPTER XIV.

LORD AUCKLAND'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*)—THE AFGHAN WAR, 1839 TO 1841.

MR. KAYE'S 'Afghan War,' Havelock's narrative, Eyre's narrative of military operations, and other publications, independently of the official documents, give so complete and vivid an account of the progress of events, that varied and interesting as those in Afghanistan were, it is only possible here to give a brief detail of the most important. On June 27, the British army was in a condition to recommence its march from Kandahar upon Kabool; ^{The British Army advances on} and proceeded by way of Ghuzny, the ancient capital ^{Ghuzny.} of Mahmood, the conqueror of India, where it arrived on July 20. This fortress was found to be much stronger than had been anticipated. The battering guns had been left at Kandahar, and to call them up would have delayed the army for an indefinite period. Ghuzny was strongly garrisoned and well provisioned, and the only hope of reducing it was by a *coup de main*, directed against one of the gates; the wet ditch, the high escarpment of the eminence on which the walls were built, and the lofty rampart, rendering escalade impossible. On the 21st a reconnaissance was made, and information received from a nephew of Dost ^{The storm} Mahomed, of the interior defences. The northern or ^{of Ghuzny.} Kabool gate was selected as the point of attack, and during the darkness and stormy condition of the night, 300 pounds of gunpowder, sewed into bags, was placed against the gates without being perceived by the enemy, by Captain Peat of the Bombay Engineers, assisted by Lieutenants Durand and Macleod of the Bengal Engineers, who fixed and lighted the fuse and retired. The effect of the explosion was tremendous; the gate was blown in, and Colonel Dennie, at the head of H.M.'s 13th Light Infantry, rushed in. It was still dark, and though the Afghans rallied, and opposed the stormers with much resolution, they were driven back with heavy loss, and at daylight the British flag was hoisted on the citadel. Colonel Sale, who had followed with the main body of attack, was informed by a wounded officer that the advance party had failed, and a retreat was even sounded; but the error was retrieved as soon as made, and all opposition was quickly overcome. Brigadier Sale was, however, severely wounded, and his combat, hand to hand, with a brave adversary, whom he slew, is spiritedly described by Havelock. More than 500 of the

enemy had fallen, and 1,600 were taken prisoners, with the governor, Hyder Khan, the brother of Dost Mahomed. The loss of the British army was 180 in killed and wounded, of whom eighteen were officers; and the renown of the victory was enhanced by the moderation and good conduct of the soldiers by whom it was won.

After a halt for a week, the army resumed its progress without opposition; and at the same time Colonel Wade was advancing with the king's forces and the Sikh contingent through the Khyber pass, which was ill defended. These combined operations induced Dost Mahomed to send his brother, Jubbur Khan, to the envoy, Mr. Macnaghten, to negotiate terms of peace. The Ameer proposed to acknowledge Shah Soojah as king, and required that he should be nominated prime minister. These terms were rejected; but the Ameer was promised an honourable residence in India, an alternative which he refused, and unable to rally any force for the defence of Kabool, he left the city on August 2, on his way towards the mountains of Bámian. He was pursued, though in vain, by Captain Outram. On August 7, the army reached Kabool, and Shah Soojah made a triumphal entry into his capital, after an absence of thirty years in exile.

Profuse honours were showered upon many concerned in the expedition. The thanks of the Houses of Parliament and the Court of Directors were accompanied by the presentation of an earldom to Lord Auckland. Sir John Keane was raised to the peerage; Mr. Macnaghten and Colonel Pottinger were made baronets, and some of the superior officers received the order of the Bath in different degrees. Shah Soojah also established the Dooránee order, in three classes, which was conferred on officers named by him, and struck a medal to be given to all officers and soldiers present at the capture of Ghuzny.

The main object of the expedition having been accomplished, the Bombay column was directed to return to India; but the greater part of the Bengal troops remained at Kabool. Tranquillity was not yet assured. Kamrán of Herát was busy with intrigues with Persia and Russia, and the Ghilzyes of the mountains were turbulent and disaffected. On its way back, a force from the

Bombay column, under General Willshire, was dispatched against Khelát, which was captured by him, in a spirited assault, on November 13. Mehráb Khan, its chief, was killed in its defence, with 400 of his adherents, and 2,000 were taken prisoners. Other operations

Colonel
Wade's
advance by
the Khyber.

Dost Maho-
med treats
for peace.

The army
enters
Kabool.

Honours
conferred by
Parliament.

Khelát
captured.

Other
achieve-
ments.

against rebellious chiefs followed, in all of which the British forces were triumphant. Many of these affairs were attacks upon strongholds bravely defended, which gave occasion for the display of great gallantry by the men and officers who assailed them. It was impossible, indeed, for organised rebellion to gain head, and the petty insurrections were the normal condition of a people and country always lawless and distracted, and resenting the imposition of a settled and apparently powerful government.

Meanwhile, the evil omen to Runjeet Singh, which has been incidentally mentioned, was literally fulfilled. On June 27, 1839, he died at Lahore, aged fifty-seven.

Death of
Runjeet
Singh.

In the course of the forty years of his career, he had not only consolidated the heretofore distracted Sikh chieftains and interests, but he had created an army of 80,000 men of all arms, with 300 admirable guns, disciplined by two French officers, Monsieurs Ventura and Allard, who, in 1822, had joined him as military adventurers. They were good soldiers, and by their skill, temper, and personal bravery, had not only won their positions, but had formed a better army than Sindia's under De Boigne, the Nizam's under Raymond, or Holkar's under Dudrenec. They had better material in men, and had India been free for their operations, would have overrun Hindostan. But Runjeet Singh was too conscious of the power of the English to provoke collision with them. From the day on which he had signed the treaty negotiated by Metcalfe, up to the day of his death, he never swerved from his good faith, and it was not till he was no more, that it was discovered that he alone perhaps, of all the Sikh authorities, had been truly honest in his professions and in his acts.

Runjeet Singh was succeeded by his son, Kurruk Singh, who was totally unfitted to reign; and Náo Nihál Singh, with Dhyán Singh of Jummoo, became possessed of the real executive power. A change in the attitude of the Lahore court was speedily, and very inconveniently, manifest; remonstrances were made against the transmission of British troops and stores through the Punjáb, and communications with disaffected Afghan chiefs by the Sikh authorities on the frontier were detected. Sir William Macnaghten's remonstrances were loud and constant: and he even advised Lord Auckland to break with the Sikhs altogether. Such a course was, however, manifestly impossible; but the anxiety imposed by their attitude was not the less constant. Fresh apprehensions, too, were excited by the Russian expedition to Khiva, in November 1839, which was fatal to most of the troops employed; and proved, if more proof were necessary, that any advance by Russia

Kurruk Singh
succeeds.

Anxiety in
reward to the
Sikhs.

if made at all, must be the work of years, while the melancholy fate of Stoddart and Conolly at Bokhára, and the impossibility of interference to rescue or protect them, threw a gloom over the Central Asian question, which time has not removed.

The winter of 1839 was passed by Shah Soojah and Sir William Macnaghten at Jellalabad; and on the king's return to the capital, he required that the Bala Hissar, a fort and palace situated on an eminence overlooking the city, should be made over to him. It was in vain that the most experienced military officers protested against its evacuation, and showed the danger which would attend the location of the British forces in any other position; the Bala Hissar was given up, and to this suicidal act, the disastrous termination of the occupation of Kabool may, in a great measure, be attributed.

During the whole of the spring and summer of 1840, Afghanistan was unusually excited and turbulent; and in Beloochistan, the chief who had been elected to rule over Khelát was driven out by the adherents of Mehráb Khan, who had been killed in the first assault of the fort, and his son occupied the place. General Nott had, therefore, to march from Kandahar and retake Khelát.

Meanwhile, Dost Mahomed was a perpetual source of apprehension. He had first proceeded to Bokhára, but was ill received there, and obtained protection from the Wullee of Khooloom; where, having raised some rude Oozbek levies, he attempted to invade Afghanistan, but was met and defeated by Colonel Dennie, on September 18. The Ameer was now obliged to fly from place to place, and on November 2, he was attacked at Purwándurrah, by a force under Sir Robert Sale. On this occasion, the 2nd Bengal Native Cavalry disgraced themselves by flight before not more than 200 Afghan horse, who accompanied the Ameer, and the number of the regiment was subsequently erased from the record of the army. On that occasion, Dost Mahomed escaped; but finding resistance hopeless, he next day rode to Kabool, and meeting Sir W. Macnaghten in his evening ride, surrendered himself to him, and claimed his protection. His brother, Jubbur Khan, had previously surrendered, and with all the ladies of the family had been sent honourably to India. On November 12, Dost Mahomed followed them, and Sir W. Macnaghten having written warmly in his behalf, an allowance of two lacs—20,000*l.*—per year, was settled on him by the governor-general, whose honoured guest he remained.

The insurrections in various parts of the country, partially suppressed in 1840, recommenced in the spring

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The insurrections in various parts of the country, partially suppressed in 1840, recommenced in the spring

of 1841; and it is impossible, within the limits of this manual, to follow them and their various causes and results. The absence of Dost Mahomed, so far from contributing to the peace and security of Afghanistan, seemed only to increase disorder; and in proportion as partial insurrections were quelled, a desire seems to have sprung up among the principal Afghan chiefs to rid themselves, by one combined effort, of English domination. There is no doubt that the English, at this time, were more unpopular than the Shah: and Sir Alexander Burnes, who was in charge of the city of Kabool, probably the most unpopular among them; but neither he nor the envoy saw any cause for alarm. Unhappily, Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had hitherto commanded the forces in Afghanistan, resigned his post, and was succeeded by General Elphinstone, an aged and infirm person, entirely unfitted for a duty which, at any time, might require constant and severe exertion in the field. After the evacuation of the Bala Hissar, the troops had been ^{Unpopularity of the English.} cantoned in the plain without the city of Kabool, but they were not massed together, and they were separated from their stores and provisions. Warnings of the plot which was now in progress were not wanting either to the envoy or to Sir Alexander Burnes, but they were treated with disdain, if not with incredulity, and orders for the return of considerable portions of the Kabool and Kandahar forces to India were not suspended.

In England, the enormous expense of the expedition and its political charges had alarmed the Court of Directors; and they advised a general retirement from Afghanistan at the very earliest period. It would have been well ^{The Court of Directors advise retirement.} if this judicious order or direction had been literally carried out; but it was very evident that Shah Soojah's authority had not been firmly established: it was considered inexpedient, if not dishonourable, to abandon him, and Lord Auckland, by a majority in Council, determined that the ^{but the forces remain.} forces should remain. The utmost economy and retrenchment of actual expenditure was urged upon the envoy, and the pecuniary measures adopted in regard to the Eastern Ghilzye chiefs, and other influential persons, only hastened the catastrophe. ^{Plot of the chiefs.} On November 1, at a secret meeting of the chiefs in the city of Kabool, Abdoolla Khan, one of those who, it is admitted, had been grossly insulted by Sir Alexander Burnes, proposed that his house should be attacked next day. Burnes was warned of this conspiracy by several native friends; but he was incredulous, though he applied for a reinforcement of his escort, and even after a visit from the Shah's prime minister, Oosman Khan, who implored him to proceed to a place of safety, he remained. The

particulars of the closing scene need not be related : his house was forced, and in a vain attempt to escape in disguise, he and his brother Charles were literally cut to pieces by the mob, and his escort perished to a man. No attempt was made by the envoy or General Elphinstone, though they knew of the gathering tumult, to suppress it, or to rescue the officers in the city ; and it is impossible to read the accounts of their irresolution without indignation. The only effort was made by the king himself, who dispatched a regiment of his own troops to the assistance of Sir Alexander Burnes ; but the mob held possession of the streets and houses of the city—he was already dead—and it was beaten back with a loss of 200 men, and only saved by a reinforcement sent by Brigadier Shelton from the Bala Hissar.

Sir A. Burnes
murdered.

Irresolution.

CHAPTER XV.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD AUCKLAND (*concluded*)—THE RETREAT FROM KABOOL, 1841 TO 1842.

BESIDES the force actually at Kabool, there were Bombay troops at Kandahar, under the command of General Nott, which were under orders to return to India. Only a portion of them, under Colonel Maclaren, had commenced their march, when General Nott, on November 14, received a despatch from Kabool, dated the 3rd, requiring him to march thither with all his forces. This, however, was impossible, on account of deep snow, which had rendered Colonel Maclaren's progress impossible, and he was recalled. Sir Robert Sale was also ordered back from the eastern passes ; but the enemy had occupied the defiles in force, and he was obliged to throw himself into Jellalabad for winter quarters. The only reinforcement which arrived at Kabool was the 37th Bengal Native Infantry, which had been stationed at the head of the Khoord Kabool pass, and which arrived in perfect order in the course of a few hours. No steps were taken either to reinforce Brigadier Shelton, who was in the Bala Hissar, or to organise any attack upon the insurgents, now hourly increasing in numbers. In Afghanistan, every man is armed and a soldier, and thousands speedily flocked into the city from the country around. On the afternoon of November 3, a weak detachment, under Major Swayne, was sent to open a communication with the city, but it was forced to return. Ensign Warren with 100 men of the 5th Native Infantry held the commissariat fort for the whole of the 4th, but was obliged

General Nott
is unable to
advance on
Kabool.

Events at
Kabool.

to evacuate it during the night. Another fort which commanded the British position, was indeed stormed and taken; but the commissariat fort remained in the hands of the enemy, and was plundered of all it contained. Other affairs followed, with varied results, and some provisions were obtained; but no impression worth recording was made on the rebels. On November 9, Brigadier Shelton was ordered into cantonment from the Bala Hissar, and on his arrival he opposed the occupation of that strong position, which was alike urged by the Shah, the envoy, and General Elphinstone: and under an incredible infatuation, his perversity was allowed to prevail.

Matters continued in the same state till the 23rd, when the enemy, who had posted two guns on the Beymároo hills, were attacked by Brigadier Shelton, who, after maintaining a desultory fight all day, was at last driven back into the cantonment in confusion. The Shah then renewed his solicitations for the whole of the force to take possession of the Bala Hissar; but though Sir W. Macnaghten pressed the measure, the military authorities refused to move. An interview between the envoy and the insurgent chiefs on November 25, ended without result; the chiefs demanded the unconditional surrender of the British troops, which was indignantly refused, and there remained only the issue of war. But day by day the provisions grew less, no other supplies were obtainable, and the troops, European and native alike, were demoralised by hunger, cold, and weakness.

Akbur Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, was now the avowed head of the insurgent chiefs. Since his arrival, the energy displayed by the enemy had been greater; all the roads were watched, and the supplies obtained from the villages around completely cut off. On December 11, the envoy proposed a meeting with him, which took place near the river. Sir W. Macnaghten had prepared a treaty which he took with him to discuss with the chiefs, and which related to the evacuation of Afghanistan by the English forces, the return of Dost Mahomed with his family, and the safe departure of Shah Soojah, should he determine to accompany the English. No objections were made, and Akbur Khan himself agreed to escort the forces through the passes. Meantime, however, the envoy was conducting a miserable set of intrigues with the Ghilzye and Kuzzilburh chiefs, lavishing upon them both money and promises for their support; and he was artfully drawn into another with the principal Barukzyes, by which—for the articles were drawn up—Akbur Khan was to become the Shah's minister, the British troops were to remain, and thirty

General
Shelton
defeated at
Beymároo.

Scarcity of
provisions.

Akbur Khan
becomes
leader of the
insurgents.

Sir W.
Macnaghten's
treaty.

His intrigues
with the
Ghilzyes

and Baruk-
zyes.

lacs, with an annual stipend of four lacs, were to be paid to him, It had evidently been the purpose of Akbur Khan to exhibit to his confederates the small reliance they could have upon the envoy's faith, in the conclusion of a treaty with him, of an entirely opposite and contradictory character to what had already been settled; and in this, which involved the envoy's fate, he perfectly

succeeded. Sir William Macnaghten's own defence

forms his best and only apology for these miserable transactions. 'The lives of 15,000 human beings,' he said, 'were at stake, and he did the best he could to secure them,' and he confirmed the false treaty with Akbur Khan, by a writing in his own hand. On the 23rd he went again to meet Akbur Khan. One of his staff declared this 'to be a trap;' and General Elphinstone, to whom he confided his plan before he set out, warned him and remonstrated against the whole proceeding; but in vain. It is probable that Akbur Khan only intended to carry off the whole party, as the envoy's three companions, Trevor, Mackenzie, and

Lawrence, were seized, and placed behind horsemen; but Sir William Macnaghten struggled with Akbur Khan, who drew a pistol and shot him. Trevor fell from horseback and was killed by the Ghilzyes, but the others were protected, though confined.

The troops would, there is little doubt, have now attacked the city, or made an effort to avenge the envoy's murder: but they

were restrained, and the chiefs renewed their negotiations; but their demands were raised: the treasure

must be surrendered, and all the guns but six; while the married men, with their wives and children, should remain as hostages and guests, until the arrival of Dost Mahomed. The two first articles were agreed to, and on January 6, 1842, the

troops began their march. There were about 4,500

soldiers with 12,000 followers. Snow was lying heavily on the ground, and the cold was intense: and the first night, instead of clearing the Khoord Kabool pass, they bivouacked near the river. On the 7th they marched to Bootkhak, only four miles; and again halted at the request of Akbur Khan, who demanded fresh hostages—Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie—who went to him. On the 8th the force again moved on into the Khoord Kabool pass. It was lined by Ghilzyes, who poured a

deadly fire upon the struggling mass, of which, about 3,000 fell; but the ladies and children reached Khoord Kabool, where Akbur Khan besought Captain Skinner to induce

them to place themselves under his protection: he succeeded in his mission, and their lives were thus saved.

On the 10th, there only remained of the whole army, fifty artillerymen, 250 of the 44th, and 150 cavalry, with Remains of the army. about 4,000 camp-followers. The rest had perished in the Tunghée Tareekée, a defile not more than ten feet wide, through which the troops had struggled, while volleys of musketry and stones were poured upon them by the Ghilzyes from the rocks above. Akbur Khan now promised to save the fighting men if they would lay down their arms; but the offer was indignantly rejected by the General and Brigadier Shelton, and forming an advance and rear guard, with the followers between, the remains of the force pushed on to Jugdulluk. Here ensued another conference: and the general, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnstone, having attended Akbur Khan, were detained as hos- Fresh hostages. tages for the evacuation of Jellalabad. After this the wreck of men and officers passed on to Gundamuk, which was reached on the morning of the 13th, when, of all the army, twenty officers and forty-five men only remained; and while Final attack at Gundamuk. Major Griffith, their leader, was endeavouring to obtain terms, the little party was overwhelmed by a rush of the furious and bloodthirsty Ghilzyes. Captain Souter of the 44th, who had wrapped the colours of the regiment round his waist, and a few privates were taken prisoners, and six officers escaped, of whom, only one, Dr. Brydon, wounded, and mounted on a sorry pony, reached Jella- The surviving officer, Dr. Brydon, reaches Jellalabad. labad. With the exception of those who had been detained as hos- Fate of the army. tages, and a few prisoners, the whole of the army and its followers had perished in the snow, and by massacre which not even money could restrain. Akbur Khan had followed the troops to the last, and declared that he had lost all control over the infuriated mountaineers, which in some respects perhaps was the truth. It is impossible to conceive a more total destruction of an army, with all its matériel of war; and yet it is little to say, that though some privations might have been endured in the Bala Hissar at Kabool, the greater part of the troops might, under ordinary capacity by its superior officers, not only have defied all local efforts, but have remained absolutely triumphant.

General Sale was not intimidated: and his memorable defence of Jellalabad was a brilliant and triumphant episode of the war. A brigade was dispatched under Colonel Wyld General Sale defends Jellalabad. to succour him, but it failed to force the defile; the Sikh troops mutinied at Pesháwur and refused to march. General Sale persisted in his resolution not to give up the place, and its defence continued. At Kandahar, General Nott defeated the General Nott defeats the insurgents at Kandahar. insurgents and was left in comparative peace; but at Ghuzny, Colonel Palmer, who commanded the fort, after

a long resistance in the citadel, capitulated on March 6, an act for which he was severely blamed, and the garrison, which was composed of Sepoys, was attacked on the following day by the Afghans, in the quarters which had been assigned to them. Shumsh-ood-deen, the Afghan commander, offered to secure the lives of the officers if they would leave their men; but this they honourably refused to do, and on the 10th, the men, unable to endure their condition longer, and praying their officers to accompany them, made an attempt to escape. It was, however, fruitless; they were followed, and massacred to a man; but the officers, though often ill-treated, were in the sequel given up.

By this time, a new and more vigorous man had arrived in India as governor-general. Lord Ellenborough, who had been dispatched to relieve Lord Auckland, reached Calcutta on February 28, and found his predecessor prostrated in mind and body by the events which had occurred. The only effort which had been made to redeem the national honour, was the dispatch of Colonel Wylde's brigade, and that, owing to ill-equipment, and absence of military skill, had failed. Another force under General Pollock was in preparation, but had made no attempt as yet to advance.

Except the Afghan war there is only one other incident of Lord Auckland's administration which deserves notice. All connection between the English Government of India and Hindoo temples and their idolatrous ceremonies was abolished under imperative orders from the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. All revenues derivable from these sources were abandoned, and the temples and their endowments placed under the management of their own priests. It will hardly now be credited, how much honour had used to be accorded to idols and their worship before this most necessary exactment of April 20, 1840. Up to this time troops had been paraded at festivals, salutes fired, and offerings by the company presented to idol deities; and the European functionary of the district was obliged, often most unwillingly, to take a part in heathen ceremonies, originally conceded to conciliate the people, but which had grown by usage into a portion of the ceremonies themselves. It is still stranger to record, that it was not till the lapse of years, that a final disavowance from and abandonment of Pilgrim Taxes was effected.

Lord Ellen-
borough
reaches
India.

Acts of Lord
Auckland's
government.
Connection
with Hindoo
temples
ceases.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER I.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH—THE EVACUATION OF AFGHANISTAN, 1842.

It was fortunate that no excitement among native States existed to increase the anxiety attendant on the disasters in Afghanistan; but the reason for this is very evident. Causes of tranquillity in India. The Sikhs, now the only real military power in India, were in alliance with the English; and except the disciplined troops of Sindia, with their splendid park of artillery, there was no other military force extant which could excite apprehension, or which could not, by a few simple movements, have been immediately overthrown. The Mahrattas, content under a liberal and protective government, had literally turned their swords into ploughshares. The Rajpoots were unmoved by the current events: and though there might be still thousands of unquiet spirits in India, there was no leader round whom they could rally, or any one bold enough to attempt the temerity of once more trying conclusions in the field. Lord Ellenborough, therefore, a man of much brilliant talent, and apparent determination, possessing ample theoretical experience in Indian affairs, and filled with ambition to distinguish himself in the actual government of India, with the details of which he was familiar—undertook the office of governor-general at a period of profound local tranquillity, which enabled him to apply all his energy to the retrieval of the Afghan disasters of his predecessor; and the advance of General Pollock's forces upon Jellalabad was the first step to be accomplished.

This, however, was not so easy a task as was assumed. Four native regiments, lying at the foot of the Khyber pass, Difficulties at the Khyber pass. were in a dangerously mutinous condition, not only refusing to enter the defile, but by their emissaries endeavouring to excite other troops at a distance to uphold them in their determination. They were also very much weakened by

a prevailing fever, and were, in a great degree, supported by the example of the Sikhs, who from an early period in the war had successfully resisted the efforts of their government to employ them under the terms of the treaty. But all these discouraging symptoms were gradually overcome by the tact and resolution of

The Khyber pass forced. General Pollock; and on April 5, 1842, he advanced to the attack of one of the most formidable defiles in the world. Crowning the heights on both sides of the pass, the British troops gallantly drove the Afghans from the summits of their mountains, while the main body of the force advanced securely through the pass, and the fort of Ally Musjid, the key to the position, was occupied with comparatively little resistance. Pursuing his march, General Pollock arrived at Jellalabad, on April 15, and found the long-beleaguered garrison unmolested; the enemy had retired, and though unable to move, the brave defenders of the place were triumphant.

Jellalabad relieved. It is impossible to follow in detail the previous occurrences at Jellalabad, the narratives of which possess intense and singular interest. When Sir Robert Sale took possession of the town on November 13, he had only two days' provisions left, the country was in arms to a man, and the townspeople attempted to resist the occupation of the place. The latter were routed on the 14th by Colonel Dennie, and so sharp had been the lesson, that no further instance of revolt occurred. With indomitable energy and perseverance, and under the skilful direction of Captain Broadfoot, the defences were repaired, and the front cleared of all obstructions or cover. As yet the defenders were not molested from without; but demands came, first from Akbur Khan, and afterwards from Shah Soojah, to evacuate the town, and return to India. How these were refused, and how Broadfoot's energy in opposition to any attempt at movement, prevailed over more timid counsels, can only be understood by perusal of the narrative of the siege, and the opinions of the principal officers. It was clear to Captain Broadfoot and some others from the first, that after Brigadier Wylde's defeat, any present hope of obtaining relief was impossible: and that any attempt to move would be attended with the same results as had befallen the Kabool force. The new ramparts were thrown down and broken by an earthquake on February 18; but the damage was quickly repaired, and soon afterwards, by a skilful movement, large herds of cattle and sheep were captured, and driven into the town.

Events at Jellalabad; the gallant defence. Early in March, Akbur Khan, finding that he could not obtain Jellalabad by negotiation, or by order of General Elphinstone, his hostage, arrived from Kabool at the

Arrival of Akbur Khan.

head of a considerable force; but he was unable to make any impression on the town, though his troops prevented the usual foraging parties from bringing in fodder and provisions. On April 7, the garrison sallied in three columns, attacked Akbur Khan's camp, and totally routed the whole of his force, capturing their guns, baggage, and ammunition, and burning their tents; but the gallant Colonel Dennie was unhappily killed in an assault on one of the little forts in the plain, which need not have been noticed. No more was seen of Akbur Khan or his army; the country around Jellalabad submitted, and supplies of provisions of all kinds became almost superabundant. Such was the condition of the 'illustrious garrison' on the arrival of General Pollock, after a trying but gallant defence of five months.

The garrison
attacks and
routes Akbur
Khan.

At Kandahar, General Nott had received a summons like that to Jellalabad, to evacuate the place; but he never entertained a doubt as to his true course of action. He called in his detachments, concentrated his forces, and bid defiance to the enemy. On March 10, when he had sallied out against a body of insurgents, a treacherous attempt was made at night by a body of fanatics, incited by a chief believed to be in the English interest, to carry the town; but it was happily defeated with a loss of 600 men to the assailants. As had been done for the relief of Jellalabad, a force under General England had been sent up the Bolán pass, from Sinde, to reinforce Kandahar; but on March 28, the general was slightly checked at a village named Hykulzye, and though no more than ninety-eight men had been killed and wounded, retreated, in face of the indignant protestation of the officers of his force, to Quettah, whence he wrote to General Nott, that whenever he retired from Kandahar, 'assistance would be rendered to him.' General England was, however, peremptorily ordered to advance, and did so; when the defences at Hykulzye were found to be as contemptible as they had previously been supposed by every officer, except the general.

General Nott
at Kandahar.

General
England at
Hykulzye.

There were now two opposing forces lying between the boundaries of Afghanistan; but a strange indecision as to further operations possessed Lord Ellenborough. He had left Calcutta after issuing a notification in regard to the abandonment of the policy of the tripartite treaty, and evacuation of Afghanistan; but, as he wrote, not before 'the establishment of our military reputation, by the infliction of some signal and decisive blows upon the Afghans, which may make it appear to them, to our own subjects, and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities

Indecision of
the governor-
general.

and violate their faith,' &c. Nevertheless, on April 19, he announced to the commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, his determination that the forces of Generals Pollock and Nott should evacuate Afghanistan, and return to India direct. No mention was made of the rescue of the captive officers, ladies, and children, and they were apparently to be left to their fate.

This change of sentiment produced a very strong manifestation of indignant feeling throughout India. So cowardly and dishonourable a proceeding, after the previous official declaration, would have been witnessed with contempt by every native court in India, and happily it was averted. General Pollock opposed it in a dispatch of May 13, to the commander-in-chief, and he was directed to remain, until October, at Jellalabad. General Nott and Major Rawlinson at Kandahar, feeling their recovered strength, had become confident in their position; and the garrison of Khelât-i-Ghilye had repulsed a desperate attack on the fort with heavy loss to the assailants. There was no possibility of refusing to obey the order of the governor-general; but the time of withdrawal had been left to the general and Major Rawlinson, and allowed a wide margin for contingencies. Yet the uncertainty prevailed till July, when Lord Ellenborough wrote to General Nott, suggesting the possibility of his return by way of Ghuzny and Kabool, but he at the same time pointed out the great risk which would attend this course, and left the decision to the general himself, who was thus obliged to incur the responsibility of failure should it occur. At the same time, and under similar terms, General Pollock was left at liberty to advance on Kabool to meet General Nott. On the part of neither of these brave men—brave morally as well as physically—was there the least hesitation. General Nott, after once more defeating the insurgents, left Kandahar on August 7, and General Pollock marched on the 20th of the same month, with a noble force of 8,000 men, both armies directing their course upon Kabool.

The unhappy object of all the waste of blood and treasure, Shah Soojah, existed no longer. From the departure of the British forces, he had remained in the Bala Hisar, nominally acknowledged as king, though the real power of the State remained with Akbur Khan and his confederates. On April 5, the king was induced to leave the citadel to receive the homage of the army to be employed against Jellalabad, and was shot by the way. His son, Futteh Jung, recovered his body, and was himself proclaimed king: but parties ran high in the city, there was perpetual fighting in the streets, and on Akbur Khan's arrival from Jellalabad, an action was

Public
feeling in
India.

Dispatches
to Pollock
and Nott.

Their deter-
mination.

Murder of
Shah Soojah.

Akbur Khan
becomes
supreme.

fought in the field, which resulted in his victory over the factious chiefs, and the restoration of nominal tranquillity.

Throughout India and Europe, the movements of the English forces upon Kabool were watched with intense interest. Kabool might indeed be reached, but would the captives be rescued? Akbur Khan had already threatened to remove them to Khooloom, and distribute them among the Oozbeks if Jellalabad were not evacuated, and Pollock's force did not return to India. On an advance on Kabool, therefore, it was apprehended that this threat would be put into execution; but no consideration of private interest delayed the march. The captives had, on the whole, been well treated; and Lady Sale's journal describes the life they led, at Tézeen, at Buddeabad, again at Tézeen, and a fort near Kabool. General Elphinstone indeed died in April, but his remains were sent to Jellalabad, by order of Akbur Khan, and interred with military honours.

Difficulty
of recovering
the captives.

Death of
General
Elphinstone.

General Pollock's operations were skilfully directed, and eminently successful. After destroying all the small forts around Jellalabad, he reached Gundamuk on August 23, where he halted for several days; but on September 7 Jugdulluk was gained, and on the 13th he met Akbur Khan at Tézeen at the head of an army of 16,000 men, which had taken up a formidable position commanding the before fatal Huft Kotul pass. Here the skeletons of the victims of the retreat strewed the ground; and the British troops, native as well as European, were excited to the last degree. The splendid Afghan horsemen fled before the charges of dragoons and native cavalry; the British infantry, European and native, crowned the heights with ringing cheers, and the enemy, hardly awaiting their approach, fled in the utmost disorder. The British loss was only 32 killed and 130 wounded. On the 14th the army was at Khoord Kabool, and on the 15th it encamped at Kabool itself, where the flag of England was hoisted on the Bala Hissar on the 16th, and saluted by salvos of artillery and the cheers of the army.

General
Pollock's
advance.

Victory of
Tézeen.

Kabool re-
occupied.

On the side of Kandahar, General Nott had been equally fortunate. He had marched, after being joined by the garrison of Khelát-i-Ghilzye: and such had been the discipline he had preserved, that the people of Kandahar lamented the departure of the English troops with tears, embracing them as friends, and bidding them God speed. General England had been dispatched by way of Quettah to Sinde with the heavy stores. General Nott's picked force, lightly though perfectly equipped, was capable of any fatigue or exertion, and all were in

Proceedings
of General
Nott.

the highest health and spirits. No resistance was encountered till the force reached Ghuzny : where, on August 30, the governor, Shumsh-ood-deen, attempted to dispute the advance, but was easily defeated. The fortifications of Ghuzny were blown up, and the so-called gates of Somnâth, in regard to the possession of which Lord Ellenborough had written special instructions, were brought away. Up to within twenty miles of Kabool, General Nott experienced no further opposition. On September 14, he found about 12,000 Afghans drawn up to dispute the road ; but they were forthwith attacked, and, as he simply wrote, 'our troops beat them and dislodged them in gallant style.' On the 17th, two days after General Pollock's arrival, the Kandahar brigade marched into Kabool.

To effect the release of the captives was now almost the only remaining object. On August 25, they had been sent off to Bamiân, and would have been removed beyond the Hindoo Koosh mountains ; but the commander of their escort, Saleh Mahomed, had been offered, through Mohun Lall, 20,000 rupees, and a pension of 12,000 rupees a year, which, under General Pollock's success, was irresistible ; and, confiding the offer to Major Pottinger, and Captains Lawrence and Johnstone, they confirmed it. Pottinger, however, found that the people of the country were friendly : and nominating one of the local chiefs to the office of governor, he was soon at the head of a considerable number of partisans. Before, however, any trial of their fidelity occurred, 600 Persian horsemen, led by Sir Richmond Shakespeare, had followed up the captives, and marching ninety miles in two days, arrived on September 17, and they were safe. Two days afterwards they joined the column which had been dispatched under Sir Robert Sale, and finally thirteen ladies and nineteen children arrived at Kabool, to receive the welcome of the whole army, after a captivity of eight months.

The successful operations against Istaliff on September 28 and 29, and against Charikar, conducted by General McCaskill, were the last military operations in Afghanistan ; and after destroying the noble bazaar at Kabool, on the ground that Sir William Macnaghten's mangled remains had been exposed in it (a needless act of comparative barbarism), the whole British army left Kabool on October 12, on its return to India, traversing the once fatal passes, and the Punjab, without incident. It was accompanied by the family of Shah Soojah, who, having now no hope in their own country, returned to the protection of the British Government.

The fortifications of Ghuzny blown up.

The gates of Somnâth.

General Nott's force reaches Kabool.

The captives.

Sir Richmond Shakespeare rescues the captives.

The last military operations.

The British army leaves Kabool.

CHAPTER II.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH (*continued*)—
THE CONQUEST OF SINDE, 1843.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH had prepared a noble welcome for the armies of Afghanistan. He formed a camp at Ferozepoor, as well for the pomp of reception, as to be ready to check ^{The welcome at Ferozepoor.} the Sikhs should any hostile demonstrations occur in regard to the movements of Pollock and Nott. So far the arrangement at Ferozepoor was entitled to credit; but those who were received in theatrical pomp were ashamed of it, and the terms of the notification of October 1, 1842, if substantially true, need not have recapitulated errors which were admitted on all hands. More wilful, and more curiously absurd, was the proclamation in regard to the gates of the temple of Somnâth, ^{The gates of Somnâth.} or what were at first supposed to be them. 'My brethren and friends,' wrote the governor-general to the native rulers and people of India, 'our victorious army bears the gates of Somnâth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Mahmood looks on the ruins of Ghuzny. The insult of 800 years is avenged.' The remainder of the bombast need not be repeated. A translation had to be read at every native court in India, and Residents and political agents blushed while they read it; and while, to every Mahomedan, many descendants of the old Afghan warriors who had conquered India, it was a direct insult, by the Hindoos it was received with incredulity and scorn. For, after all, were the gates those of Somnâth? As the governor-general proceeded to Agra, the gates received worship by some of the Brahmins of Muttra; but on their arrival at Agra, they were wisely deposited in the magazine, whence they have never since emerged. Happily, the indignity of causing Dost Mahomed ^{Dost Mahomed returns to his position.} to be present at the Ferozepoor pageant was not inflicted; he was dismissed kindly by the governor-general, and to his death declared that the honour and consideration with which he had been treated in India could not have been exceeded; yet 15,000,000*l.* and 20,000 lives had been sacrificed in removing him from a power to which he was now free to return.

During the operations in Afghanistan, the Ameers of Sind had continued to observe, submissively and faithfully, the treaties which had been imposed on them. ^{The Ameers of Sind.} Troops and military stores passed up and down the Indus without molestation,

and from Upper Sinde the army at Kandahar derived much of the supplies without which it could not have remained there. It can hardly be supposed that, after the loss of their independence, the Ameers could have been very cordial friends; but at least they were passive, and no instance of bad faith occurred. On the contrary, and to the last, the assistance from Sinde to General Nott, and the columns ascending and descending the Bolán pass, never wavered. It might have been supposed that such signal and practically useful services would have been recognised by some public reward or acknowledgment, or by a relaxation of the provisions of the subsidiary treaty; but it was not so to be. The Ameers were not a united body; they had separate dominions with separate interests; and the chiefs of Hyderabad, of Meerpoor, and Upper Sinde were each in possession of hereditary territories.

Major Outram (Sir James) was then British Resident in Sinde, and found it necessary to report unfavourably of some of the chiefs; but his report was received with some misgiving by Lord Ellenborough, and the utmost caution in inquiry enjoined. Had the direction of political affairs remained with the Resident, it is probable they might have been concluded without war; but Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the supreme charge of the civil and military affairs of the province. It is impossible to deny high military skill, ability, and bravery to Sir Charles; but in regard to knowledge of the country and its people, temper, or ordinary courtesy to native princes, a worse selection could not have been made; while the provisions of the new treaty now to be submitted to the Ameers were so harsh and unexpected, that it was only by tact and good management that a collision with them was to be averted. In place of a payment of three lacs a year for the subsidiary force, territory of a like value was demanded; English steamers were to be supplied with wood from the Ameers' plantations; the Ameers were to be deprived of the right of coining money, and there were other clauses, alike humiliating and objectionable. Major Outram's charges, which after all were of a very trifling character, and referred to letters which were strongly suspected (and afterwards admitted) to be forgeries, were disposed of by Sir Charles Napier against the Ameers, and a draft of the new treaty was transmitted to him, in which, by an inadvertence, a greater portion of territory was named than the three lacs of the subsidiary treaty warranted. Of this, nevertheless, Sir Charles at once took possession, and after much misgiving and hesitation, and only in dread of further consequences, the Ameers submitted.

Outram's report.

Appointment of Sir Charles Napier.

His ignorance of the people.

Provisions of a new treaty.

The new treaty.

Among them was a traitor—Ally Morád—who saw that he could serve his own ambition at the expense of his kinsmen. One of the Ameers had the dignity of the ‘Turban,’ and was acknowledged chief; and the office was held by Meer Roostum, Ally Morád’s eldest brother, a man of eighty-five years of age, universally beloved and respected; but Ally Morád had succeeded in obtaining the ear of Sir Charles Napier, and filled his mind with tales of treachery to be apprehended, and the ill-faith of his kinsmen; and having succeeded in inducing Meer Roostum to repair to his fort of Deejee, extorted from him a resignation of the ‘Turban,’ with lands of the value of six lacs a year. By this nefarious proceeding, and the previous confiscations of Sir Charles Napier, only six lacs remained to the Ameers, out of twenty, the revenue of the whole province; but their remonstrances were utterly disregarded.

Base conduct
of Ally
Morád.

The first act of hostility, without any declaration of war, was the capture of Emámgurh, on January 9, 1843. This was a fort in the desert, unapproachable by ordinary measures. In four days, Sir Charles reached it with 350 Europeans, mounted on camels; but he found it abandoned, and destroyed it. In order to discuss the treaty with Major Outram, the Ameers assembled at Hyderabad. They denied the treasonable letters, and demanded they should be produced. Meer Roostum protested against the treachery of Ally Morád; and while the negotiation with Major Outram was proceeding, Sir Charles Napier was advancing rapidly on Hyderabad.

Sir Charles
Napier takes
Emámgurh.

On February 12, the Ameers executed the treaty, affixing their seals; but the effect of the proceedings upon the Belóchee chiefs was not to be controlled. It was evident to them that their rulers had been disgraced, dishonoured, and deprived of two-thirds of their territory, and they became uncontrollable.

Execution of
the treaty.

On the 15th the Residency at Hyderabad was attacked by a mob, and Major Outram obliged to take refuge in a steamer. For two days previously the Ameers had importuned him to go away, but that was manifestly impossible.

Its effects.

Sir Charles Napier now advanced, and on February 17, he met the Belóch army, 20,000 strong, with fifteen guns, at Meeanee; and though his own force was under 3,000, he attacked them at once, and after a bloody fight, in which the enemy lost, it is said, 5,000 men—for they would neither retire nor take quarter—they were totally defeated: the loss of the English force was 250 in killed and wounded. On the 20th Sir Charles took possession of Hyderabad, and of the valuables and treasures of the Ameers, which became prize-money, and yielded him 70,000*l.*; but Major Outram

Advance of
Sir Charles
Napier.

Victory of
Meeanee.

Hyderabad
captured.

nobly refused his share of 3,000*l.*, protesting against the whole of the transaction as unjustifiable, and the amount was distributed to charitable institutions in India. On March 22, the Belóchees again assembled at Dubba, not far from Hyderabad. Belóchees defeated at Dubba. under the Ameer Shére Mahomed, and were again defeated with terrible loss.

The conquest of Sindé was indeed achieved; but it had been based upon violence, injustice, and deliberate perfidy, which, questionable as many transactions in the English conquest of India may be, has happily no parallel. No one ventured to vindicate it, and the acquisition proved so worthless in point of revenue, that its surrender to the Ameers would have been a policy as just as economical. Lord Ellenborough, though he confirmed the conquest, cannot be considered wholly responsible for it. The student has only to read how much was withheld from him—how much, in Sir Charles Napier's own words, 'rascality' was committed, to absolve him from all, except the grand error of committing the fate of the country and its rulers to a man who went upon his mission under a foregone conclusion from which he never swerved. The mischief did not end here. When ordered to

take their turn of duty in Sindé, as in an ordinary province of India, the 14th Bengal Native Infantry, the 34th and the 69th, the 7th Cavalry, and some artillery mutinied: and thus was laid the foundation of that insubordination which culminated in 1857. With the Madras Sepoys the duty in Sindé was equally unpopular; and indeed, under the dread of being sent into Afghanistan, a feeling nigh akin to mutiny had been manifested at Secunderabad, Nagpoor, and other stations of the Madras army, and caused great uneasiness. The new province was, therefore, occupied by troops from the Bombay army, which have since remained. There is no doubt of its value in a strategical point of view; but the mode of its acquisition forms one of the darkest records of British Indian history.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH (*concluded*)— AFFAIRS OF GWALIOR, 1843 TO 1844.

ON February 7, 1843, Junkoojee Ráo Sindia died childless. His widow, Tára Bye, was a girl of barely thirteen years old, and the Resident, Colonel Speirs, recommended that she should be allowed to adopt a relative who should be

Death of
Junkoojee
Sindia.

recognised by the British Government, and this was accordingly done; but it by no means brought affairs at Gwalior to an amicable settlement. Two persons were in rival opposition for the regency: the Māma Sahib, or maternal uncle of the late rajah, and Dāda Khāsjee Walla, the chief chamberlain and treasurer. Of the two, the governor-general's choice, for many valid reasons, fell upon the former; but the Ranees and her partisans would have preferred the latter, and as usual in Mahratta courts, a serious rivalry sprang up, which gave rise to unceasing intrigues against the regent, who had obtained a guarantee of support from the British Government. Nothing could have been more unpalatable to the large army of the Gwalior State. It consisted of 30,000 disciplined infantry, 10,000 Mahratta horse, and the famous park of artillery, which had remained since the days of De Boigne. Every attempt to reduce this force had been opposed by a threatening attitude, if not actual mutiny, with such success that the troops had become confident in their own strength; and the contingency of British interference which might be brought by the regent to bear upon them, was to be opposed at all hazards. Intrigues between the Ranees and the troops against the regent were carried on by a clever slave girl, who acquired great influence, and the Resident obliged her to withdraw on a pension. The Dāda refused the office of carrying the ashes of the deceased rajah to Benares, and shortly afterwards the Ranees wrote to the governor-general that, for many reasons of complaint against him, she had dismissed the regent. Lord Ellenborough did not support him, for he had perceived that he was weak and incompetent; but the mode of his dismissal was a deliberate insult to British authority, which could not remain unnoticed, and the Resident left the court.

The Dāda Khāsjee had assumed the charge of affairs, and rallied round him all who were disaffected to the English; but the army had become uncontrollable even by him, and mutinous, and the local affairs fell into the last degree of confusion. In her extremity the Ranees turned to the governor-general, praying him to allow the Resident to return; but this was refused, unless the Dāda was given into his custody. This was rejected in turn: but the Dāda was attacked by a party who were adverse to him, and confined. He escaped, however, and became stronger than ever, advancing large sums for the payment of the arrears of the troops, and otherwise strengthening his position. It became impossible for the governor-general to allow this defiance of the paramount authority to continue; and his minute of November 1, 1843, is a very masterly and dignified ex-

Māma Sahib
becomes
regent.

The army of
Gwalior.

The regent
is dismissed
by the Ranees.

The Ranees
applies to the
governor-
general.

position of the affairs of Gwalior, and as an exposition of the political affairs of India in general at this juncture should be read by every student of Indian history. A bloody revolution had occurred in the Punjâb, when the British forces were clear of it, and the violence and uneasiness well known to prevail in Lahore, might be augmented by the spectacle of a successful resistance of British authority at Gwalior. It was therefore necessary—indeed unavoidable—to establish a friendly government there. Between the Sikhs and Gwalior, whose united forces amounted to 120,000 men, with 500 excellent guns, intercourse was more than suspected; and in any case, their relative position was one of extreme peril to the peace of Northern India. The Resident, who still remained absent from his post, urged the Ranee at least to send the Dâda to Agra to meet the governor-general; but Lord Ellenborough reached Agra on December 11, and there were no signs of his coming. He now addressed another definitive letter to the Ranee, and ordered the forces which had been assembled under Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, to advance. ‘The British Government could not,’ his lordship wrote, ‘permit the friendly intercourse which had existed for forty years with the house of Sindia to be interrupted,’ and that the march of the British forces would not be stayed, until the establishment of complete order within the Gwalior territories was effected.

The letter and the movement excited the utmost alarm at Gwalior; the Dâda was at once forwarded as a prisoner to the British camp, and the Ranee trusted that she had escaped further animadversion. The hollowness of the whole was, however, perfectly apparent to the governor-general, and he wrote to Colonel Sleeman, now Resident in room of Colonel Speirs, that without guarantee of tranquillity, and the establishment of a strong and friendly government, the British armies must advance. A proposal was then made for the Ranee and the young Mâhârajah to meet the governor-general at Dhôlpoor, whence they could return to Gwalior together; but it seemed by no means probable that this arrangement could be effected, and the governor-general proposed that the interview should take place wherever the respective camps should meet; and a village named Hingona, between Dhôlpoor and Gwalior, was decided upon. An advanced British brigade crossed the Chumbul, the boundary of the Gwalior State, on December 21; the governor-general's camp followed on the 22nd, and by the 26th the whole of the right wing of the army was in position at Hingona. The governor-general awaited the arrival

The governor-general's minute.

Position of the Sikhs and Gwalior.

The British forces advance on Gwalior.

Measures of the governor-general.

He proposes to meet the Ranee.

of the Ranees and the young Máharajah for two days; but there was no appearance of their coming, and the superior officers of the Gwalior State, who had been placed in attendance on the governor-general, left suddenly and privately, and returned to the capital.

The governor-general was, however, not without hope of bringing matters to a peaceful conclusion, and the army marched on the 28th, when a small advanced guard ^{Battle of} Máharájpoor. was cannonaded from a position at Máharájpoor, which had been intermediately taken up by the Mahratta forces. It was impossible to refuse so deliberate a challenge; but Sir Hugh Gough made no reconnaissance, and the next morning the army advanced as usual in ordinary order of route, accompanied by the ladies in camp and the governor-general. On reaching the vicinity of Máharájpoor, the Mahratta guns, which had been masked and were of powerful calibre, opened on the leading troops. Dispositions for attack were hastily made, and as the light artillery of the British force was too feeble to silence that of the Mahrattas, there only remained the alternative of storming their position. This was gallantly done with repeated charges of infantry, and the result of a complete victory, though the old Mahratta infantry made a desperate resistance. The enemy's ^{The} loss was computed at 3,000, with fifty-six guns, most ^{Mahrattas} of which were superb pieces cast in bronze. The number of killed and wounded on the side of the British was 797. Lord Ellenborough continued on the field, and showed much humane attention to the wounded. On the same day, and about the same time, the division of General Grey, which had advanced ^{Victory of} through Bundelkhund, defeated another portion of the ^{Punniár.} Mahratta army, at Punniár, within twelve miles of Gwalior, which consisted of 12,000 men with forty guns, most of which were captured. A decoration of a bronze cross cast from the metal of the captured guns was conferred on all ranks, in commemoration of these victories. It transpired afterwards, that the troops had prevented the Ranees and their prince from going to meet the governor-general at Hingona, and that they had left Gwalior in the highest spirits at the prospect, of what they considered would be certain victory.

On December 30, the Ranees and the Máharajah visited the governor-general in camp, and were informed of his decision. The State was to remain in its integrity; ^{Reversal of the} but the treaty of 1804, which had been concluded with Dowlut ^{treaty of 1804.} Ráo, the provisions of which in regard to a subsidiary or contingent force had never been executed, was now brought forward as the basis of a new settlement. The Ranees were deprived of the authority of regent, and pensioned on an allowance of three lacs a

year—30,000/. The affairs of the regency were to be conducted, till the rajah's majority, at eighteen years of age, by a council of six principal chiefs and officers, and the Resident's advice was to be given when needed. The army was to be reduced to 9,000 men, with thirty-two guns, and a contingent force was formed of 10,000 men, under officers selected from the British army, on the same principle as that of his Highness the Nizam, and a portion of territory was assigned for its maintenance. It was to be regretted that so many men were re-enlisted from the late mutinous army which had just been defeated; but they were chiefly from Oudh—the brethren, so to speak, of the British Sepoys—and it was thought better to retain them, than to throw so many unemployed soldiers on their own resources.

The proceedings at Gwalior were the last of Lord Ellenborough's eventful government. He had come out to India, he declared, to ensure peace, and had entered upon a career of war with an ill-disguised fascination. Relations with the Sikhs were extremely uncertain, and were the example of Sinde to be followed, it was impossible to say what native powers might not be next coerced or annihilated. The terms of his proclamations, especially that of the gates of Somnāth, excited wonder and apprehension among the decorous and sober-minded directors; and it appeared to them that he held the civil service in contempt, and had sympathy only with the military. All these were assumed to be elements of danger. To the Vice-President in Council, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, may be attributed the abolition of slavery throughout India—Act V. of 1843: the reform of the police—Act IV. of 1844; and the suppression of lotteries—Act V. of 1844, were the only measures of importance which were passed during Lord Ellenborough's incumbency. On April 21, 1844, the recall of Lord Ellenborough was announced in the House of Commons by Sir Robert Peel, and on July 14 he left Calcutta: his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Hardinge, an officer of large military experience, being appointed to succeed him, who reached the presidency on the 23rd of the same month. Among the last political questions which came under Lord Ellenborough's notice were the affairs of Shōrapoor. The regent had died, and the officer in political charge, Captain Meadows Taylor, was directed to assume the entire conduct of the administration until the rajah should attain his majority. On his arrival in England, Lord Ellenborough was created an earl for his services; but the precise grounds of his recall have never transpired. Although objections may be taken to his proceedings in many cases, yet it must not be forgotten that his prompt action

Recall of
Lord Ellen-
borough.

Sir Henry
Hardinge
succeeds him.

in regard to the mutinous army of Gwalior, not only saved that State, but prevented its coalition with the Sikhs, whose attitude was hardly now to be mistaken, and whose ultimate hostility with the English he distinctly predicted.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR HENRY HARDINGE—THE FIRST SIKH WAR, 1845.

No political events of importance occurred for the first few months after the governor-general's arrival. He addressed himself with great ability and assiduity to master the details of civil government, and especially to the extension of education. The discipline of the Bengal native army, there was little doubt, had become lax; its tone had deteriorated; and after mature deliberation, the measure of corporal punishment for serious offences, which had been abolished by Lord William Bentinck, was re-established. The effect produced by the act was beneficial, and the necessity for the punishment was of very rare occurrence.

Re-establishment of corporal punishment in the army.

The Punjab, however, required the utmost vigilance; and those who had censured Lord Ellenborough's haughty treatment of Gwalior, soon acknowledged its essential wisdom and foresight, in the suppression of a lawless and uncontrollable force, which was ready to cast in its lot with any disturbers of the public peace. Lord Ellenborough had foreseen also the probabilities of a revolution at Lahore, and its consequence in disturbances on the frontier; and in some measure had made provision against such a contingency. Without any display, he had gradually augmented the frontier forces to 18,000 men, with seventy guns; but the stations were divided by considerable intervals; and yet to increase the troops on the frontier, without any apparent urgent necessity, would, the governor-general considered, excite alarm among the Sikhs, and hasten a conclusion which, indeed, sooner or later appeared inevitable. Troops were, therefore, massed in reserve at Umballa and other stations, till the frontier army amounted to 40,000 men with 100 guns, and the progress of events at Lahore was looked to with almost unparal- leled anxiety throughout India.

State of the Punjab.

Lord Ellenborough's foresight.

Precautionary measures.

Khurruk Singh, the son of Runjeet Singh, died on November 5, 1840, and was succeeded by his son Náo Nihál Singh, who had already displayed much vigour and

Events at Lahore.

capacity. On returning from the performance of his father's funeral ceremonies, a gateway, whether from design or accident, fell upon him, and he died the same day of the injury. The widow of Khurruk Singh now became regent: and the widow of Náo Nihál Singh being pregnant, it was hoped she might bear a son who would be the legitimate heir to the State. Shére Singh, who was a reputed son of Runjeet Singh, was friendly to the English, and having, by a successful revolution, obliged Ranee Chánd Koowur to retire to an estate which was provided for her, he thereupon became supreme; but he was under the control of the Dogra family of Jummoo. The soldiers of the army, who dictated their own terms, had already rid themselves of the French generals who had commanded them, and had become so uncontrollable, that Shére Singh actually applied to Lord Auckland, in 1841, for a force to overawe them. Happily this proposition was not acceded to, as a rupture with the Sikh army would, at that period, have been attended with disastrous consequences. On

Shére Singh
shot.

Pertáb Singh
murdered.

Ajeet Singh
murdered.

Dhuleep
Singh suc-
ceeds.

Heera Singh
murdered.

Jowáhir
Singh regent.

Turbulence
of the army.

September 15, 1843, Shére Singh was shot on the public parade by Ajeet Singh, a chief who had been in exile, but who was restored to favour at the instance of Dhyán Singh of Jummoo, the executive minister; and on the same day, Pertáb Singh, the son of Shére Singh, and the minister Dhyán Singh, were also murdered. These acts were avenged by the troops, who, led by Heera Singh, the son of Dhyán Singh, stormed the citadel of Lahore next day, and Ajeet Singh was seized and put to death. After these atrocities, the troops placed on the throne Dhuleep Singh, the reputed son of Runjeet Singh: and Heera Singh remained in possession of the executive power as regent. He felt keenly the subordinate position to which he was reduced by the army, who, by means of delegates from the various regiments, had established Puncháyets, or councils, and had thereby become supreme. In this mood they were addressed by the Ranee and her brother Jowáhir Singh, and gained over to their cause; perceiving which, Heera Singh fled with the Pundit Julla, a celebrated Brahmin astrologer who had been his adviser; but they were pursued and put to death.

Jowáhir Singh, who now assumed the direction of affairs, had for his colleague, Lall Singh, the paramour of his sister, a woman of most licentious habits. The army was conciliated by fresh advances of pay: but it was in the last degree exactive and turbulent, and to find them occupation, they were directed to march against Gooláb Singh of Jummoo, from whom they extorted thirty-five

lacs of rupees—350,000*l*. Moolráj, the governor of Mooltan, another wealthy individual, had become semi-independent: and besides large arrears of revenue, had refused to pay a fine of 1,000,000*l*. sterling, which had been imposed on him. He was, however, reduced in time, and paid eighteen lacs—180,000*l*.—to the army. Early in 1845, Peshórá Singh, an adopted son of Runjeet Singh, rose in rebellion, but was taken prisoner in the month of August, and put to death by order of Jowáhir Singh—an act which so incensed the army, that the death of Jowáhir Singh was determined on in a full meeting of the Puncháyets, and he was taken to the parade-ground by the troops, and executed, in the middle of September.

Position of
Moolráj.

Jowáhir
Singh
executed.

The Ranee assumed the charge of affairs, but the troops actually offered the office of regent to the highest bidder. Gooláb Singh, who was temporarily the most popular, and Téj Singh, the governor of Pesháwur, both declined the perilous honour; and the Ranee continued the regency, aided by her paramour Lall Singh as executive minister, and by Téj Singh as commander-in-chief. But the condition of the army was rapidly approaching a crisis, and the existing government had no means left of satisfying the troops, or of paying their arrears and extra gratuities. On November 17, after several previous consultations with the delegates of the army, the invasion of the British territories was determined upon, and the order issued to advance. It was the last desperate act of two desperate men, and a violent and utterly unprincipled woman, to rid themselves of troops by whom they might at any time be murdered, and the treasury of the State with all the private property in Lahore and Umritsir plundered. If the army conquered the British, as it was in the highest degree hopeful of doing, it would advance upon Dehly and Benares, and the subjection of all India would follow; if it were defeated, it would be eventually destroyed, and would trouble them no more. Such were the grounds of their proceedings. The troops themselves became suspicious of the Ranee's intentions and of her urgency, and for three weeks refused to move; and it was only on the receipt of a letter of remonstrance from the governor-general by the Ranee, that, urged by her bitter taunts as well as commands, the army, 60,000 strong, with 200 guns and 40,000 armed followers, themselves equal, or superior to, ordinary Indian levies, marched for the Sutlej.

Ranee Chánd
Koowur's
regency.

Invasion of
the British
territories
decided on.

Major Broadfoot was the British agent on the frontier, and before the Sikhs moved from Lahore, wrote urgently to the governor-general to hasten on troops. Sir Henry Hardinge was

then in camp, intending to visit the frontier in the course of a tour of inspection : but he was by no means prepared for an immediate attack by the Sikhs; and the small distance—only fifty miles—which intervened between Lahore and the Sutlej, gave him little time for ordering up the reserves, from a distance of 150 miles. On December 13, the first division of the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, and on the 16th, the whole of it was encamped near Ferozepoor, then held by Sir John Littler with 10,000 men and thirty-one guns. He was a brave and skilful officer, and why he had not disputed the passage of the Sutlej by the Sikhs has never been publicly explained.

The British frontier unprepared for the invasion.

The Sikhs cross the Sutlej.

Like the news of Napoleon's movement received at Brussels, the intelligence of the passage of the Sutlej by the Sikhs arrived at Umballa on the day (December 11) on which a great ball was to be given by the commander-in-chief, and he moved next day at the head of all the available troops. In six days the force marched 150 miles, getting little food and less rest; and on December 18, after a long march of twenty-one miles, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the cavalry of Lall Singh's division of the Sikh army attacked the leading divisions of the British forces at Moodkee. On the confirmation of Major Broadfoot's news the governor-general had published a manifesto, by which, in consideration of an unprovoked attack on a friendly power, all the Sikh possessions east of the Sutlej were declared forfeit. He then threw 5,000 men from Loodhiana into Busseán, where Major Broadfoot had collected provisions and stores. Meanwhile, Lall Singh, passing Sir John Littler, had pushed on to Feroze Shéher, where he formed a vast intrenched camp: and hearing that the British force advancing was a slight one, had moved on the 18th with 20,000 men and twenty-two guns to oppose it.

British troops advance.

Manifesto issued by the governor-general.

While it lasted, the battle of Moodkee was sharp and bloody : and at first, Sepoys, and even English soldiers, exhausted as they were, reeled under the excellent fire and energetic attack of the Sikh infantry; but before night finally closed, seventeen guns had been taken, and the Sikh army retreated with heavy loss: that on the side of the British—872 (215 killed and 657 wounded)—included Sir Robert Sale and General McCaskill, both deeply regretted. On the 19th and 20th, the army halted, and two European and two native regiments joined the commander-in-chief.

Battle of Moodkee.

Battle of Feroze Shéher.

It was now determined to assault the great Sikh entrenchments at Feroze Shéher on the 21st, and Sir John Littler was directed to join on that day, with

as many troops as he could spare from Ferozepoor. He therefore marched with 5,000 infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and twenty-one guns, and took up his place in the general disposition of the troops about noon. Had the army—17,000 strong, with sixty-nine guns—advanced at once, much precious time would have been saved, the action would have been more decisive, and the loss and confusion of the night averted; but the commander-in-chief had formed no definite plan, beyond, as were his only tactics, storming batteries and carrying them by the bayonet; and in moving troops from place to place, and making such hasty and imperfect arrangements as ensued, four precious hours were wasted. At about four in the afternoon of the shortest day in the year, when but little daylight remained, the British forces were led, in three divisions—the right by Sir Hugh Gough, the left by Sir John Littler, and the centre by the governor-general—to the attack of a strong intrenchment, a ^{Attack on the entrenched position.} mile and a half long by half a mile wide, defended by 35,000 of the flower of the Sikh army, with 100 guns. There were weak points in the Sikh works which might have been discovered by previous reconnaissance; but they were overlooked or neglected, and the very strongest portions were assaulted. H. M.'s 50th regiment, directed by Captain Pringle O'Hanlon of the staff, was the first to gain a footing in the Sikh camp, ^{severe fighting.} and the combat everywhere became general; but the enemy were as resolute in defence as the British troops were persevering in assault. Regiment after regiment of Sir John Littler's division staggered under the tremendous fire of grape and musketry by which they were met. H. M.'s 62nd regiment was much shattered; and at nightfall this division was obliged to retire. Sir Harry Smith, whose brigade had carried and occupied the village of Feroze Shéher, was unable to hold it during the night, and also drew off; but General Gilbert's division held what it had won. During the hottest part of this furious combat the 3rd Dragoons rode through the Sikh camp, from end to end, with a desperate valour only equalled by the charge of the Light Brigade at Inkermann.

Before the camp was carried, darkness fell upon the scene, and the night that ensued was truly designated as the 'night ^{The 'night of horrors.'} of horrors.' Portions of the camp were held by the English troops, others by the still unconquered Sikhs. A hard frost set in; the English forces had had neither food nor water for many hours, and the intense cold aggravated their sufferings. Men of different regiments, European and native, separated in the darkness and confusion, huddled together; and the noble 'Husseinee Pultun,' the 16th Bengal Native Infantry, under Colonel Hall, victorious and unbroken, was a rallying point for many a weary soldier dur-

ing the night. By the bright starlight, the Sikh artillery from time to time fired upon the exhausted troops, and one large gun in particular did so much execution, that about two in the morning, Sir Henry Hardinge, calling upon H.M.'s 80th and the 1st European regiment, among whom he was lying, led them to attack and spike it, driving away the Sikh infantry by whom it was guarded. When daylight broke, order was restored; the

Final
advance and
victory.

various regiments on the field took up their positions in line with alacrity, and leading their respective divisions, Sir Hugh Gough and the governor-general advanced steadily, swept through the camp with cheers, and changing front on the centre, completed the victory.

But, at this juncture Tej Singh brought up from the Sutlej a fresh force of 20,000 regular and irregular infantry, 5,000 superb cavalry, and 70 guns, and the action was partially renewed. It was at this crisis that the greatest peril existed; for the ammunition of all arms was nearly expended; the formation of regiments was by no means complete; and the troops were thoroughly exhausted alike by fatigue, thirst, and want of food. The advance of the Sikh cavalry, accompanied by horse-artillery, is described as the most splendid sight of the campaign. Their horses caracolling and bounding, and the bright sunlight flashing from steel armour, sabres, and spears, they came on at a rapid pace to within 400 yards of the British line, which, availing itself of such cover as could be found, awaited the charge with little hope of repelling it. Suddenly, however, after firing a

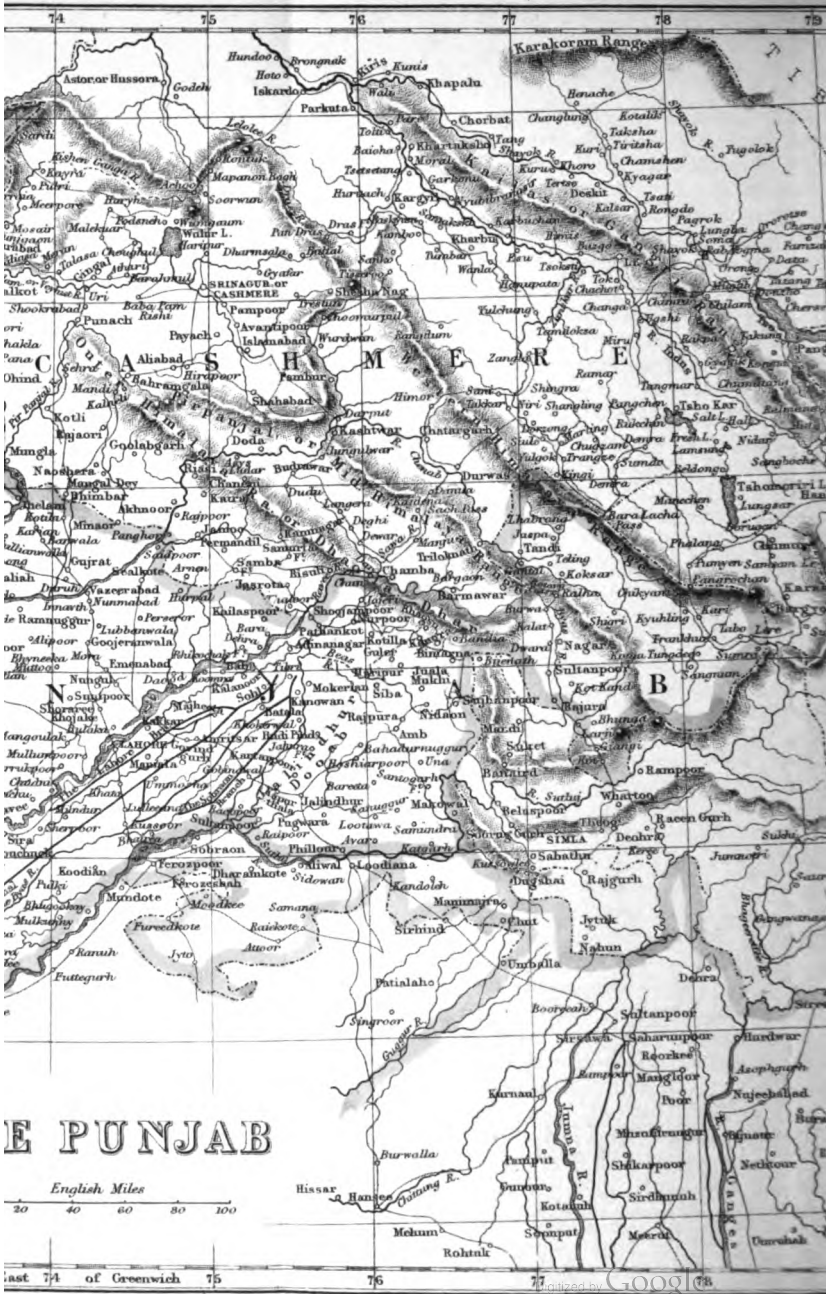
Tej Singh
suddenly
retires.

few shots from their guns, the whole, as if stricken by a sudden panic upon a movement of English cavalry on their flank, wheeled about and retired as they had come.

It was rumoured that Tej Singh had been bribed by English gold; but this has never been substantiated, and his retreat is accounted for by the fact that what he had come to save was already lost, and subordinate as he was to Lall Singh, who had fled to the Sutlej, he was bound to follow his commander. What he did, 'was,' as he said, 'to save his honour as a soldier.'

The British loss had been very severe in 694 killed and 1,721 wounded, with a large proportion—103—of officers, among whom were many very distinguished men: Broadfoot, who had won a high reputation in Afghanistan, and who had proved invaluable as a political officer, Somerset, D'Arcy Todd of Herát fame, and many others. On the part of the Sikhs, the loss was estimated at 8,000 men; and 73 noble guns and many standards remained in the hands of the victors.

In the Sikh camp, during the night, dissensions had run high, and the military chest of Lall Singh, who had fled at an early



E PUNJAB

English Miles
20 40 60 80 100

period, was plundered by the exasperated soldiery. Under a better and braver leader the result might indeed have been very different; for never before had so hardly-contested a battle been fought in India, nor, with eventual victory, had ever such great peril of defeat been encountered.

Conduct of
Sikh soldiery.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST SIKH WAR, AND ADMINISTRATION OF LORD HARDINGE (continued), 1845 to 1848.

THE British forces could not immediately follow up the success they had achieved; heavy guns, stores, and ammunition were all wanting, and till their arrival from Dehly, no forward movement could be made. The Sikhs, attributing this delay to fear, took heart, and towards the middle of January, Sirdar Runjoor Singh recrossed the Sutlej and threatened the station of Ludhiana, then weakly garrisoned. Sir Harry Smith was therefore detached with four regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and eighteen guns to relieve it. He had been cautioned against approaching the fort of Buddewál, which lay on his route; but, nevertheless, moving under its walls, suffered sharply from its fire and from the splendid artillery of Runjoor Singh, lost some of his baggage, and was only saved from further disaster by the dashing charges of the cavalry under Colonel Cureton. Being reinforced, however, by his junction with the Ludhiana troops and Brigadier Wheeler's brigade, Sir Harry Smith now advanced in turn to attack the enemy, who had taken up an entrenched position at Aliwál, and had been reinforced by 4,000 men of the best disciplined Sikh infantry. Their army amounted by estimate to 15,000 men, with 56 guns; that of the British was about 10,000 men, with 32 guns. On January 28 the Sikhs had advanced from their entrenched camp to meet Sir Harry Smith, and a brilliant action ensued. The Sikh squares were penetrated and overthrown by charges of cavalry, in which H. M.'s 16th Lancers, under Colonel Cureton, in particular, were nobly distinguished. Position after position, battery after battery, were stormed; 67 guns were taken; and the enemy, driven to the bridge of boats they had constructed, fled precipitately across the Sutlej, many of them perishing in the stream, and under the fire of the artillery, which played with great effect upon the boats.

New ad-
vance of
the Sikhs.

Combat of
Buddewál.

Battle of
Aliwál.

Defeat of the
Sikhs.

Although the Sikh army had suffered three notable defeats, they still continued to retain their mischievous and turbulent predominance in the State. Gólab Singh, who had undertaken the office of minister from which Lall Singh had been deposed, although he entered into negotiations with the governor-general, who demanded the dismissal of the Sikh army, declared that he was helpless to effect it. No act of submission or peaceful overtures from the army having been offered, hostilities were resumed on the arrival of the siege-train from Dehly, which reached camp on February 8. For some weeks, the Sikhs, under the direction of a Spanish officer named Huerba, had been employed in constructing a remarkably powerful *tête de pont*, at the village of Soobraon, to cover a bridge of boats which they had thrown across the river Sutlej, below the ford of Hurreekee, and it was now completed in a series of half-moon bastions, connected by curtains, and covered by a ditch in front, both flanks resting on the river. This great work, two-and-a-half miles in length, was protected by batteries on the right bank of the river, so as to command the passage, and manned by 35,000 of the best of the Sikh troops, with sixty-seven heavy guns. It had been difficult to restrain the British army during its inaction in the presence of the daily progress of this entrenchment; but one day only intervened between the arrival of the heavy guns, stores, and ammunition, and the assault. The British army consisted of 15,000 men, of whom 5,000 were Europeans; and under cover of a fog, on the morning of February 10, all the dispositions for attack were made without being noticed by the enemy.

When they were complete, about seven in the morning, the fog suddenly rolled away, displaying the British forces in order of battle; and the heavy guns opened on the Sikhs; but they made no impression on the earthworks; the enemy's fire was not checked, and the only resource that remained was a general assault, which was forthwith carried out, amidst the thunder of 120 pieces of artillery on both sides. About nine o'clock, the whole of the infantry divisions advanced. Of Sir Robert Dick's division on the left, the horse-artillery, under Colonel Lane, galloped up to within 300 yards of the Sikh batteries, and delivered their fire, while the brigade under Colonel Storey, H.M.'s 10th and 53rd regiments, with the 43rd and 59th Native Infantry, advancing in line with the regularity of a parade movement, were the first to reach the entrenchment; and the Sikhs gathered to defend it, which they did by a withering fire that checked the leading troops, but did not repulse them. The divisions of Sir Harry Smith on the right,

Negotiations.

Hostilities resumed.

Position of Soobraon.

Battle of Soobraon.

Storm of the Sikh position.

and General Gilbert in the centre, were led on in turn, and after a severe carnage, the entrenchment was won. The Sikh troops, fighting desperately to the last, retired to the bridge, where their retreat became a flight: and the British horse-artillery coming up at a gallop, poured grape and shrapnel on the flying masses, till the stream, now barely fordable, was choked with corpses, and the water dyed with blood. Nearly 10,000 Sikhs perished in two hours, and the whole of their guns, sixty-seven in number, with standards and immense military stores, remained as trophies to the victors. The battle had begun in earnest at nine o'clock, and by eleven there was not a single Sikh soldier, except the dead and wounded, on the left bank of the river. The British loss was also severe, amounting to 2,383 in killed and wounded, and General Sir Robert Dick, who fell in the assault.

No time was lost in throwing the British army across the Sutlej by a bridge of boats, which was constructed by Major Abbott with the boats which Lord Ellenborough had procured from Sind; they crossed on

Decisive
victory.

Advance of
the British
army.

the night of the action, and on the 11th envoys arrived from Lahore, followed by Rajah Golab Singh on the 15th, and the boy, Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, on the 17th. On the 20th, having advanced by easy marches, the army encamped on the plain of Meean Meer, without Lahore, and the citadel was partly occupied by British troops. Sir Henry Har-

Lahore
reached and
occupied.

Notification.

dingle, on February 22, issued a public notification reviewing the events that had occurred, and dwelling with a proud satisfaction on the fact that in sixty days he had defeated the flower of the Khulsa army in four general actions, and taken from them 220 pieces of artillery; that only 14,000 of their great army remained, and that he was 'now dictating a treaty, the conditions of which will tend to secure the British provinces from the repetition of a similar outrage.' On the 23rd, at a public durbar, the treaty itself was executed. All the Sikh territories

Treaty with
the Sikh
government.

on the left bank of the Sutlej, with the Jullunder Dooab, a fertile tract lying between the Sutlej and the Beyas, were to become British; 1,500,000*l.* to be provided, partly by cash, and partly by the sale of the mountain territory, which includes Kashmere; all the mutinous troops to be disbanded, and the army for the future to consist of twenty-five battalions of 800 each, or 20,000 men with 12,000 cavalry. Golab Singh became the purchaser of Kashmere for a million sterling, and a separate treaty was made with him

Purchase of
Kashmere by
Golab Singh.

on March 16, at Umritsir, which secured to him and his heirs the sovereignty of the districts he had purchased. The sale of Kashmere was sharply criticised at the time; but its inaccessible

character, and the still uncertain relations with the Punjab, are conclusive reasons as to the necessity of then abandoning it.

On March 6, a subsidiary treaty was made with the Lahore State in regard to the retention of a body of British troops during the reconstruction of the government and the army, and was to be in force till the end of the year only. Major, afterwards Sir Henry, Lawrence was left in charge of affairs. The army brought away all the captured ordnance; and 250 superb guns, with their equipments, were marched through the British territories, and, halting at every station, were saluted by the troops, until they reached Calcutta, where they were publicly received with all honours. Without this demonstration it seemed probable that the British victories would have been considered as fictions by most of the native courts, so impossible did the occurrences of this short but decisive war appear. In England the accounts of it were received with enthusiasm. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the army, and the governor-general and Sir Hugh Gough were raised to the peerage; Sir Harry Smith was created a baronet, and honours of the Bath were freely distributed. Upon the army the governor-general conferred a donation of twelve months' batta, or extra allowance. Thus the first Sikh war ended, and with it the policy and foresight of Lord Ellenborough, in regard to Gwalior, were amply confirmed. If the Mahratta army had continued to exist in its lawless and disaffected condition, the counterpart of that of the Sikhs, it could not have been restrained, and under the fierce attack of the Sikhs in front, and that of Gwalior in the rear, the peril would have been extreme.

Although Sir Charles Napier had conquered Sindé proper by his defeat of the Ameers, there remained many unsubdued Belóche tribes to the north-west, inhabiting the strong country of Cutch Gundáva, Murrees, Boogtees and others, which had, for an unknown period, defied alike Sindé and Persia, and, as habitual marauders, preyed upon Sindé with impunity. It was impossible to bring their chiefs to terms, and the perpetual menace of their forces, which were computed at 18,000 men, rendered a campaign against them unavoidable. This, with all his accustomed energy and skill, Sir Charles conducted in person, and moved into the enemy's territories on January 13, 1845. In spite of a more rugged country than had even been anticipated, bristling with strongholds, and after considerable resistance, the chief rebel, Beejá Khan, was defeated and eventually captured; and by March 9, this local war was at end. Nothing could have been more complete or meritorious than the

Subsidiary
treaty.

Procession
of the Sikh
guns to
Calcutta.

Proceedings
in Sindé and
Belóchistan.

Successful
campaign.

whole of Sir Charles Napier's military operations; they were those of a brave soldier and an eminent tactician; but his civil administration, upon which he most prided himself, and which is detailed in 'The Administration of Sind,' Civil government. though it effected many reforms of the preceding vicious native government, could not make a poor country rich, nor, although Sir Charles issued a memorable proclamation in Lord Ellenborough's style 'to his soldiers,' announcing and asserting the financial success of his measures, were either the Government or the public satisfied that it was true. The student of Indian affairs should not, however, neglect to read the works extant upon the bitterly-disputed question of Sind, from Sir James Outram's commentary on 'The Conquest of Sind,' to other works of Sir Charles Napier and his brother William in reply. The whole of the Sind question, its conquest and its administration, are discussed in these volumes.

The weakest part of the new arrangements at Lahore was the confirmation of Lall Singh as executive minister: a man of low origin, and the notorious paramour of the Ranee, faithless alike to the Sikhs and to the English. Administration of Lahore. The Ranee herself was recognised as nominal regent, and the advice and direction of Major Lawrence were to be available on all occasions. Lall Singh's perfidy was soon manifest. He had incited a rebellion in Kashmere against Goláb Singh, which was only suppressed by Major Lawrence himself, at the head of troops which had lately been fighting against English armies; his own orders in writing to the insurgent Imám-ood-deen were produced by that person, and Lall Singh was tried by an assembly of Sikh chiefs, found guilty, and banished Trial of Lall Singh. from Lahore to Benares on a pension.

Before the time arrived for the withdrawal of the British troops according to the terms of the treaty, the leading Sikh chiefs, convinced of the entire impossibility of forming or continuing a united or harmonious administration, viewed the approaching departure of the English with dismay, and besought a continuance of assistance and direction until the rajah should attain his majority. Lord Hardinge, after every consideration of their request, gave a very reluctant assent: for he saw clearly that there was in reality no alternative between new disturbances in the Lahore State and their probable prevention by local British authority; and he chose the latter. On December 16, 1846, a new treaty was executed by all the principal chiefs of the Punjab, fifty-two in number, which provided that a council of regency of eight of them should be directed by the British Resi- Continuance of British control requested. Lord Hardinge consents. Execution of a new treaty.

dent; and that twenty-two lacs of rupees should be allotted for the support of British troops to be stationed in the Punjab. There seemed indeed to be every probability that this measure, arising from the spontaneous request of the chiefs, would last its time; but the sequel proved the contrary, as will be shown hereafter.

It was not only for the vigorous prosecution and successful termination of the Sikh war that Lord Hardinge's administration of three years remains a memorable record in the history of India. The army, which had been very largely increased since 1838, was reduced by 50,000 infantry, without any curtailment of officers, and augmented in irregular cavalry. The frontier was protected by 54,000 men, distributed in stations between Umballa, Meerut, and the Sutlej. Moveable brigades were established in the Punjab; and, as far as was possible, every future contingency was provided for. In his financial arrangements, the governor-general was equally successful, and the public expenditure was reduced within the ordinary income. The great Ganges canal, which had been begun during Lord Auckland's incumbency, and suspended in that of Lord Ellenborough, was recommenced in March 1847. The question of railways, then in its infancy, was materially furthered; and in a true spirit of humanity, Lord William Bentinck's edict against Suttee was extended to the territories of native princes and chiefs, accompanied by earnest requests that the suppression of female infanticide and slavery should follow. A strange portion of old customs had remained in Sunday labour in all departments of the State, which was finally abolished. Amidst so benevolent and so wise a career, the unexpected return of Lord Hardinge to England was a subject of universal regret; and he finally sailed on March 15, 1848, having won the reputation of a great soldier and statesman, which the lapse of time has materially enhanced.

Review of
Lord
Hardinge's
government.

He leaves
India.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE—THE SECOND SIKH WAR, 1848 TO 1849.

THE successor to Lord Hardinge was Lord Dalhousie, who had been President of the Board of Trade under the administration of Sir Robert Peel, and had displayed much ability in the arduous duties of his office; but he had no knowledge of the affairs of India, and its details had

Lord
Dalhousie
appointed
governor-
general.

to be acquired by local experience. He landed at Calcutta on January 19, 1848, and had the benefit of receiving from Lord Hardinge full information in regard to the general policy of the State. Lord Dalhousie was only thirty-six years old, and in the full vigour of his extraordinary talents; and, so far as could be foreseen, his administration promised to be one of peace and progress only. This hope was, however, soon roughly dissipated. Moolráj, the Sikh governor of Mooltan, broke into rebellion in four months after Lord Dalhousie's arrival, and the second Sikh war began.

It will be remembered that before the invasion of British territory by the Sikhs, Moolráj, the Dewán of Mooltan, who ^{Events at} had succeeded his father, Sáwun Mull, in 1844, had ^{Mooltan.} been required to pay a million sterling as a fine on succession, which he had compromised with the army for eighteen lacs of rupees; but he had not yet paid this sum, and his position being in the last degree equivocal, a force was sent against him after the re-establishment of the government, with no result. Major Lawrence had been obliged to return to England for his health, and his place was occupied for a time by his brother, Mr. John, afterwards Lord, Lawrence, and ultimately conferred upon Sir Frederick Currie, formerly political secretary to Government, who was practically acquainted with Sikh affairs, and assumed charge on April 6, 1848. Finding entire evasion of the payment he had agreed to make impossible, Moolráj, under the guarantee of Mr. Lawrence, had previously visited Lahore, and made arrangements for the fulfilment of his engagements; but he then tendered his resignation of office, which was accepted, and Khan Singh, accompanied by Mr. Vans Agnew, a young civilian, and Lieutenant Anderson, Moolráj having preceded them, were dispatched from Lahore to take charge of the provinces, and they reached Mooltan on April 18. A small force, consisting of a Goorkha regiment 600 strong, 500 cavalry, and a troop of horse-artillery, was also dispatched to occupy Mooltan, and arrived there on the same day as Mr. Agnew. On this day, Moolráj, with apparent good faith, had paid two visits to the Eedgah, a fortified enclosure which had been assigned to Mr. Agnew, and arranged that the fort was to be given up on the following day. Nothing doubting, Mr. Agnew repaired to the fort, of which two companies of the Goorkhas had been placed in charge; but as he was returning in company with Moolráj, who rode by his side, he was speared by a man in the gateway, wounded with ^{Mr. Vans} sword-cuts, and, rescued with difficulty, was carried ^{Agnew} back to the Eedgah by Khan Singh and Rung Rám, the brother ^{wounded.} of Moolráj; at the same time, Lieutenant Anderson was attacked

and desperately wounded, but was also brought in by the Goorkhas. Mr. Agnew was able to write a report of the occurrence, and to summon Moolráj, who had ridden off to his country-house, to account for the treachery; but Moolráj was then engaged in strengthening his position by appeals to his soldiery, declared they would not let him move, and the Goorkha escort and Sikh cavalry, seeing the turn affairs had taken, left the unfortunate officers to their fate. Khan Singh alone remained with them to the last:

Mr. Vans
Agnew and
Lieutenant
Anderson
murdered.

and in the afternoon a mob rushed into the Edgah with frantic yells, and brutally murdered the wounded and helpless men, hacking off their heads, which were taken to Moolráj and afterwards blown to pieces. It was evident that two great and deplorable errors had been committed. The forces of Moolráj, and the probabilities of their resistance to a new governor, had not been ascertained at all. The sincerity of Moolráj's resignation was not in any way tested, and the force sent with the political agents and the new governor was altogether too slight, even had it been faithful, to have opposed Moolráj, or obliged him to evacuate a place, to defend which was a point of family honour, and upon the maintenance of which the support of all the retainers of his house depended. But the evil had been done, and it remained to apply the remedy.

It is little to say that had prompt measures been adopted, had one or two of the moveable brigades, specially organised for such emergencies by Lord Hardinge, been set in motion, supported by a movement from Upper Sind, the insurrection might have been nipped in the bud; but this was not done. Sir Frederick Currie, though he put troops under orders to march, waited the final orders of the commander-in-chief. Lord Gough hesitated because it was the hottest season of the year, and Lord Dalhousie confiding in the views of persons of local experience, he himself having none, acquiesced in the measure of delay. It was clear that Moolráj could not escape, and his punishment could be safely deferred to a more convenient season.

Meanwhile, a young officer, Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Herbert Edwardes, who was employed in settling the province of Bunnoo, had received a letter from Mr. Agnew, informing him of his peril, which was followed by news of his murder. He immediately crossed the river Indus, but finding his troops unfaithful, returned. Colonel Cortlandt, an officer in the Sikh service, had, however, a faithful regiment, which became the nucleus of other levies; the Nawáb of Báháwulpoor forwarded a contingent of indifferent retainers, and after assisting Cortlandt to defeat an attack upon him of 6,000 men sent by Moolráj,

Spirited
conduct
of Lieutenant
Edwardes.

He is joined
by Colonel
Cortlandt.

Moolráj
defeated.

the young commander, with a spirit worthy of Clive, again defeated Moolráj in person at Kineyree on June 18. Edwardes could only implore the Resident to reinforce him with regular troops: but the commander-in-chief was still impracticable, and Sir Frederick Currie would not assume any military responsibility. Edwardes was, however, on the 28th, reinforced by 4,000 men under Imám-ood-deen, the former rebel of Cashmere, but now a loyal subject, and had now no less than 18,000 men, with twenty-two guns, under his command; and, advancing on Mooltan, was met at Suddoosain by Moolráj, with Moolráj again defeated by Edwardes. an army of 10,000 men with eleven guns, whom he defeated with heavy loss, and Moolráj was driven into the fort of Mooltan, whence he was unable to emerge. The whole of these proceedings and collateral events, now briefly sketched, are vividly described at length in Sir Herbert Edwardes's work, 'A Year in the Punjáb,' which will well repay perusal, and proves how little able Moolráj would have been to withstand a combined advance of British troops, had it been early and promptly made.

Perhaps Edwardes had become over-confident from success: for he held the capture of Mooltan to be a comparatively light affair; and on July 10, Sir Frederick Currie took upon himself to order General Whish to proceed to Mooltan with a battering-train, thus anticipating Lord Gough's decision, supported by that of the governor-general, dated July 11, that an immediate General Whish advances on Mooltan. advance would be expedient. It only therefore remained to carry out the operation with vigour; the force was doubled by Lord Gough's orders, and on July 24, the general marched for Mooltan, at the head of 8,000 men of all arms, in two columns, one on the right and one on the left bank of the river Sutlej.

Mooltan was reached on September 4, and General Whish found it invested by Lieutenant Edwardes, with 7,700 Mooltan invested. infantry and 4,000 cavalry, the Báháwulpoor contingent, under Lieutenant Lake, of 5,700 infantry and 1,900 cavalry, and a Sikh force, under Sirdar Shére Singh, of 900 infantry and 3,800 cavalry; thus forming a total of 32,000 men, with forty-five guns, and four mortars. To oppose these united forces, Moolráj had but 12,000, with fifty-four heavy guns, and four mortars; but he had made Mooltan, by earthen defences outside the Its great strength. ditch, one of the strongest forts in India, and it was not inappropriately termed a second Bhurtpoor. After a formal summons of the garrison on the 4th, strange to say, in the name of the Queen of England, as the ally of the Máhárajah Dhuleep Singh, which served to confirm a fast-spreading opinion Siege of Mooltan. that the Punjáb was about to be formally annexed —the siege began in earnest on the 7th: and after a spirited

action, the enemy, who resisted stoutly, were driven within the defences. At this juncture, Shère Singh, whose conduct had been long suspicious, openly joined the enemy, and, to prove his devotion to the Sikh cause, marched to join his father Chutter Singh, already in open rebellion; when, under the determination of a council of war, the siege of Mooltan was for the present suspended.

Shère Singh joins the enemy.

The siege is suspended.

Meanwhile, under the active intrigues of the Máharanee, the whole of the Punjáb had become a scene of covert disaffection—almost every chief who had united in imploring the British to remain had signed a covenant to drive them from the Punjáb. The Ranee's intrigues spread rapidly to native courts in India, urging an effort to drive the British into the sea: and at length they became too notorious to be neglected or overlooked, and she was removed to Benares. But the mischief had been done: and the seeds of revolt, so deeply sown, were already springing up vigorously in various directions.

Intrigues of the Máharanee.

She is removed to Benares.

Reinforcements from Bombay only reached Mooltan late in

The siege of Mooltan renewed.

December, and on their arrival the siege was recommenced, on the 27th of that month. General Whish had meanwhile taken up a position near the city, and had not been seriously molested; but in the interim the defences of the fort had been much improved and strengthened. The siege was now pressed with science and vigour, and a spirited sally was beaten back by Edwardes's force, against which it was directed. On the 30th, the great magazine in the city, which had contained 400,000 pounds of powder, was exploded by a shell, causing vast destruction. On January 2, two breaches in the

Storm of the fort.

city wall were reported practicable, and by one the place was carried; but in the other the real city wall was found entire, beyond a deep ditch, on the counterscarp of which a new and huge rampart of earth had been constructed. On the capture of the city, Moolráj retreated to the citadel with

Moolráj surrenders the citadel.

the remnant of his force, about 3,000 men; but on January 29 two breaches were effected, and Moolráj, with the survivors of his brave garrison, surrendered themselves at discretion. He was afterwards tried at Lahore,

His death.

and sentenced to death; but he was spared, and imprisoned for life, and not long afterwards died.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SECOND SIKH WAR (*concluded*), AND ANNEXATION OF THE
PUNJĀB, 1848 TO 1849.

'UNWARNED by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war; and, on my word, Sir, they shall have it with a vengeance.' Such was Lord Dalhousie's memorable expression at a farewell banquet before he left Calcutta, on October 10, 1848, on his way to the upper provinces. Although the whole of the Punjāb was seething with disaffection, Chutter Singh was the only chieftain to begin the war openly in the field. He applied for aid to Dost Mahomed, agreed to deliver Peshāwur to him if he would join the Sikhs against the English; and this strange compact between people who hated each other mortally was actually made. Major, afterwards Sir George, Lawrence, was then in charge of Peshāwur, with 8,000 Sikh troops, whose fidelity was in the last degree questionable; but he contrived to keep them to their duty, until Sooltan Mahomed, the brother of Dost Mahomed, a person to whom he had shown the utmost kindness, treacherously seduced them, and, on October 24, led them to attack him in the Residency. Major Lawrence and his companions were conducted to Kohāt, but afterwards delivered or sold to Chutter Singh, who confined them at Peshāwur. Meanwhile, Shère Singh, who had marched from Mooltan, had joined his father, and round their standards collected most of the old soldiers of the Sikh army.

The second
Sikh war
opens.

Afghan and
Sikh alliance.

Major Law-
rence
confined.

The forces assembled at Ferozepoor for operations in the Punjāb were completed in equipment during October 1848, and under the personal command of Lord Gough, crossed the Rávee (Beyas) on November 16. They consisted of fifteen regiments of infantry—four European and eleven native—three regiments of English and ten of native regular and irregular cavalry, with sixty field guns and eighteen heavy guns, the latter now, for the first time, drawn by elephants instead of bullocks. On November 22, Lord Gough found Shère Singh encamped at Ramnugger, on the right bank of the Chenáb, with 15,000 men and a powerful artillery, with an advanced force on the left bank covered by his batteries. It was too strong a position to assail in front; but the advanced Sikh force was attacked and driven back without material result, and in a charge of the British cavalry to clear the left bank of the river, it was

The British
forces
advance into
the Punjāb.

Indecisive
action of
Ramnugger.

rendered helpless in the sands, and suffered heavily from the Sikh guns on the right bank. In this desultory and ineffective skirmish Colonel Cureton, of the Lancers, who commanded the cavalry division, and Colonel William Havelock, the 'el chico blanco' of many a Peninsular fight, lost their lives, to the universal regret of the army. A flank movement, which might have been made at first, was now arranged : and on December 2, Sir Joseph Thackwell, with 8,000 men, crossed the river at Wuzeerabad, twenty-four miles above Ramnugger. It was proposed that he should advance upon Shère Singh's camp from the right flank, while the main army crossed the river in front. Shère Singh, however, did not await this issue. Abandoning his entrenchments, he marched to attack General Thackwell, whom, with a diminished force, he met at Sadoollapoor ; but did not close with him, and after sustaining a heavy but ill-directed cannonade, which lasted till evening, General Thackwell discovered during the night that the Sikhs, now 30,000 strong, with forty guns, had retired towards the Jhelum. Lord Gough, in his dispatch, claimed the movement as a victory over the Sikh army, and even asserted its dispersion ; but the fact was soon evident that Shère Singh had only retired to a better position, and had carried with him all his guns and equipment unmolested.

The position chosen by Shère Singh was one of singular strength, and its selection displayed his skill as a general in no mean degree. To have followed him up, and forced him to fight at disadvantage, would probably have been effected by Lord Gough after the affair at Ramnugger ; but he was restrained by the governor-general for upwards of three weeks, and unable to interfere with Shère Singh, who was thus able to carry out his plans leisurely and without interruption. On January 11, however, Lord Gough reviewed his forces, and on the 12th they advanced twelve miles to Dinjee, and on the 13th were near the Sikh entrenchments at Chillianwallah, which were held by them with 30,000 men and sixty guns. Of this place no reconnaissance had been made, nor were the enemy's dispositions understood, as they were covered by the thick jungle ; and Lord Gough was about to encamp for the night, when the Sikhs fired upon him from some advanced guns, and he rashly gave orders for an immediate attack. The whole of the Sikh guns now opened fire ; after enduring which for upwards of an hour, the British troops advanced on the position. The first regiment which reached the Sikh batteries was H.M.'s 24th, which was overwhelmed by a fearful fire of grape and musketry : 450 men, with twenty-three officers, were at once killed.

Colonels
Cureton and
Havelock
killed.

Shère Singh
retires to a
new position.

Sikh en-
trenchment
at Chillian-
wallah

Is attacked
by Lord
Gough.

Desperate
combat.

and wounded. General Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde, had carried the position before him, spiking the guns; and other divisions under Sir Walter Gilbert, with brigades under Penny, Mountain, and others, though suffering heavily, finally conquered, and the Sikhs retired into the forest behind them. The cavalry had been less successful. Charged by a comparatively small body of Sikh horse, the 14th Dragoons, under a false order, uttered, it was supposed, by some coward in its ranks, went about, and galloped to the rear, pursued by the Sikhs; and the misadventure was only redeemed by a desperate charge made by Captain Unett. It was found impossible to hold the field during the night, now closing in, and Lord Gough unwillingly withdrew the army to Chillianwallah for water and rest. During the night the Sikh troops returned, carried off all the captured guns except twelve, and barbarously murdered all the wounded who could not be recovered before the close of the action. The loss in this inconsequent battle, which had nearly been a disastrous defeat, was 2,357 men, and 89 officers killed and wounded; three regiments had lost their colours, and four horse-artillery guns had been taken.

The British
forces retire
for the night.

Heavy losses.

After the conclusion of the siege of Mooltan, General Whish moved up to reinforce the commander-in-chief. Shère Singh perceiving this movement, and probably desiring to destroy General Whish's force before it could cover Lahore or form a junction with the main army, left his entrenched camp at Russool on February 6, and marched in the direction of Lahore; but if the conception had been that of a clever tactician, its execution was extremely indifferent. He allowed British detachments to occupy the fords of the Chenáb, and, thus foiled, took up a position at Goojerát. He had been joined by his father, Chutter Singh, and a considerable force, and by Akram Khan, a son of Dost Mahomed, with a division of Afghans; and the whole Sikh army, now collected in one place, amounted to upwards of 50,000 men, with sixty guns. On the other hand, Lord Gough, reinforced by General Whish on February 20, had under him 20,000 men and 100 guns. It will have been remarked in all Lord Gough's battles that artillery had been an arm of only very secondary consideration; and its disuse was even freely commented upon by the Sikh generals to Major George Lawrence, and so became the subject of open conversation. Lord Gough was urged by all the best officers of the army, and even by the governor-general, to employ it in the next engagement, and he happily consented to do so, though, it was said, against conviction.

Movement of
General
Whish.

Ineffective
manœuvre by
Shère Singh.

Position of
Goojerát.

Relative
forces.

On February 27, 1849, the British army advanced in line in

parade order upon the Sikh position at Goojerát. The centre was composed of eighty-four guns, many of heavy calibre, drawn by elephants, and when within easy range of the Sikh batteries, the whole opened fire, forming a magnificent spectacle. The effect was just what had been anticipated. The Sikh fire, in two hours and a half, was nearly silenced, and the British infantry, advancing from both flanks, carried the entrenched villages one by one, and drove out the Sikh infantry without a check. One brilliant charge was made by the Sikh and Afghan horse, but it was gallantly met and defeated by the 9th Lancers and the famous Sinde Horse, under Captain Malcolm, and hurled back. Finally, the British cavalry charged the now broken Sikh infantry, and pursued it for fifteen miles beyond the field of battle, doing immense execution. The whole of the British loss in this brilliant and scientifically fought battle was only 92 killed and 682 wounded, and 53 guns were taken, with many standards. It was impossible to estimate fully the loss of the Sikhs, but it amounted to several thousands, and the whole army had become totally broken and disorganised.

The pursuit of Shére Singh was taken up by General Gilbert, with 12,000 men and 40 guns; but the Sikh general was in no condition to renew the struggle. Having been joined by Major George Lawrence, who had been allowed absence to Lahore on parole, and whose good faith in returning was welcomed with enthusiastic shouts by the Sikh soldiers, negotiations were entered into with General Gilbert, who consented to receive the submission of the Sikhs if they laid down their arms unconditionally. On March 12, at the great Booddhist monument of Manikyalah, Shére Singh and the wreck of his army, about 8,000 men, met General Gilbert, and Shére Singh set the example by delivering up his sword. Then followed an astonishing and affecting spectacle. Chief after chief laid his sword at the general's feet, and after them the brave Sikh soldiers, one by one, passed by, casting their arms, sometimes in silent grief and tears, sometimes with passionate exclamations, upon the heaps which received them. Forty-one more guns were surrendered, the last of the parks of the old army, which had been buried 'till they should be needed.' This finished, General Gilbert with the cavalry hunted the Afghans back to the passes, into which they fled ignominiously, and, as the Sikhs said, 'like dogs.' The Sikhs had submitted honestly and without shame to a power which they now respected, and to which, since then, they have been admirably faithful in many trying scenes.

Battle of
Goojerát.

Lord Gough's
victory.

Rout of the
Sikhs.

General
Gilbert's
pursuit.

Shére Singh
negotiates.

The Sikh
army lays
down its
arms.

Submission
of the Sikhs.

During the progress of the war the British civil officers, with a wonderful skill and perseverance, held their posts; and many brilliant affairs, into which it is impossible to enter, occurred in different localities. Of these the most remarkable was the retention of the Jullunder Dooáb, the province lately ceded by Mr., the present Lord, Lawrence, who, without regular troops, and with a few hastily-collected levies of Sikhs and hill-men, routed the rebels, and overawed all attempts of local disaffection. Major Herbert, too, had defended the fort of Attock against many attacks, and received the emphatic thanks of the governor-general.

The fate of the Punjáb was not long in suspense: and by a proclamation of March 29, 1849, the governor-general, reviewing past events, and the fact of the territories having been already once spared after a treacherous attack upon its allies, coupled with the uncertainty which would remain in future, boldly annexed the whole territory—a measure which no one then ventured to impugn, or which has since been questioned. On the young Máhárajah Dhuleep Singh a pension of five lacs of rupees (50,000*l.*) a year was conferred. He is now a Christian, and an English country gentleman, owning large estates in Suffolk; one of the best shots in England, and respected by all who know him. The chiefs were settled in their hereditary villages on pensions according to their rank, and the whole of the population submitted with extraordinary unanimity to the new rulers. Lord Dalhousie was created a marquis, Lord Gough an earl, and the honours of the Bath were conferred upon several of the most distinguished officers; but there were some, nevertheless, who, deserving as much or more than others, were unaccountably passed over. Thus ended the second and final Sikh war. With it the conquest of India, within its natural boundaries, the Indus, the Himalayas, and the ocean—more universal and more complete than any by which it had been preceded—had, after many vicissitudes, been effected in less than a hundred years by the English nation.

Minor
combats.

Annexation
of the
Punjáb.

Máhárajah
Dhuleep
Singh
pensioned.

Honours
conferred.

Conquest of
India
completed.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE (*continued*), 1849 to 1853—NATIVE STATES—AND THE SECOND BURMESE WAR.

ON January 24, 1849, the Court of Directors, with whom the Board of Control agreed, wrote as follows to the governor-general, in regard to the State of Sattara, the rajah of which had died on April 5, 1848, without issue:—'By the general law and custom of India, a dependent principality like that of Sattara cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power. We are under no pledge, direct or constructive, to give such a consent; and the general interests confided to our charge are best consulted by withholding it.' This declaration of a fixed principle in regard to adoption of heirs by native princes, formed the ground of subsequent proceedings; but in the case of Sattara it was the first in which Lord Dalhousie was called upon to give a final decision. As the rajah lay on his death-bed, he had adopted a boy, who, though distantly related, had no direct claim to succession by family descent; but who, according to Hindoo law and custom, could become heir to his personal property, and perform the necessary ceremonies at his decease. The question therefore arose, whether he should succeed to the State by the right of adoption, or whether that should be considered applicable only to the personal property; and it was argued with great ability by Sir George Clerk, the Governor of Bombay, a man of large Indian experience, in favour of the adoption; and by his predecessor, Lord Falkland, as also by Members of Council—in particular by Mr., afterwards Sir John P., Willoughby, whose exhaustive minute on the subject comprised every point under discussion. The State had been created, as will be remembered, at the close of the Mahratta war in 1819: and it was under the treaty by which it had been established, that the right to succession existed, so far as heirs of the body were concerned; but it did not include the right, or recognise the principle, of adoption, which Mr. Willoughby considered could not be recognised in this instance, and which had been resorted to without the concurrence, or even the previous knowledge, of the paramount authority.

Lord Dalhousie reviewed all the minutes and other documents submitted to him with great patience and ability; and on many grounds, which will be found by the student

Case of
Sattara.

Question of
the right of
adoption.

Sir John
Willoughby's
minute.

Lord
Dalhousie's
minute.

in detail in the 'blue-book' on the case of Sattara, coincided with Mr. Willoughby's opinion. 'The Government,' he remarked, 'on such occasions, is bound to act with the purest integrity and the most scrupulous good faith. Wherever a shadow of doubt can be shown, the claim should be at once abandoned; but when the right to territory by lapse is clear, the Government is bound to take that which is legally and justly its due, and to extend to that territory the benefit of our sovereignty, present and prospective.' Thus illustrated by argument, and by all the investigation that could be made, the question of Sattara was referred to the court, and the reply given which has been already quoted. Upon the receipt of this opinion the final Final annexation of Sattara. annexation of Sattara was confirmed.

As the question of permitting adoption in general has been set at rest for ever by Her Majesty's gracious proclamation, Merits of the question. and every prince in India, without natural heirs, has now the full power to adopt a successor, the question of the expediency or non-expediency of the Sattara measure need not be discussed. The abstract right of the Government to do as it did, cannot be questioned. Beyond the immediate retainers of the little State, few had any interest in its maintenance. The perpetuation of the line of Sivajee in a direct manner would perhaps have been acceptable to the Mahratta people, as a tribute to former national greatness; but this sympathy was not extended to a boy who had no pretensions to royal descent: the annexation was looked upon as a consequence that could not have been averted: and when a period of excitement subsequently arrived, the people at large remained indifferent to any attempts that were made to arouse their sympathies. The court's opinion in the case of Sattara was not, however, extended to Kerowly, a small Difference between Kerowly and Sattara. Rajpoot State. In this instance the court opposed annexation on the ground that the State had not been of British creation, and therefore that adoption, as a Hindoo custom, should be sanctioned; and thus rested the question between two separate illustrations and decisions.

The affairs of the royal family of Dehly had for some time been subjects of consideration: and the position of the king was warmly debated in England and in India during The royal family of Dehly. 1849-50. The questions were, whether the nominal sovereignty should be continued to the successors of Bahadur Shah, the present king: and whether the family should be allowed to continue to reside in the palace at Dehly—which, as a strategical position, was of immense value, and which was notoriously the focus of perpetual intrigues. The king, Bahadur Shah, was old and infirm; the successor to the throne, according to Mahomedan

law, was now Prince Fakhrood-deen, the son of Prince Dara Bukht, the heir-apparent, who died in 1849; and an agreement was made with him, that on the death of the king he was to surrender the palace and remove to the Kootub, a royal residence a few miles from the city, on condition of being secured the existing pension attached to the family, with some personal addition. The succession of Prince Fakhrood-deen was, however, opposed by the king, in favour of his own son, Prince Jowán Bukht, by the Queen Zeenut Mahál; and another claimant subsequently appeared in Prince Mirza Korash, the eldest son of the king, who, finding the queen all powerful with his father, referred his claims to the consideration of the British Government. Although the question was referred to England, and opposed there, no action could be taken upon it during the king's life, and eventually a sterner and more tragic settlement awaited the whole affair than was ever contemplated by those concerned in its discussion.

After the Sikh war, there was a peace in India for three years, which afforded the governor-general ample leisure to consolidate the new government of the Punjáb, and to mould it after his own plans. Some of his most prominent measures will be mentioned hereafter. The results of Lord Gough's management of the army in the field, and particularly the battle of Chillianwalla, had excited alarm in England, and Sir Charles Napier, who had returned from Sind, was at once selected for the office; with his usual energy he left England at once, believing that he should find the army in the last degree of disorganisation, and the losses in the field irretrievable. On the voyage out, he heard of the splendid victory of Goojerat, gained with a nominal loss, and that there was, in fact, nothing left for him to do in the Punjáb, which had been annexed; but he landed in India with two foregone conclusions: first, that the native army of the Bengal Presidency was in a state of covert mutiny and treachery, which he alone could drag to light, and punish; and secondly, that his position was almost, if not entirely, independent of the governor-general. As may be supposed, both these opinions led to collisions of a serious nature.

Condition of
the native
army of
Bengal.

Sir Charles
Napier's
opinion.

There was no doubt then, nor has there been any since, that the disaffection which broke into open mutiny in 1857, had existed in many forms since the Afghan war. The Sepoys brooded over the sacrifice of their comrades, and considered that Government had taken an undue advantage of their services. This spirit was manifested on several occasions: but as yet only turned upon differences in the rates of pay, the Sepoys claiming the full extra allowances for foreign service, in

Long exis-
tence of dis-
affection.

the Punjâb and Sind, and refusing to consider that annexation had reduced those provinces to the condition of ordinary British possessions. Sir Charles Napier's experience had been confined to the Bombay army, which had a more exact internal discipline than the Bengal. On these points, the contrast between the men of the two armies at the siege of Mooltan was very evident; the Bombay Sepoys were taunted with performing ordinary duties which had never been imposed upon the high-caste Brahmins of the Bengal army, and opinions and discussions had run high in camp and throughout India on the subject. These matters, and the conduct of Bengal regiments at Bukkur and Sikarpoor, in the Afghan war, subsequently formed the grounds for the foregone conclusions held by Sir Charles, which were soon visible in severe general orders, and sharp stinging remarks to officers on discipline, in his own peculiar trenchant style. Instances of refusing to receive pay on the reduced scale occurred in the 13th, 22nd, 32nd, and 41st Bengal Native Infantry, and many persons were tried and punished. The 66th Bengal Native Infantry, which partially mutinied at the fort of Góvindgurh, was summarily disbanded, and a Goorkha regiment put in its place. The pay of the army in the Punjâb was also remodelled in a slight degree; and all these acts were done by Sir Charles on his own responsibility, without any reference to the governor-general or the Council of India. A correspondence ensued, in which Sir Charles lost, while Lord Dalhousie preserved, his temper; but he told the commander-in-chief expressly, that while his proceedings were confirmed, the power under which such orders could be issued belonged to the governor-general in Council alone, and that Sir Charles's assumption of it would not for the future be permitted. Upon this, Sir Charles resigned office, and returned to England in March 1851.

Misconduct
of Bengal
regiments.

Sir Charles
Napier's acts.

Sir Charles
resigns office.

On a review of the whole circumstances by the Duke of Wellington, the decision of Lord Dalhousie was confirmed; but although Sir Charles Napier's opinion had taken the form of exaggerated expression and undue action, there was no doubt that the covert disaffection of the Bengal army after the second Punjâb war had increased, and was a notorious fact. The fire which blazed forth in 1857 was then smouldering: and it would have been wise, during a time of profound peace, to have gone to the root of the evil, and applied a remedy. Unfortunately, the violence of Sir Charles Napier to expose, and on the other hand, the apparent determination of the governor-general to ignore, the existing evil, resulted in complete inaction; and the lax discipline, against which very many European officers were ready

Disaffection
continues.

to protest, had they dared to do so, not only continued to exist, but increased.

Nothing of a satisfactory character had followed the peace of 1826 with the kingdom of Burmah. The treaty of February 24, 1826, had included commercial subjects, and protection of merchants and their transactions, as well as the residence of an envoy at the court: but the latter was found impracticable, without insult, by two successive envoys, and the former had been almost a dead letter from the first. In 1851, the complaints of merchants at Rangoon had increased to such an extent, that in

the absence of any representative at the court of Ava, Lord Dalhousie sent Commodore Lambert, in H. M.'s a. 'Fox,' to demand satisfaction and explanation. This had some apparent effect, in the removal of the governor of Rangoon, and the appointment of another officer; but it is questionable whether it was not, in reality, a further proof and exhibition of arrogance, as the new governor was found to be more insulting and impracticable than his predecessor, and the officers deputed with official communication were denied access to him, and insulted.

Commodore Lambert, therefore, in pursuance of the spirit of his instructions, placed the port of Rangoon under blockade, and took possession of one of the Burmese king's ships as security for the indemnity required. He offered, if the governor of Rangoon would visit the 'Fox,' and apologise for the insult that had been given, to salute the Burmese flag and receive him with due honours; but this was declined, and on moving from his anchorage, with the ship in tow, the Burmese batteries opened on the frigate, but were soon silenced.

A haughty remonstrance was addressed by the governor of Rangoon to the governor-general, which was answered by the President in Council—Lord Dalhousie being then absent in the upper provinces—repeating the previous demands. The Americans had as much at stake in Burmah as the English—perhaps more: and the American frigate 'Susquehanna,' then at Calcutta, was prepared to assert the national rights; but Lord Dalhousie, who returned rapidly to Calcutta, took the quarrel on himself, and after repeated denials of justice or apology, resolved, with the unanimous consent of his Council, upon punishing an arrogance which could no longer be endured.

Preparations for war were now commenced in earnest. 5,800 men, chiefly at Madras, were equipped for the service, including a regiment of Sikhs, the first whom Government had employed in war, and who, on the refusal of the 38th Bengal Native Infantry to embark from Calcutta, took their places with a high and cheerful spirit. In the former war,

Burmese
affairs.

Commodore
Lambert's
mission.

Blockade of
Rangoon.

The English
frigate fired
upon.

War ensues.

First employ-
ment of the
Sikhs.

only one small steamer had been available. Now times were changed ; and nineteen steamers, mounting 159 guns, and carrying 2,270 seamen and marines, were employed. The ^{Naval armaments.} fleet arrived off Rangoon on April 2, 1852. The 'Proserpine,' carrying the governor-general's letter to the King of Burmah, was fired upon as she ascended the river, and the military and naval operations begun. Martaban was taken by assault, and while a detachment of the flotilla proceeded up the river to Kem-mendine, the fortifications of Rangoon, which were found to have been greatly strengthened since the former war, were ^{Rangoon captured.} attacked on the 12th, and finally stormed, and the city captured by assault, by General Godwin, on the 14th, in spite of a gallant and persevering resistance by the enemy, who numbered 10,000 men, with 100 pieces of cannon. Bassein, garrisoned by 5,000 Burmese, was taken on May 17 ; the capture of Prome followed on July 9 ; and General Godwin declining to advance on Prome, Lord Dalhousie arrived on July 27, in order to satisfy himself of the situation of affairs. ^{Lord Dalhousie arrives in Burmah.} He saw that extensive reinforcements were needed, and proposed to increase the invading army to 20,000 men ; and on October 9, General Godwin had advanced to Prome, which he found undefended and comparatively deserted.

Meanwhile, Major Hill, who had been left in charge of Pegu with 400 men of the 5th Madras Native Infantry, when ^{Major Hill's gallant defence of Pegu.} it was taken in June, was besieged by 6,000 Burmese ; and his memorable and arduous defence of the place forms the most notable incident of the war. In reply to his urgent application for reinforcements, General Godwin proceeded with 1,600 troops to his relief, and to his great joy found him still in possession of what he had so gallantly maintained. The Burmese at once evacuated the province, and the inhabitants with one accord prayed to be delivered from their long-endured tyranny, and taken under English protection : indeed, they had manifested a friendly spirit so constantly in the present, as well as in the former war, that it would have been an act of barbarity to abandon them a second time. Military operations were now suspended, for it seemed useless to prosecute war upon an enemy that could not fight, or a court prepared to abscond from Ava at any further approach of the English. The use of steam-vessels had completely paralysed all Burmese spirit, and the temporary defence of Rangoon was the only real action of the war. The question that remained was, what to do with the Burmese, and how to obtain satisfaction for injury and the cost of the war : for either, any application to the distracted Burmese court was useless. After mature deliberation, Lord Dalhousie determined to annex the

province of Pegu, for which a precedent had been established in the first war with Burmah, when the Arracan, Assam, and Tenasserim provinces had been annexed to British India. Yet this annexation, though confirmed by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, was at first looked upon with no favourable eye by many parties in England and in India. It extended, it was urged, the British possessions too far; it was indefensible and unproductive, and would be a permanent expense, instead of profit, to the Government of India. These gloomy anticipations have however proved, as Lord Dalhousie asserted they would prove, entirely unfounded. The prosperity of the country has increased beyond precedent, and the value of exports and imports are now reckoned by millions sterling. The population is easy to manage, thoroughly content, and increasing both in numbers and material wealth; and it is little to say that, to the admirable success of Colonel Sir Arthur Phayre's management, these brilliant and almost unlooked-for results are attributable.

While arrangements were being made for the occupation of the province, a revolution occurred at Ava, and the king was dethroned by his brother. In consequence of the British occupation of the river Irrawaddy, the utmost scarcity had prevailed at Ava, the prosecution of the war became unpopular, and so long as the power and counsels of the old king prevailed, peace was impossible. The Burmese estimated truly the impossibility of continuing the war, and on April 4, 1853, commissioners arrived at Prome to discuss a new treaty. They agreed to the annexation of Pegu, if the frontier were not extended to Meeaday, where it had been fixed, and this point was acceded to; but on May 9 they returned from Ava, and having found the king impracticable, no real treaty was prepared by them. Subsequently, however, the king, in a letter to the governor-general, virtually conceded all the British demands, and on June 30, 1853, a proclamation of peace was issued by Lord Dalhousie, which hitherto has suffered no interruption.

Annexation
of Pegu.

Results of
the measure.

The King of
Burmah
dethroned.

Proclamation
of peace.

CHAPTER IX.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*)—HYDERABAD
AND OTHER NATIVE STATES, 1853 TO 1854.

IN 1853 the affairs of Hyderabad came to a crisis, which had long been impending. In the year 1843, finding that it was impossible to carry on the government, his official credit Affairs of Hyderabad. being thoroughly exhausted, Rajah Chundoo Lall resigned office. Since the transaction, mentioned in Chap. V., Book VII., he had continued to borrow on very usurious terms and Bad effects of Rajah Chundoo Lall's administration. interest, to which the rates of Messrs. Palmer & Co. were trifling in comparison; to mortgage the State districts; to encourage and maintain costly levies of foreign mercenaries, from whom he could obtain advances; and by his revenue collectors to rack-rent the country to such a degree, that the revenue had become very seriously impaired. It was a common saying at Hyderabad, that those who accepted new district offices in payment of advances, rode out of the city with their faces to their horses' tails to see who followed them. In the districts, rival Talookdars went to war with each other; the people were ground by exactions; and crops of villages might be seen standing under attachment, eaten by the birds and destroyed by the rains, long after the season of harvest was past. Of administration in the departments of public justice and police, and of the regulation of the irregular army, which amounted to 50,000 men, of whom 16,000 were Arabs and half-caste Arabs—there was not even a pretence; and local disorders, robberies of mail-posts, and the oppression of foreign mercenaries—Arabs, Rohillas, Sikhs, and Patáns—was grievous and notorious. Remonstrance had had no effect, and any remedy short of assuming the administration appeared impossible. The State was also drifting into serious debt to the Debt to the British Government. British Government, which, animadverted upon severely and justly by the Court of Directors, became the foundation of subsequent proceedings. The contingent force, normally four months, but frequently more deeply in arrear, required to be paid, and there were other dues from the Nizam for stipends and pensions, settled by treaty after the last Mahratta war, which were never regularly settled, and had fallen into arrear.

After Rajah Chundoo Lall's resignation, the Nizam professed his intention to appoint a minister, but did not. He Conduct of the Nizam. then carried on public affairs himself in a desultory

manner for some time, through an agent, or vakeel, Suráj-ool-Moolk, the grandson of the great Meer Allum, who, in 1846, was finally appointed Dewán, or prime minister. Suráj-ool-Moolk's intentions were excellent, and his ability considerable; but his power of executing reform was very limited, and his best attempts to restore good government, and check the corruption which had heretofore flourished, were defeated by intrigues, which the Nizam too frequently countenanced. In 1848, Suráj-ool-Moolk was removed from office, and another nobleman, Amjud-ool-Moolk, appointed, a man without the slightest pretensions either to influence or ability. He also was removed, and Shumsh-ool-Oomra, a nobleman of high rank and great experience, took his place; but he shortly after resigned. Meanwhile, the debt to the British Government had continued to increase, and Lord Dalhousie had no resource, under the stringent orders of the court, but to declare it must be put in course of liquidation by the end of 1850. After trials of two other persons as financial ministers, all hope of arrangements by the Nizam had broken down by April 1851, and he was called upon by the governor-general to make arrangements for the transfer of territory in satisfaction for the amount owed, and for the future payment of the contingent. Certain districts were also proposed for cession, including Berar; but the Nizam still hoped to evade the necessity, and again appointed Suráj-ool-Moolk as minister, who proposed to set apart several districts for the provision of the necessary funds. The resources of these districts were ample for the purpose; and if the arrangement had been maintained inviolate, any necessity for further proceedings would have been averted. The debt to the company now amounted to about eighty lacs of rupees—800,000*l.*—of which forty lacs—400,000*l.*—was paid in August 1851.

General Fraser retired from the service in November 1852, and was succeeded as Resident at Hyderabad by Colonel (now General Sir John) Low. Public affairs were by no means improved; the debt to the English Government had again risen to nearly half a million sterling, and any hope of obtaining payments, even for current demands, was completely at an end. The necessity of ceding territory was again laid before the Nizam; several somewhat stormy interviews took place between him and Colonel Low, which are graphically described in the 'blue-book,' and in the end, the Nizam yielded, though reluctantly. He had, indeed, displayed more ability in the discussion than he had been thought capable of; reviewing past

Ministry of
Suráj-ool-
Moolk.

who is
removed
from office.

Others in
succession.

Demands of
the governor-
general.

Suráj-ool-
Moolk
resumes
office.

The Nizam's
debt in-
creases.

The Nizam
yields a
reluctant
consent.

treaties and transactions, and in particular exposing the discreditable resumption of the peshcush of the Northern Circars on account of 'Palmer's claim.' He was, however, on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, he could not bring himself to part with the contingent force, which the governor-general offered to disband; on the other, he had no means of paying the debt, or the charges of the contingent. The new treaty provided thirty-six lacs as the new cost of the contingent, the previous amount being reduced by six lacs—and all the Nizam's or local officers were pensioned. Three districts—Berar, Nuldroog, and the Raichore Doab—were finally assigned to English management, the Nizam retaining his sovereign rights, and the British Government covenanting to render just accounts of the receipts and disbursements.

Lord Dalhousie has been severely censured for these transactions by many writers; but if some over-strong expressions in correspondence, the result of irritation, be excepted, there is nothing objectionable or overbearing in the result. It is impossible to pity, or sympathise with, the wilful extravagance and mismanagement of the Nizam's government, during a period of twenty-five years, and under repeated warnings of their consequences, or to allow that plea for the non-fulfilment of obligations. It is equally impossible to overlook the fact, that under General Fraser's arrangements of 1851, the settlement remained in the hands of the Nizam's government alone. As to the contingent force, it had continuously repressed disorder throughout the country, it was the only check the Nizam possessed against his lawless mercenaries, and it had rendered many special services. Its cost was well known to, and admitted by, the Nizam. It might have been discharged in 1829; but was deliberately retained, while its cost was materially reduced. It is, therefore, unjust to Lord Dalhousie to attribute to him motives which did not exist; and he had the satisfaction of delivering the Nizam, and his own Government, from very painful relative positions. The treaty of 1853 was subsequently modified in 1860, and, as will be noted in its proper place, all causes of discontent were then removed. Suráj-ool-Moolk, after a long illness, died very shortly after the treaty had been executed, and his nephew, Salar Jung, young in years but of great ability and promise, was appointed minister, and whose admirable administration still continues. At the period of the assignment of territory by the Nizam, the Rajah of Shorápoor attained his majority, and his country was made over to him. The revenues had been doubled during nearly twelve years of careful management, and every inducement existed to hope that he might continue

Review of
the transac-
tions.

Shorápoor.

what had been established. His fate was, however, a miserable end, as will be hereafter stated.

In 1852-3, Ally Morád, one of the Ameers of Sindé, whose traitorous conduct to his eldest brother will be remembered, was found guilty, after his trial by a commission, of forgery, and the lands he had obtained were resumed.

The Nawáb of the Carnatic died childless in 1853, and his uncle, Azim Jáh, claimed the throne as the nearest collateral heir. Lord Harris, then governor of Madras, opposed any succession not recognisable by treaty, and

was supported by his Council. They recommended that the family should be liberally provided for, and their debts paid; but that its recognition as local royalty should cease. With these views Lord Dalhousie concurred, and the decision was confirmed by the Court of Directors. By

another death in the same year a considerable annual pension of eight lacs—80,000*l.*—lapsed to Government.

Bajee Ráo, the ex-Péshwah, died at Bithoor, in the month of January, having adopted an heir—Dhóndoo Punt, the Nána Sahib of subsequent infamous memory—who inherited the personal property of the Péshwah, which

was acknowledged to be twenty-eight lacs of rupees—280,000*l.*—though believed to be much more. Nána Sahib's application for the continuance of the Péshwah's pension was refused, for it had been a grant for Bajee Ráo's life only; but the town and territory of Bithoor were conferred upon him for life. Not content with this decision, the Nána

sent an agent to London, who made even more preposterous demands, which were in turn rejected. Bajee Ráo had received two and a half millions sterling during the period of his deposal, and was of notoriously penurious habits; and while his savings were not interfered with, the recognition of any hereditary right to the pension in an adopted heir was manifestly impossible.

If the nature and variety of all these political questions of 1853,

apart from the current business of the State, be considered, it will be evident how severely the governor-general's powers, great as they were, had been taxed; but in addition there were other subjects under review and settlement, the most important of which was that of the projected railways.

On April 20, 1853, Lord Dalhousie submitted a minute to the Court of Directors, which, thoroughly and practically acquainted with the subject as he had become while President of the Board of Trade in England, formed the basis of all those great works since completed, or now under construction, which will be detailed hereafter. The minute embraced

every subject, political, military, and commercial ; and as one of Lord Dalhousie's most comprehensive State papers, amply repays perusal : and the result of experience and time has amply proved the value of the counsel then given. The electric telegraph communication was spread over India in an almost incredibly short space of time, by the exertions of Dr., now Sir William, O'Shaughnessy. He had been sent to England expressly, in 1852, to assist in passing the question, to which no opposition was made in the Court of Directors, and to form an establishment. Before the end of 1853, the work was in rapid progress, and has continued to be extended wherever necessary ; and Lord Dalhousie's hope, that the Indian might ultimately be united with the European systems, has been accomplished, and is being gradually perfected—it need hardly be said with what advantage to the Government or to the community.

Electric
telegraph
established.

Finally, in 1853, the East India Company's charter—which had been extended, in 1833, for twenty years, came to an end. It was not abolished, neither was any further term specifically assigned to it ; but the constitution of the Court of Directors was considerably modified. The number of directors was reduced from twenty-four to eighteen—twelve to be elected as before, and six nominated by the crown—and their subordination to the Indian minister of the crown was thus rendered more complete, though the independence of the body was not yet extinguished. Their patronage was, however, curtailed, by throwing open the civil service to competition ; and, reviewing the past, it will be more than ever apparent to the student, as the effects of the administration of the Court of Directors are traced to their sources, that the collision of the court with the minister of the crown in the famous ' mandamus ' case, in regard to the affairs of William Palmer & Co., formed the foundation of their subsequent comparative weakness and eventual dissolution.

Charter of
the East
India Com-
pany ends.

Modification
of the Court
of Directors.

Under the new arrangements also, Bengal was created a separate government, with a lieutenant-governor ; thus liberating the governor-general from a large portion of local detail, and providing a responsible authority for that of the senior member of Council whenever the governor-general was absent, which had been usually ineffective.

Bengal
created a
separate
government.

CHAPTER X.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION (*continued*)—NAGPOOR AND JHANSY, 1853 TO 1854.

OF all the period of Lord Dalhousie's administration, the year 1853-1854 most abounds with remarkable occurrences. The Burmese war had closed; but the diversity of the subjects which successively occupied the attention of the governor-general, show forth his versatility of talent and capacity of judgment more strongly, if possible, than the direction of war, or the ordinary course of civil administration. It is necessary to place them in order, if not of date of importance, for that reference to details which, impossible to be given here, should not be omitted by the student.

In this year (1853), the Rajah of Jhansy died, on November 11, without heirs, and on the 27th of the same month, *Affairs of Jhansy.* Rughojee Bhóslay, rajah of Berar, also died, under similar circumstances. *Death of the Rajah of Berar.* The former State was comparatively insignificant; but the latter was of considerable importance, having an area of 78,500 square miles, with a population of 4,650,000; and it remained to be concluded whether both should be annexed to the British dominions, or whether the adoption of successors should be permitted. *Case of Nagpoor.* The case of Nagpoor was first decided; and, under a proclamation by the Government of India, it was annexed in the month of December, 1853. *The State annexed.* The deceased rajah, though during the last two years of his life he had been repeatedly urged to do so by the Resident, Mr. Mansel, had declared no heir, and expressed aversion to the discussion of adoption. *The rajah declines to adopt an heir.* There was no one on the male side recognisable by Hindoo law who could claim a right to the succession, and the rajah's widows, though, under Mahratta usage, they might have made an adoption, and subsequently offered to do so, could only instance persons of descent in the female line, and their request was rejected. The question, therefore, remained to be decided on grounds of expediency, not of right. In favour of continuing the State by adoption, or recognition of some claimant to the succession, Mr. Mansel, the Resident, pleaded strongly, and *Mr. Mansel's minute supported by Sir John Low.* was supported in the Supreme Council by Sir John Low, in an able minute, which set forth the alarm already existent

among native States, consequent upon the annexations of Sind and the Punjab, the necessity of maintaining public faith inviolate, and the advisability of allowing the widows of the rajah and the chief men of Nagpoor to make their own arrangements in regard to a successor.

These views were, however, diametrically opposed to that of the governor-general. 'The State of Nagpoor,' he wrote, 'conferred on the rajah and his heirs in 1818 by the British Government, has reverted to it on the death of the rajah without any heir.' But this assumption, which formed the basis of his lordship's decision, was that the State, like Sattara and Mysore, had been the free and new gift of the British Government, after conquest of the territory, and when no valid claim on the part of the original possessors existed. Opinion of the governor-general. In this case, however, it was not so. After the treachery of Appa Sahib, in 1818, the State of Nagpoor, though it lay at the mercy of the British Government, was not annexed; but, on the contrary, continued without interruption to the heir adopted by the Ranee (Chap. V., Book VII.). Consequently, on the terms of the court's decision in the cases of Sattara and Kerowly, previously mentioned, Nagpoor appears clearly to lie in the category of the latter, and of Sindia and Holkar, &c., not of the former. Difference between Nagpoor and Mysore, &c. The question of expediency, and whether or not the people, as indeed has been triumphantly proved, would be more content and prosperous under the British than under a native government, is beside the subject, and should not have entered into its discussion. The annexation was, nevertheless, decided upon, and undoubtedly caused much alarm and discussion in native society throughout India. Native discussion on the subject. The new policy could not be understood, when, in the instances of Holkar, Sindia, Oorcha, Duttea, Oodypoor, Kerowly, and others, native independent States originally created, and held in descent from their founders by adoption, were recognised without demur, and without challenge as to the person adopted being of either near or distant relationship. Nagpoor had been founded as an independent State before the British had exercised any political power whatever, and its existence had been continued without interruption. If natives admitted the abstract right of the British Government to do as it pleased with what had become its own by conquest, or to revoke any gifts previously made, they considered, and it must be admitted with justice, that States recognised by treaty as independent should be exempt from interference in cases of succession, and left to their own arrangements. Such rights have in fact been since recognised and established by law; but the then unsettled state of these questions produced what was termed the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, which

he maintained to the last, under the support of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control.

If the annexation of Nagpoor was an unpopular and alarming measure, the mode in which it was carried out increased the dissatisfaction of the native public of India, and in a great measure the European also, in no small degree. The governor-general, though he might confiscate the State, had surely nothing to do with the private property of the deceased rajah; and the rough manner in which it was seized, and, to all outward appearances, confiscated, and sold by auction—jewels, horses and the like—savoured, to the native mind, more of the confiscations of old Mahomedan tyrants than of the benignity of British rule. It would be little to say that few, even now, understand that the proceeds—200,000*l.*—were invested in a fund for the benefit of the Ranees and family of Nagpoor; but the property did not realise half its estimated value, and it was a great, but irredeemable error, to have interfered with it in any way. Independent of the fund, the Ranees and family receive liberal pensions from the revenues of Nagpoor.

Jhansy was the next case. This small territory had been one of the Peshwah's first acquisitions from the Moghuls, and a Mahratta Brahmin family had been appointed to its management, under the title of Soobahdar. It was not an independent State, though the office was hereditary according to Mahratta usage, and part of the revenue was doubtless remitted to the State treasury. The Soobahdar was faithful to the British cause in the war of 1804, and a treaty was made with him by Lord Lake, which was confirmed by another in 1817, on the cession, under the treaty of Bassein, by the Peshwah, of all his rights in Hindostan, by which the Jhansy territory was continued to the ruler and his 'heirs and successors.' In 1832, Lord William Bentinck, in recognition of his loyalty and his well-ordered government, conferred the title of 'Máharajah' on Rám Chunder Ráo, who adopted the English flag as his own, hoisted it on his citadel, and saluted it with a hundred guns. Rám Chunder died in 1835, and having no male heir, the succession devolved on the male representative of his grandfather's line, which was confirmed; and Gunga Dhur Ráo, continuing all the good faith of his predecessors, died on November 11, 1853. Before his death, having no heir, he adopted Anund Ráo, a boy of five years old—'My grandson, through my grandfather,' as he wrote: but which in reality, meant the adoption of the nearest male in descent from his great-grandfather, Sheo Ráo.

Objectionable means used to carry out the measure.

The private property is seized,

and sold by auction.

The proceeds invested on account of the Ranees.

Case of Jhansy.

Adoption of an heir by the rajah.

On his death-bed, as it proved, the Máharajah wrote to the governor-general that he had taken this step in case he should not survive : and that his wife, Gunga Bye, was to be considered regent during the boy's minority. This letter was read in the presence of the political agent for Bundelkhund, the day before the Máharajah's death, and duly forwarded. The adoption was not, however, allowed, and the State was confiscated ; and the grounds adduced for the proceeding were, that Jhansy was not originally an independent native State, but a dependency of the Peshwah's, to which the British Government succeeded under the treaty of Bassein, but which it had continued to the person found in possession ; and that Sir Charles Metcalfe had on a former occasion decided against the principle of adoption in this State. On that occasion, however, there was a real heir living, and Sir Charles would not allow him to be set aside: it was not the principle of adoption that was then objected to, but adoption to the prejudice of a real heir. Sir John Low on this occasion agreed with the governor-general ; but while he and Mr. Halliday could not controvert the arguments his lordship had adduced, they trusted the example of Kerowly might be followed. The annexation was not carried out with a show of force, and it was evident that the popular sympathy of the whole of Bundelkhund and the north-west provinces was in favour of the dispossessed Ranee and her family.

His letter to the governor-general.

Discussion in Council.

Native sympathy with the family.

Looking back on the past, this annexation, though based upon an exercise of abstract right, on the basis of the treaty of Bassein, appears to have been inexpedient, and not a little forced and ungenerous, considering the previous uniform good faith displayed and material assistance rendered by the Jhansy family on many occasions, and their recognition, by regular treaties, as independent princes. If necessary, which the small value of the principality put out of consideration, reduction might have been made in the amount of territory, to the original limits of the State ; but entire confiscation, following immediately upon that of Nagpoor, increased the prevalent apprehensions to a painful extent. The measure was, however, confirmed by the Court of Directors, and for a time no more was heard of Jhansy.

Considerations of the policy.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE (*concluded*)—
THE ANNEXATION OF OUDH, 1854 TO 1856.

ON June 30, 1855, a vast body of Santáls, an aboriginal tribe occupying the hills and forests on the north-west frontier of Bengal, assembled in rebellion, or, as they alleged, with the purpose of proceeding to Calcutta to lay their grievances before the head of the Government, and set out on their march. Their advanced guard, with their leaders, amounted to 30,000 men. They soon ate up the cakes they had brought with them, and beginning to plunder villages, put to death a native officer of police. This was their first overt act of rebellion, and it occurred on July 7. The Santál war, as it was called, ended with the year; and, as in relation to the great famine of 1770, reference was given to Mr. W. W. Hunter's admirable 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' so in the case of the Santáls, the student is referred to the same interesting work, not only for an account of this petty war, but for its causes and effects, as well as for a description, ethnological and otherwise, of the Santáls, which is unequalled in Indian literature. When the causes of the outbreak, which resembled those of the Kóle war (Chapter X., Book VII.), were understood, the most efficient remedy was provided against a recurrence of discontent, in the separation of the Santál from the ordinary regulation districts, and the nomination of a special commissioner—an arrangement which has fulfilled all the intentions of its establishment.

No subject in relation to the policy of Lord Dalhousie has received more searching commentary than the annexation of Oudh. It has been reviewed again and again in contemporary histories, in Parliamentary returns, in the publication of every document connected with it, and by the public press both of England and India, and will continue to be discussed in every succeeding history as long as India remains under the government of Great Britain. Any review of the whole of the transactions would be manifestly impossible in a work like the present, which only professes to point out facts for the guidance of the student, leaving him, as has been repeatedly stated, to refer to the details, and form his own judgment. There is no question that the misgovernment of Oudh had approached a crisis, at which interference was not only justifiable, but necessary

and unavoidable. The successive reports of Colonel Sleeman and General Outram, both avowedly the staunch friends of native dynasties, teem with details of the sufferings of the people, the lawlessness of the population, and the brutal tyranny and exactions of the local aristocracy. There is equally no doubt of the profligate character of the king; of his inability and unfitness to govern; his frivolity, his sensuality, his attachment to miserable favourites and parasites, singers, dancers, buffoons, and even menial servants; his disregard of, and indifference to, warnings repeated again and again with the utmost earnestness and good faith, by Lord William Bentinck, Lord Auckland, and Lord Hardinge, in, it cannot be questioned, the sincere hope that he would make an attempt to overcome the local disorders, and to regain the confidence he had all but forfeited.

But these hopes were vain. There was not only no improvement, but the local administration, practically effete, made no effort to redeem its position, and sunk lower and lower, even in the eyes of its own subjects. All these are patent facts, which no one, even among the most bitter censurers of the annexation, has ever disproved, or sought to disprove; and yet the question remains open as to whether the course pursued was justified by the emergency, and whether the abrogation of treaties, and cancelling of all claims by a dynasty on which, in its sorest times of need, the British Government of India had relied without ever experiencing disappointment, and to which its obligations had been placed on record for nearly a hundred years, was not a breach of national faith.

The question of interference in Oudh was one of those which, from its magnitude, and perpetually recurring causes of complaint in one form or other, had rested constantly under consideration of the executive government of India; but it had never been grappled with and decided. No temporary remedial measures could be applied, warnings had become useless, and were most likely considered as mere threats, which had been uttered again and again, and were of no real significance. They did not drive the king from his low indulgences, nor did they affect the aristocracy, who, confident in their own local power, scorned them. Of all warnings, that of Lord William Bentinck, in 1837, was perhaps the most emphatic and most solemn. It was submitted to the king in writing, so that it could not be ignored in the future; and Lord Hardinge's subsequent limit of two years only, before any final step was taken, pledged the British Government to action if it were necessary. That was in 1847, and instead of two years, seven had elapsed without change,

or without execution of the orders of 1834, issued by the Court of Directors, which formed the basis of the remonstrance of Lord William Bentinck in 1837. For upwards of fifty years, the kingdom of Oudh had enjoyed perfect immunity from war, and from outward danger of every kind; and had it possessed an ordinarily capable administration, it might have become the richest and most prosperous native State in India; but for these fifty years, neglect and indifference had uniformly prevailed, and were now irremediable.

That the assumption of the administration was a public necessity there can be little doubt. No one denied it then, or denies it now. The question rather is, whether the dynasty should have been extinguished or allowed to remain as it was, on the footing of the Nawábs of Moorshidabad or of the Carnatic. On this point the

Official
minutes on
the question.

student has the benefit of the minutes of Lord Dalhousie, of the members of his Council, including Sir John Low and Mr., now Sir, Charles Halliday, Sir J. P. Grant, Mr. Dorin, and Sir Barnes Peacock; and in England of the Court of Directors, the President of the Board of Control, and the Cabinet. Of the Indian minutes, Lord Dalhousie's

Lord
Dalhousie's
opinion.

advised complete assumption of the administration, but not the extinction of the dynasty; on the contrary, that the king should retain the sovereignty, receiving a share of the general revenues, with provisions for all the members of the royal family. That the measure, moreover, could only be adopted with the king's consent, which, his lordship wrote, 'is indispensable to the transfer of the whole or any part of his sovereign power to the government of the East India Company: it would not be expedient or right to extract this consent by means of menace or compulsion.' Sir John Low, who had opposed the governor-

Sir John
Low's.

general in the case of Nagpoor, advised the 'assumption of the government exclusively and permanently;' and that the king should retain his title for life, but not the sovereignty.

But these documents need not be further reviewed, since they are open to those who may desire to read them. All are conclusive as to the 'assumption of the administration;' but they vary in respect to the continuance of the sovereignty, and the disposal of the surplus revenues. It is necessary, however, to quote a paragraph

Colonel
Sleeman's
report.

of Colonel Sleeman's report, to show how nearly the opinion of Lord Dalhousie coincided with his. 'If therefore,' writes Colonel Sleeman, 'our Government does

interfere, it must be in the exercise of a right arising out of the existing relations between the two States, or out of our position as the paramount power in India. These relations, under the treaty of 1837, give our Government the right to take upon itself the

Administration under present circumstances; and indeed imposes on our Government the duty of taking it; but, as I have already stated, neither these relations, nor our position as the paramount power, give us any right to annex or confiscate the territory of Oudh. . . . We have only the right to secure for the suffering people that better government which their sovereign pledged himself to secure for them, but has failed to secure.'

Nothing can be clearer or juster than this: and it would have been well had these views, which were confirmed by those of the governor-general, been adopted in England, in lieu of the extreme measure of final annexation, and the extinction of the dynasty; but the authorities in England were unanimous in deciding upon entire confiscation, and the opinions of Lord Dalhousie were overruled. It is therefore manifestly unjust to lay upon him the sole burden of the responsibility of the ultimate measure, to which, in one of his most remarkable and exhaustive minutes, he had recorded a deliberate objection and dissent.

Agreement between Lord Dalhousie and Colonel Sleeman.

Opinion in England.

But, unfortunately, Lord Dalhousie had pledged himself to carry out the decision of the home authorities, and he remained, though sorely broken in health, for this especial purpose. By this course he did not do himself justice: and when the decision arrived, he might well have declined to execute what his mature judgment had not confirmed. Had he done so, time would have been given for consideration, and the final decree might have been modified. But, throughout his administration, Lord Dalhousie had been careful to obey orders from home when they were issued, and in this case he did not act upon impulse.

On February 7, 1856, the territory of Oudh ceased to exist as an independent sovereignty, and was annexed by proclamation to the British dominions. The most painful duty ever performed by Sir James Outram, the Resident, was the communication of the final decision to the king, who submitted, with tears, to an inevitable result, though to the last he refused to sign the deed of resignation; but the mandate had gone forth, and must be obeyed. One of the king's last acts—perhaps his very last—was to issue a proclamation to his subjects enjoining on them peaceful submission to the British Government. With the territory, the private property of the king was also confiscated and sold, which was the more to be regretted as it reawakened and augmented the odium already incurred in the case of Nagpoor. As he was to reside in Calcutta, the king might easily have removed his property, or, if he had pleased, sold it; but to consider it under the circumstances as belonging to the

The annexation of Oudh is proclaimed.

Conduct of the king.

The king's property sold.

State, and therefore to the British Government, was a deplorable and ungracious mistake, and awakened a degree of sympathy which would not perhaps have been otherwise displayed. An allowance of twelve lacs of rupees—120,000—odium of the sale. a year was settled upon the king during his life.

The annexation of Oudh may be considered the closing act of Lord Dalhousie's administration, for he sailed from India a month afterwards, on March 6, 1856, leaving a celebrated minute as the record of the events and measures of his incumbency. He believed India to be perfectly secure and peaceful, and he left it with a sincere and honest conviction that it would so remain.

Mr. Marshman, in the third volume of his 'History,' has specially devoted the closing portion to a review of all the acts of Lord Dalhousie's administration, with much skill and eloquence, which will be read with interest; but while it is impossible to detail and illustrate them, as Mr. Marshman has done, the satisfaction of quoting a passage from a celebrated article in the London 'Times' of that period may not be denied. Nothing more just or true could be written.

He, Lord Dalhousie, could point to railways planned on an enormous scale, and partly constructed; to 4,000 miles of electric telegraph spread over India, at an expense of little more than 50*l.* a mile; to 2,000 miles of road, bridged and metalled, nearly the whole distance from Calcutta to Pesháwar; to the opening of the Ganges Canal, the longest of its kind in the world; to the progress of the Punjáb canals, and of many other important works of irrigation all over India, as well as to the reorganisation of an official department of public works. Keeping equal pace with these public works, he could refer to the postal system which he introduced in imitation of that of Rowland Hill, whereby a letter from Pesháwar to Cape Comorin, or from Assam to Kurráchee, is conveyed for three-farthings, or one-sixteenth of the old charge; to the improved training for the civil service, covenanted and uncovenanted; to the improvement of education and prison discipline; to the organisation of the Legislative Council, to the reforms which it had decreed—such as permitting Hindoo widows to marry again, and relieving all persons from the risk of forfeiting property by a change of religion. Many more items might be added to this list, were it necessary to prove the largeness and benevolence of the views and measures of this great statesman; and there is no doubt, from his recorded opinions, that the annexation measures so bitterly urged against him, were founded on the conviction that, in effecting them, he had delivered millions from the irregularities and oppression of native govern-

ments, and secured for them the prospective advantages of protection and peace. No one can record, for few knew, of his daily toil, or how, with a delicate frame, he overcame it; toil which overworked and destroyed his physical powers, and in 1860 sent him to his grave. "I have played out my part," he said sadly, in reply to an address from the people of Calcutta, "and while I feel that in my case the principal act in the drama of my life is ended, I shall be content if the curtain should now drop on my public career."

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CANNING, 1856 to 1857.

THE successor to Lord Dalhousie, chosen in England, was Lord Canning, who, after several years' service in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, had become postmaster-general in 1853. His moderate views and great powers of application to business, probably induced his selection. Lord Dalhousie had, it was considered, done enough for the present; and his measures might be worked out and perfected by one who perhaps would introduce few of his own or interfere with those of his great predecessor. Lord Canning assumed the office of governor-general on February 29, 1856, a few days before Lord Dalhousie's final departure; and it is probable, received from him a general explanation of the policy which had been pursued. India itself seemed to be in a state of profound tranquillity and content; receiving the vast impetus which had been given to her material progress in education—male and female—railways, telegraphs, canals, roads, &c., during Lord Dalhousie's tenure of office, with outward equanimity, if not with demonstrative appreciation. There was no political danger or apprehension looming on the horizon; and the native States that existed retained no elements of present or prospective danger. At its outset, therefore, the administration of Lord Canning seemed likely to be employed in the regulation of details only; and yet it proved one of the most terrible and momentous that had ever been witnessed in the history of the world.

Looking deeper, however, than the surface, there were latent causes of uneasiness which largely pervaded the minds of the native classes of all ranks and creeds. The system of education, now so much enlarged and progressing, was entirely opposed to Hindoo faith and doctrine, and in an equal

degree to Mahomedan. Schools, English and vernacular, were crowded with Hindoo scholars, who, in everything they learned, could not fail to be imbued with convictions essentially antagonistic to their hereditary faith. By Mahomedans, indeed, they were comparatively little resorted to; but by Hindoos with eager thirst for knowledge, and active competition in its acquirement. In schools presided over by missionaries of all denominations, Christianity was professedly part of the course of instruction, and these were attended as numerous as those of Government, in which Christian teaching was necessarily forbidden. The subjects taught in all schools were discussed in the homes of the scholars, under all the bigotry of their old faith, by the parents and relatives of the scholars: and the deductions made were, as may be imagined, the causes of apprehension of the effects of the system in progress, impotent to check advance, but nevertheless existent, and prevalent to a very large extent, in all quarters of India.

There was no question either that the material progress of India was unintelligible to the natives in general. A few intelligent and educated persons might understand the use ^{Effects of material progress.} and scope of railways, telegraphs, steam-vessels, and recognise in them the direction of a great government for the benefit of the people; but the ancient listless conservatism of the population at large was disturbed by them. 'The English,' it was said, 'never did such things before; why do they do so now? These are but new devices for the domination of their rule, and are aimed at the destruction of our national faith, caste, and customs! What was it all to come to? Was India to become like England? The earlier company's servants were simple, but wise men, and we respected them; we understood them, and they us; but the present men are not like them; we do not know them, nor they us.' No one cared perhaps very much for such sentiments, and few, very few, English heard them; but they will not have been forgotten by those who did.

For nearly a century, the English in India, supported by the Court of Directors in England, had preserved neutrality in regard to, if not a direct conservatism of, the hitherto existent social and religious systems and prejudices of India; any change was deprecated, and as long as possible withstood. The demands of the younger English school of progressionists were coldly received and jealously restrained; but in the end they could not be resisted, and the immense efforts of Lord Dalhousie, suddenly, as it were, brought to bear on the previous restrictive policy, were too marked in their character and effects to be viewed with indifference by the people.

Few measures of importance passed through the Council of India

in 1856. A bill for prohibiting or restraining the polygamy of the
 Legislative enactments. Kooleen Brahmins of Bengal, which was supported by
 many very influential natives, was discussed, but set
 aside for the present. On the other hand, the native army was
 General service oath. affected by the promulgation of an order to enlist no
 Sepoys who would not take an oath to serve wherever
 they might be ordered to go, either in India or beyond sea. By
 many officers of the old school, who had taken a curious but
 absurd pride in the 'high caste' of their men, the order was con-
 sidered with apprehension; but it had become unavoidably
 necessary in Bengal, and in Madras and Bombay, where 'high
 caste' Sepoys were mingled with others, it had been found pro-
 ductive of no inconvenience. It was judicious, moreover, to
 check the high caste domination which had led to mutinies, and
 The penal code. affected the morale of the whole Bengal army. The
 penal code, commenced by Lord Macaulay, and dis-
 cussed in England by the most eminent of English jurists, was
 brought forward by Mr., now Sir, Barnes Peacock; and though
 not finally passed, was sent for trial to the Punjab, to the Hyderabad
 commission for the districts assigned by the Nizam, and other
 localities where the 'regulations' were not in use.

Royal family of Dehly. The question of the future location as well as the
 privileges of the royal family at Dehly, in regard to
 which so much discussion had taken place under Lord Dalhousie's
 administration, was resumed in 1856. The previous condition in
 which it was left by Lord Dalhousie will be found detailed in Chap.
 VII., Book VIII., and the final decision by the governor-general was
 now communicated to those concerned. The circumstances of the
 family had become altered in a material degree. The Prince
 Fukhr-ood-deen, who had been recognised as heir-apparent, and
 with whom the agreement in regard to the evacuation of the
 palace had been made, died on July 10, 1856, not without strong
 suspicions of having been poisoned; and an intrigue began, directed
 by the Queen Zeenut Mahál, to secure the heirship for her son.
 Final settle- The king, indeed, made an official request that this
 ment in Council. might be done; but the course would have involved a
 breach of Mahomedan law, and Mirza Korash, the next
 in legal succession to Fukhr-ood-deen, was recognised by the
 governor-general in Council, on the terms of the agreement made
 with the deceased prince, with this essential difference, that the
 conditions were not of agreement or bargain, as before, but as an
 independent decree on the part of Government.

It cannot be doubted that this final award, however just in
 regard to the succession, or necessary in a military point of view
 as regarded possession of the palace, was bitterly resented, as

indeed was only natural, by the royal family : that, remembering the old relations between the company and the empire, the immense benefits originally conferred on them, and the admitted position of the company as servants of the State, it was only natural they should now be accused of perfidy. The efforts and intrigues of the spirited queen and several of the princes were now redoubled, locally as well as in foreign quarters ; and India, especially the north-west provinces, became filled with the most alarming rumours, which, as the peculiar superstitious crisis advanced, agitated the minds of Hindoos and Mahomedans alike. The questions alike of the succession, the title of king, and possession of the palace, were to be decided by sterner measures than orders in Council ; and the narrative of events will supply the particulars in their proper order.

Towards the close of 1855, a series of studied insults to the British envoy in Persia, Mr. Murray, obliged him to leave Teheran, and retire to Bagdad ; and a Persian army again attacked, and on this occasion captured, Herât, in defiance of the former treaty, which engaged that it should not be molested. Under orders from England, war was proclaimed against Persia on November 1, 1856, and an army of about 6,000 men was dispatched from Bombay to the Persian Gulf, to be under the command and direction of Sir James Outram, when he should join it. Before his arrival, however, hostilities had commenced by an attack upon Rushair, a fort near the city of Bushire, on December 7, which, though the place was carried with trifling loss, proved that the Persian and Arab defenders were no mean antagonists. The day following, Bushire was attacked, and after a spirited defence, the garrison surrendered, and to the number of 2,000—many having escaped—laid down their arms ; their guns, sixty-five in number, being taken possession of.

On January 27 Sir James Outram reached Bushire, and assumed the command ; and having been joined by one of the brigades of Havelock's division, marched, on January 3, 1857, upon Burras-joon, where the Persian army had assembled with the intention of recapturing Bushire. After a fatiguing march of forty-one miles, he reached the position on the 5th, but found it deserted ; and destroying the military stores found there, he commenced his return on the 7th by a night march. In his progress, being annoyed by attacks on the baggage made by the Persian cavalry, he halted and waited for daylight. When day dawned, after a night of miserable cold and rain, the Persian army was seen drawn up in battle array at a comparatively short distance on the left flank, and was immediately attacked ; the cavalry, consisting of the Poona Horse and 3rd Bombay regi-

ment, making brilliant charges, one of which became memorable from the breaking of a square of disciplined Persian infantry by the 3rd Cavalry, and its almost entire destruction. The enemy did not wait the approach of the British infantry, but fled, leaving 700 dead on the field and many wounded. The force then returned to Bushire, having had only ten killed and sixty-two wounded in this spirited combat.

No further actions took place till March 28, when the strong fort and position of Mohamrah, situated on the Karoon river, a branch of the Euphrates, were attacked by the fleet and army in combination. Here the Prince Khan Mirza, with a powerful force, had established his headquarters, and considerable resistance was anticipated. Beyond, however, sustaining a cannonade from the fort and batteries, which was quickly silenced by the ships, none was experienced; for the prince and his army were found to have abandoned the camp, and to be in full retreat. The final movement of the war was a small expedition sent up the Karoon on the 29th, under Commodore Rennie, who on April 1 found the Persians, about 7,000 strong, posted at Ahwáz. The latter again fled without attempting to dispute the advance, leaving their camp to be taken possession of, with all the stores it contained.

Meanwhile, the preliminaries of a peace had been adjusted at Paris. The Shah again renounced all pretensions to Herát, and agreed to withdraw his troops from Afghanistan; and protection to British trade, and the continuance of the measures for the suppression of the slave trade, were also guaranteed. It is probable, however, that the attitude of Dost Mahomed, the ruler of Afghanistan, and his renewed connection with the Government of India, had contributed as much to the termination of the war as the actual attack upon the southern dominions of Persia. Early in January 1857, Sir John Lawrence, governor of the Punjab, had met Dost Mahomed by appointment near Pesháwur. Old animosities were put aside by the Dost, who in the frankest good faith declared they were forgiven and forgotten, and that henceforth till his death he would be true to a nation who, in his exile, had treated him with respect and honour. But substantial advantages were guaranteed to him, in a subsidy of twelve lacs—120,000*l.*—a year so long as the war with Persia should last; 4,000 stand of arms were presented to him, and on his own part he engaged to maintain an army of 18,000 men. The speedy termination of the war afforded him no opportunity of meeting the Persians in the field; but there can be no doubt that a renewal of friendship with Dost Mahomed served the purposes of peace most materially. He

Attack on
Mohamrah.

Peace
concluded.

Friendly
negotiations
with Dost
Mahomed.

was as good as his word, and to the day of his death his faith remained unquestioned and unbroken.

The war with China, which began in the latter end of 1856, had little connection with India beyond the employment there of troops of the Indian army, and it does ^{War with China.} not, therefore, belong to Indian history. It may be mentioned, however, that before the month of November, 1856, the forts at the entrance of the Canton river had been stormed and taken by the English fleet, Canton had been twice bombarded, and all the British factories had been burned in retaliation. Reinforcements were urgently applied for, and Lord Elgin was dispatched by the Ministry as special commissioner to the Chinese Government, to be followed by troops from England and from India. Those from India were in course of preparation, to be placed under the command of General Ashburnham; but they had happily not been dispatched when the occurrence of momentous events rendered the employment of every European who could bear arms an imperative necessity which had not been foreseen, and against which there was but scanty provision.

CHAPTER II.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CANNING (*continued*)—THE SEPOY MUTINY, 1857.

AT last had arrived the Hindoo 'Sumbut' 1914 (1857-58), the hundredth year after the battle of Plassy, when, on a certain conjunction of the planets, it had been declared ^{The prediction of Plassy.} by astrologers, that the ráj, or reign, of the company, was to continue, for a hundred years, but no more. It is impossible to overrate the effect of this strange prediction among a people who, ever credulous and superstitious in the last degree, look to astrological combinations for their guidance in every circumstance and action of life, and who will neither marry, make a bargain, set out on a journey, nor even have their nails pared or put on new clothes, without a favourable conjunction of the planets. Sumbut 1914, therefore, with its accompanying prognostications of dire events, of tumults, of wars, of pestilence and death—and above all, the cessation of the dominant power, agitated India in a most profound degree in all quarters. In every Hindoo ^{Hindoo almanac.} village community in every part of India, forms part of the ceremony of the first day of the new year, the predictions of the year,

made upon the aspects of the planets, are invariably declared. On this occasion, for the mysterious Sumbut 1914, along with the prophecies of good or bad fortune in crops and harvests or in trade, were mingled fatal auguries to ruling powers, which were believed as the infallible deductions of a hundred years before. The company's power had indeed as yet triumphed over all opposition, because it had kept faith with the people of India: and Mahratta, Mahomedan, and Sikh had alike succumbed to what it was hopeless to resist; but it was to cease. During the period preceding this Sumbut (1856-57), there had been a frightful visitation of cholera, which in strict accordance with prediction had swept away thousands and thousands of the people, and tremendous floods in Bengal had destroyed the industry of years. These were only indices of what was to come, and were recognised as earnest of the reality. Comparatively few Englishmen, perhaps, removed as most were, by their official or social position, from any but the most superficial acquaintance with native society, knew of these feelings, or if they did know, thought little of them. An astrological prediction, in their estimation, was but one of a series of idle superstitions prevalent among the natives, which had, and could have, no foundation in reality.

Early in the year 1857, many Englishmen were warned to be on their guard by native friends, sometimes anonymously, sometimes personally, and even adjured to retire from India, while they could do so in safety, or at least to send home their wives and children. Nothing decided could be elicited; and those who perhaps believed that all might not be so serene as the surface appeared to be, were scouted as alarmists, and becoming silent, patiently awaited the issue. Whether any such warnings reached the head of the Government at this early stage has never transpired; if they did, they were naturally treated with scorn, and thrown aside. At the latter end of February, however, or early in March, a very remarkable Mahratta letter or petition was received by Lord Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, which contained a solemn announcement of treason, accompanied by the enumeration of causes of general discontent, one of which was the proceedings of the Inám commission, or investigation into tenures of rent-free lands, and urging effectual and speedy reform. The paper was anonymous, and its author could not be discovered; but its style and purport could not be mistaken as a well-meant, and to all appearances well-founded, admonition and warning of evil to come.

It is impossible to attempt to describe the various rumours with which, as the people expressed themselves, the very air was filled.

Warnings.

Mischievous
reports.

Letter to
Lord Elphin-
stone.

Nothing was too absurd to be believed, and there is not a work belonging to the period, and they have been published almost by scores, which does not teem with the details in every conceivable variety of form and matter.

Dissemination of calumnies.

Those given in the first volume of Mr. Kaye's great and most interesting work on the 'Sepoy War,' and other histories of the time, so far from being exaggerated, do not adduce a tenth of the foul and mischievous calumnies that were disseminated broadcast through all quarters of India, and believed by the ignorant and credulous of all classes. From their tenor and sudden promulgation, it may be inferred that special agency was employed for the purpose. The princes of Dehly, from

Previous plots.

time to time, in the years immediately preceding the outbreak, had asked for leave to travel in India, and were allowed to do so freely and without suspicion of motive. One of them, afterwards active in the rebellion, visited Hyderabad, in the Deccan, where he was coldly received; but he journeyed leisurely through the provinces, obtaining hospitable reception from native princes and nobles, Hindoo and Mahomedan, wherever he went. Nor is there much doubt that these preparatory missions were intended to re-awaken loyalty to the throne of Dehly, and to secure adherents. In addition to these, though it is impossible to review the voluminous details, may be mentioned intrigues between the King of Dehly and the

The princes of Dehly.

Intrigues at Dehly.

King of Persia, and the proclamations of the latter to the Mahomedans in India, which no doubt were widely disseminated, and of which a specimen was discovered during the Persian war. In all these, the queen, Zeenut Mahál, took an active part: and for some time before any mutiny or outbreak took place, the question of a revival of the Mahomedan empire had not only been actively and almost openly discussed in the palace of Dehly, but had caused very considerable excitement and uneasiness among the turbulent population of the city and of the districts around it. A great movement was expected; and it is more than probable that the revolt of the Sepoy army was, even then, the means looked to by the king and his partisans.

The Nána Sahib of Bithoor, little suspected indeed, had been busy with plots, perhaps for years. In every province where latent disaffection existed, in the newly annexed

The Nána Sahib.

States, and in the Deccan, where the Brahmin progenitors of his family had held regal sway, his emissaries were actively employed, while his correspondence with foreign rulers was kept up without intermission. His agent to England, Azim Oolla Khan, a clever and utterly unscrupulous plotter, had returned to India after visiting the Crimea, and told to his master, and to the willing ears of

his accomplices, exaggerated tales of England's weakness and humiliation, which were greedily believed and widely disseminated. England, it was declared, had exhausted all her resources; it was to India alone that she could look for assistance in the Russian war; and the country, already denuded of English troops, would be soon called upon to send more.

It may be doubtful whether any direct attempt had then been made, or was even in progress, to corrupt the Sepoys of the Bengal army. That perhaps, the general disaffection of the Sepoys being known, was left to the progress of events; for it must have been evident how small the chances of success would have been, had either the King of Dehly or the Nána, or both combined, attempted to rouse the people at large into rebellion by their own means, or their treasonable intrigues. Yet when the mutiny of the Sepoys broke out, the first rebel forces from Meerut marched directly upon Dehly, and joined the king, in the interval of a night only—a circumstance which could not have been fortuitous; and being joined by most of the subsequent mutineers, leads irresistibly to the conclusion that it was a pre-conceived and pre-arranged plan, to be carried out when matters were ripe. Instances of discontent and mutual combination against authority and discipline have already been mentioned in regard to the native troops of Bengal, which not only showed a latent feeling of strong disaffection to have been existent, but which only required the stimulus of some event to change into open rebellion. Nor was this long wanting.

Of this condition of the people and of the native army the governor-general was necessarily ignorant. If he heard rumours, how was he, fresh from the peace and security of England, and from the quiet routine of a purely administrative office, to comprehend them? The Dalhousie and Napier controversy about the condition of the native army had passed away; and belief in the doubtful allegiance of the Sepoys did not extend to his councillors and his staff. Later, indeed, when Henry Lawrence told him what he knew, he might have wished he had understood it earlier; but in January 1857, even Lawrence himself would have denied any imminent danger. Lord Canning was a cold, impassive man, to whom few would have ventured to make known the public agitation at the close of 1856, and opening of 1857: and he may be entirely acquitted of the charge of not having made himself acquainted with, or not following up, if he did hear them, what were as yet mere intangible and confused rumours. Who could have ventured to tell him that it was believed the very land itself was to be put in chains by the railway and the electric telegraph;

Advantage
taken of the
mutiny.

The
governor-
general's
position.

What was
believed by
the people.

that as soon as these were accomplished, every native, of every caste and creed, would be required to receive baptism; and that he had been specially selected by the queen to abolish all distinctions of caste and proclaim Christianity! Yet these absurdities, following up the rapid material progress of Lord Dalhousie's administration, were, in that mad period of delusion, credited by millions, and it only remained to be seen in what form the horrible and tyrannical measure would be carried out.

In 1856, Enfield rifles were sent from England, and schools of musketry instruction were established at many, if not all, stations of the army. By the end of January 1857, the Sepoys at Barrackpoor, near Calcutta, had taken up a rumour which was believed to have originated from among the Brahmins of Calcutta itself: that the cartridges of these rifles were greased with cows' and pigs' fat, and were thereby rendered impure, to the end of first depriving the Sepoys of caste, when the conversion of the people would easily follow. The Sepoys held nightly meetings to discuss the subject, set fire to officers' houses and other buildings, and taking advantage of a detachment proceeding to Berhampoor, opened communication with the 19th, stationed there. In the course of a month the mutinous feeling not only included Berhampoor, but Rânesgunje; and on February 19, the men of the 19th regiment refused to receive the cartridges served out on parade, and broke into open mutiny. They were restrained from violence by Colonel Mitchell, who commanded them; but they remained sullen, and as soon as H.M.'s 84th arrived from Burmah, they were marched down to Barrackpoor, and disbanded on the 31st. They professed penitence, and declared themselves ready to serve anywhere; but their sentence 'for open and defiant mutiny' had been inexorably determined, and with a cheer to the noble veteran General Hearsey, who had performed the disagreeable duty, and execrations on the 34th, who had seduced them, they were marched out of the station and forwarded to their homes.

On March 29, two days before the 19th were disbanded, Mungul Pândy, a private Sepoy of the 34th, broke into open mutiny on the parade-ground at Barrackpoor, and called upon his comrades to join him. He wounded two officers in a hand-to-hand combat, in presence of the quarter guard, which did not interfere; and ultimately, when escape was impossible, shot himself, but not fatally, and was tried, and hanged acknowledging the justice of his sentence, on April 22. Meanwhile news of these occurrences, with infinite exaggerations, passed on to station after station in Upper India, and were thoroughly

Arrival of the Enfield rifles.

The greased cartridges.

Mutiny of the 19th Native Infantry.

Mungul Pândy.

Spread of the disaffection.

credited. As the discharged men of the 19th made their way to their homes in Oudh and Bundelkhund, they disseminated reports which aggravated the existent rumours, and it came to be actually believed by the Sepoys, as well as by the people, that not only were the cartridges greased, but that the public wells, and the flour, and ghee or clarified butter, sold in the bazzars, had been defiled by ground bone-dust and the fat of cows and pigs, while the salt had been sprinkled with cows' and hogs' blood. Lord Canning and the commander-in-chief issued order after order to satisfy the Sepoys; and in a proclamation dated May 16, the governor-general addressed the people at large, warning them of false reports, and disclaiming any attempt at deprivation of caste.

For all the use they were, these documents need not have been issued. They were looked upon as traps to the unwary, and they were utterly discredited, and so failed of effect. It was even said that Government must have had sinister designs, or it would not have been at the pains to deny them. The fever of excitement was at its height, and the disease—for such it was—must run its course. If, instead of orders and proclamations, some bold member (had there existed one) in the Chief Council had at once admitted the danger, and advised the governor-general in March, or even April, to issue orders for strong positions to be taken up in every cantonment by the European troops, and a constant watchfulness to be maintained, much of the subsequent misery might have been prevented; but it is doubtful whether, even by these means, the actual outbreak of rebellion could have been restrained.

At Umballa, at Meerut, and at other stations, the same constant occurrence of fires defied detection, as had been the case at Barrackpore and Raneegunje. From the commencement of 1857 the rural districts along the course of the Ganges and Jumna, and all over Central India, as far south as the frontiers of Berar, had been strongly agitated by the passing of baked flour-cakes (chupátees) from village to village. Whence they originated was never discovered, nor was the token professedly understood; but it spread through the country with marvellous rapidity, and was evidently a signal of warning or of preparation.

On May 10 the native troops at Meerut, the 3rd Cavalry, eighty-five men of which had been tried and convicted on a charge of refusing to use ordinary cartridges, with the 11th and 20th regiments of Native Infantry, rose in open mutiny and rebellion, shot down Colonel Finnis and other officers and ladies, set fire to their lines and to private houses, and, unchecked and unpursued, went

Exaggerated
rumours.

Orders and
proclama-
tions.

What might
have been
done.

Fires in the
large
stations.

off in a body to Dehly. At that time there were in the station not only European horse-artillery, but the 6th Dragoons (Carbineers)—only partially mounted, it is true, but still available on foot—and H.M.'s 60th Rifles. They were not much inferior to the natives in actual numbers, and if properly led, would have utterly routed and destroyed the mutineers; but, after melancholy inaction and confusion, the rebels eluded General Hewitt, who commanded the force, and having released all the prisoners in the gaol, together with their comrades, marched on to Dehly in the night, and left the general to defend the ruined cantonment.

The men of the 3rd Cavalry, dreading pursuit by the Carbineers, rode hard to Dehly—a distance of forty miles—and an advanced party of them entering the city soon after daybreak, proclaimed the success of the night before; and as the Meerut troops straggled in, they all, as if by previous concert, proceeded to the king. The people of the city—notoriously turbulent and lawless—rose at once; and the butchery of Europeans, men, women and children, commenced. It is not needful to repeat the details of these horrible atrocities, which have been so often and so vividly described,¹ nor of the subsequent butchery in the royal palace. One by one the three native regiments at Dehly, the 38th, 54th and 74th, caught the infection, shot many of their officers, and marching into the city, saluted the king. One point alone held out for a while, which was the famous arsenal, containing military stores for the whole of the north-west provinces. It was maintained with desperate courage by Lieutenant Willoughby, with Lieutenants Raynor and Forrest, and six other Englishmen, and when no longer tenable was blown up. Willoughby, with some companions, escaped to Meerut, but arrived only to die from the injuries he had received.

The surviving Europeans, men, women and children, with some still faithful remains of the native regiments, held the 'flag-staff tower' for a while; but they had no provisions or means of defence, and in despair set out for Meerut and Kurnál, enduring in their wanderings fatigues and privations which are hardly conceivable. Thus the first great step in the mutiny was accomplished.

¹ Vibart's 'Narrative,' &c.

CHAPTER III.

THE MUTINY (*continued*), 1857.

ABOUT this time, Nāna Sahib of Bithoor, and his agent, Azim Olla Khan, were proceeding from station to station in the north-west provinces and Oudh, fanning the flame of mutiny and rebellion. Such an opportunity as had been afforded by the conduct of the Sepoys, and the panic among the people, was too entirely consonant with their own plans to be neglected, and they were successful perhaps beyond their hopes. In Oudh, the new administration, which had promised fairly at first, became in the last degree unpopular, from the mistaken and over-zealous proceedings of the commissioner, Mr. Coverley Jackson, and his subordinates; and though Mr. Jackson was removed and Sir Henry Lawrence appointed in his room, the evil already done could not be remedied. As early as April, the 48th Native Infantry, stationed at Lukhnow, had shown symptoms of disaffection. On May 2, the 7th local Native Infantry mutinied at their station, some miles from the city; and as the troops advanced on them, broke and fled. Much as he strove to gain a clue to the real causes of the disaffection, even Henry Lawrence was baffled. On May 4, it was determined by the governor-general in Council to disband the 34th Native Infantry, still at Barrackpore; on the 6th, the measure was carried out, and 500 men, disgraced and stripped of their uniforms, were banished from the station, and returned, vowing revenge, to their native province Oudh, to swell the discontent already existing there.

Before the rebels could cut the telegraph wires, the news of events at Meerut and Dehly had been widely disseminated. It was received at Ferozepoor (commanded by Brigadier Innes) on the 12th, where the presence of H.M.'s 61st Foot and 300 European artillery alone prevented an outbreak and the loss of the immense magazine of military stores. An attempt to take this depot was made on the 13th by the 45th Native Infantry, but defeated; and while the greater portion of the 54th laid down their arms, and were allowed to remain, the 45th were disbanded and turned out of the cantonment; not, however, before they had succeeded in doing considerable damage by setting fire, during the night, to public and private buildings. They were pursued by the 10th Cavalry, and some of them were

killed or taken prisoners; but the greater number escaped, and joined the rebels at Dehly. The brigadier's proceedings, in not having at once disarmed both the native regiments, were severely censured, and he was deprived of his command. By timely succour, sent from the station of Jullunder, to Phillour, ^{and at Phillour.} where another great magazine existed, any chance of rising there was prevented; and the same prompt action saved Umritsir.

At Lahore, the native troops, the 8th Bengal Cavalry, the 16th, 26th and 49th Native Infantry, paraded on the morning of May 13, by Brigadier Corbett, with H.M.'s 81st ^{The native troops at Lahore disarmed.} Foot and the artillery, were ordered to lay down their arms, and in terror of the Europeans obeyed; and at the same time the citadel was occupied, the wing of the 26th Native Infantry being disarmed by three companies of the 81st Foot. Thus Lahore was saved; but Pesháwur was still in danger, and the result of the telegraphic message was looked to with intense anxiety. There was, however, no hesitation at Pesháwur, where ^{Events at Pesháwur.} Brigadier Cotton commanded; and on the morning of the 15th, the 5th Native Cavalry, the 24th, 27th and 51st Native Infantry, were disarmed; but the 21st, to whom no ^{The native troops disarmed.} suspicion was attached, remained for duty. At Murdán, a small station in the Punjáb, the 55th Native Infantry followed the example of Meerut, and went off in the direction of Swát; but it was followed, and so fearfully punished ^{The 55th Native Infantry.} by Colonel Nicholson, that but few escaped, and those to suffer even a worse fate among the mountain tribes of the frontier. With the exception of the 21st at Pesháwur, not a single regiment of the old Bengal Sepoys in the Punjáb had proved untainted, and the decided measures adopted, here but very briefly sketched, had alone prevented the fulfilment of their designs. There had never been good feeling between the Sikhs and the Bengal Sepoys; and the readiness with which armed levies of Sikhs and Mahomedans, to check them, were made by the English authorities, and many of the Sikh chiefs, was a cheering proof that the latest enemies of the English had been converted into their staunchest friends. This, however, might not have followed, if the Sepoy rising had been simultaneous in all quarters, when the danger ^{Simultaneous rising prevented.} would have been immensely increased. There is little doubt, from the result of subsequent investigations, that a general outbreak had been fixed for May 31, by which time the rebel arrangements would have been complete; but the hurried action at Meerut precipitated the rising, and horrible as it was, became a main element of comparative general safety.

The commander-in-chief, General Anson, had hurried down

from Simlah on receiving the news from Meerut, followed by three English regiments, to Umballah; where, on May 10, two native corps—the 5th and 60th—evidently by concert, had assembled in arms on their parades and threatened their officers; but had resumed their duties: and on the 17th the strong English brigade arrived. General Anson, urged thereto by Lord Canning on the one hand, and Sir John Lawrence on the other, at once prepared to advance on Dehly; but there were unforeseen delays in every material point—supplies, carriage, ammunition—and some very valuable days were lost. As yet the magnitude of the combination to be overcome, and the strength of the rebel position at Dehly, was underrated both by Lord Canning and Lawrence, whose opinions, though widely separated, were in unison—that the European force then at their disposal was sufficient for the destruction of the rebels; and the being apparently expected to do more than he had the means of doing, evidently added to General Anson's anxiety. On the 27th, the general had reached Kurnál, where he died of cholera, to the great regret of the army; and the command devolved upon Sir Henry Barnard, who, by June 4, had advanced to within twenty miles of Dehly. Here he was joined by Brigadier Wilson from Meerut, who, on May 30, at Ghazee-ood-deen Nugger, and again on the day following, had encountered strong forces of Sepoys, sent from Dehly to intercept his troops, and completely defeated them. With Brigadier Wilson's reinforcements, Sir H. Barnard's army now amounted to about 4,000 men, chiefly English soldiers.

The commander-in-chief takes the field.

His death.

Sir Henry Barnard succeeds.

Mutiny of the 9th Native Infantry at Aligurh.

Mutiny of the forces at Nussereabad

and at Bareilly;

at Neemuch;

Nussereabad, in Rajpootana, beat off the 1st Bombay Lancers, and marched for Dehly. On the 31st, at Bareilly, the 8th Irregular Cavalry, and the 18th and 68th Native Infantry, did the same; and on June 2, their example was followed by the 72nd and other troops at Neemuch. Between May 21 and June 3, the troops and detachments of all

the stations in Rohilkhund, including Bareilly, Morádabad, Saharunpoor, Shahjehánpoor, Badaon, and Almórah, had ^{in Rohilkhund.} mutinied; and at Bareilly the Mahomedans had risen, under Khan Bahádoor Khan, the descendant of Hafiz Rehmút Khan, of the time of Warren Hastings. Most of these risings were accompanied by the murder of such English officers as could be found, and the country was in possession of the rebels. The lieutenant-governor of the north-west provinces, Mr. John Colvin, resided at Agra, where the ^{Events at Agra.} 44th and 67th Native Infantry formed part of the garrison, with H.M.'s 3rd Foot and a company of European artillery. The native troops seemed faithful, but were necessarily suspected. On May 20, Mr. Colvin issued a weak and ill-timed proclamation to 'soldiers engaged in the late disturbances,' which was at once repudiated by Lord Canning, and another more suited to the emergency substituted. Sindia sent his own bodyguard to Agra for Mr. Colvin's defence; but in the sequel it proved as deeply tainted as the British Sepoys. At the end of May a detachment from Gwalior at Muttra shot the English officers, plundered the treasury, and went off to Dehly; and on June 1, the 44th and 67th were disarmed, and the men, for the most part, escaped to Dehly.

While these events were in progress, the mutiny was fast extending to the stations in Bundelkhund, Nowgong, Banda, Chutterpoor, Futtehpoor, Humeerpoor, Jalown ^{Mutinies in Bundelkhund.} (a recently annexed principality), and several others, and hardly differs in detail from those already enumerated. The history of the annexation of Jhansy has already been ^{The Ranee of Jhansy.} given, and the widowed Ranee, Lukshmee Bye, was not slow to strike a blow for the recovery of lost power. The story of Jhansy is one of the most fearful of the sad records of massacre, for not one of the English there survived. ^{Massacre of Europeans.} The outbreak occurred on June 4, and until the 8th the English survivors defended themselves in the palace fort, and surrendered on the oaths and assurances of the mutineers that their lives should be spared; but, immediately afterwards, they were all, men, women and children (seventy-five persons), ruthlessly butchered, by, it was said, and there is little reason to doubt it, the orders of the Ranee Lukshmee Bye. She now proclaimed the independence of her State, and soon gathered round her an army of 14,000 men.

On May 16, the Meerut news reached Futtehghurh, where the 10th Native Infantry was stationed; but the regiment, though agitated, was for a time very faithful. Here ^{Events at Futtehghurh.} there was a larger proportion of Europeans than at other

stations; and the greater number of them—merchants, traders and some civilians—embarked on June 4, to the number of 166, in boats, making for Cawnpoor. Of these, 126 reached that station on the 12th, and about forty were protected by Hurdeo Buksh, a loyal Zemindar, in his fort of Dhurrumpoor. The 10th, with its officers and some other Englishmen, remained at Futtehgurh, and took possession of the fort. On June 18, the 41st Native Infantry, which had mutinied in Oudh, succeeded in crossing the river, and joined by some of the 10th, proclaimed the Nawáb of Futtehgurh as their sovereign, but met with little encouragement. These regiments then seized the treasure, and broke up; many proceeding to their homes, others joining the 41st in a siege of the fort. How this place was resolutely defended from that time till July 4, must be read in detail to be appreciated and understood. On that day, the fort being no longer tenable, the survivors quitted it in boats, and of them, only forty-seven reached Cawnpoor, ignorant, as they were enticed on shore, of the fate of that unhappy garrison.

At Cawnpoor were stationed the 1st, 53rd and 56th regiments of Native Infantry, with the 2nd Light Cavalry. There was no English regiment, and only sixty artillerymen. Of European succour there was no hope; but Sir Henry Lawrence sent eighty men of the 32nd Foot, and subsequently fifty-one of the 84th, and fifteen of the Madras Fusileers arrived, making 200 English soldiers in all. The general provided, as well as he could, against an outbreak, and intrenched the large European hospitals, laying up a store of provisions; but all through May the Sepoy regiments were at least quiet, and the Nána Sahib of Bithoor, close by, was profuse in his assurances of sympathy and assistance. The mutiny began on the morning of June 5. The native regiments used no violence to their English officers, but could not be restrained, and after plundering the treasury, and opening the doors of the gaol, set off towards Dehly. They were followed by the Nána, and brought back; and on the 6th, his hostile intentions were clearly manifested.

Oudh had not stirred since the disbandment of the 7th Native Infantry, but every day made its situation more perilous. Sir Henry Lawrence early provided against surprise and against future contingency. A massive castellated building, the Mutchie Bhówan, was provisioned, and with the residency formed a strong post. On May 30, the whole of the native troops, the 13th, 48th and 71st Native Infantry, and the 7th Cavalry, broke into mutiny, set fire to their lines and

Conduct of
the 10th and
41st Native
Infantry.

Gallant
defence
the fort.

Arrival of
English
soldiers.

Mutiny of
native
troops.

Events in
Oudh.

Mutiny of the
native troops
at all the
stations.

the private houses. The 41st Native Infantry, at Seetápoor, murdered most of their officers, and went off to join the 10th at Futtehghurh; and at Sooltanpoor, Fyzabad, and Azimghurh, the same terrible scenes were enacted. At Allahabad, on June 5, the 6th regiment, just publicly complimented by Lord Canning for their loyal offer to serve against Dehly, suddenly shot down most of their officers; and it was only by the presence of mind and gallantry of Captain Brasyer, who commanded a corps of Sikhs in charge of the great fortress, that it was saved. Thus the progress of the mutiny has been sketched from Meerut to Pesháwur westward, to Allahabad and Oudh eastward, and into Rajpootana, as far as Neemuch. All details are necessarily wanting, as they would swell this work to volumes, and will be found in the histories of the war by Mr. Kaye, and other writers.¹ It only remains to sketch the progress of its extinction in this vast tract of country. From May 10 to June 5, the whole of the events detailed, and many other minor outbreaks, had occurred. The catastrophe was sudden, and for the time overwhelming; but the Meerut action had been twenty days too soon, and instead of a simultaneous rising from Pesháwur to Benares, as had been planned, the various occurrences were broken in character, and some of the most serious had been anticipated and prevented.

and of the
6th Native
Infantry at
Allahabad.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MUTINY (*continued*), 1857.

THIS is not the place for telling the story of Cawnpoor. In all its mournful and ghastly intensity, it may be read in Mowbray Thompson's narrative, in Mr. Trevelyan's pages, in the history of Mr. Kaye and other writers, and in many other authentic documents. More deliberately treacherous than the catastrophe of the 'Black Hole,' a hundred years before—more intensified and prolonged—the fate of those who perished there forms a tragedy, so full of terrible misery, of heroic endurance, and the deepest pathos, that it will be read with a shuddering tribute of tears, to the latest generation of Englishmen. On June 6, as mentioned in the last chapter, the native troops set out from Cawnpoor towards Dehly, with intent to join the king; but it was no part of the purpose of Nána Sahib that they should do

The story of
Cawnpoor.

¹ Kaye's 'Sepoy War'; Trotter's 'History of British Empire'; 'History of India,' by Montgomery Martin; 'History of India,' by Beveridge, &c., &c.

so. The purpose of the Nána—one of the many delusions which appeared at this period—was to establish a Hindoo empire in his own person; and his first step was to induce the Cawnpore mutineers to join him. There was much division among them; but he succeeded in turning them back, and before noon the frail buildings of refuge were invested. Including officers, soldiers, merchants, planters, clerks, and their families, there were not many less than a thousand Christian souls who had taken refuge in the miserable place of refuge and intrenchment prepared.

Defence.

Into the details of the defence from June 6 to 24, it is impossible in this limited manual to enter; but it was prolonged, under a blazing, scorching sun, until all the medicines for the sick, and well nigh all the ammunition and food, were consumed; after one building was burned, and the rest, riddled with shot, might at any time fall on those within; after the loss of many of the best officers and men, and the increasing debility of the remainder—without any hope of succour or rescue. In this condition of affairs, an emissary arrived from the Nána—an old lady named Greenway

Terms offered,

who had been taken prisoner, and brought an offer of a safe transmission to Allahabad, on condition that whatever the intrenchment contained should be given up. Had the defenders not been encumbered with helpless women and children, they would have preferred to cut their way through the Sepoys; but, under existing circumstances, that was impossible, and fearing no treachery, the Nána's offer was accepted.

On the 27th, the survivors, men, women and children, were marched down to the boats which had been prepared for them, in number about 450, and were no sooner embarked, than

Treachorous massacre.

a murderous fire was opened upon them with grape from guns on the bank, and musketry. Many perished, others got off in their boats; but their crews had deserted them, and one by one they were again captured. A considerable number of the Christians were at once shot, and otherwise put to death; but 122 were reserved for a while, to be in the end, as Havelock advanced, butchered, along with the survivors of the fugitives from Futtehgurh. Of the whole party who left the intrenchment on June 27, only four escaped and survived:

The four survivors.

Lieutenants Delafosse and Thompson, and privates Murphy and Sullivan, who, after many hairbreadth escapes, were protected by a friendly Oudh chief, Rajah Deeg Beeja Singh, and were able to join Havelock's force as it advanced.

Like the defence of the intrenchment at Cawnpore, the history of the siege of the position taken up at Lukhnow by Sir Henry Lawrence cannot be told here. It is an episode in itself, as interesting, as full of devoted heroism, in

Siege of the
residency at
Lukhnow.

this case, of Sepoys as well as English soldiers, as Cawnpoor; but attendant with no tragedy except the casualties of war, among which, the death of the noble and chivalrous Henry Lawrence, on July 4, is the most prominent incident. Up to June 30, he was comparatively unmolested; but on that day he sallied out at the head of all the men he could spare, for the purpose of reconnoitring the rebel forces at Chinhut, near Lukhnow, and himself badly wounded, was driven back with considerable loss to the residency; and on the same afternoon, the investment of the English position commenced. On July 1 the Mutchie Bhôwan was given up, and the troops concentrated in the residency. How it was defended, without hope of succour, for three months; how gallant men fought, and brave enduring women helped; how mines were sprung by the enemy, and their breaches defended; how countermines were made, and sickness from wasting fever endured; and yet how the persevering enemy was again and again beaten back on every point, is modestly yet graphically told in Sir John Inglis's admirable report, and in the governor-general's public notification. There was hope, at the end of July, that they would be speedily relieved by Havelock; but this proved false: nor was it Final deliverance. till September 22 that they were finally delivered, and that, too, under the most imminent peril they had as yet endured.

But more upon Dehly than upon Oudh and Lukhnow was the anxiety of all the British in India centred. There was Anxiety in regard to Dehly. apparently no means of increasing the English forces there. Reinforcement of them from the south was as impossible as from the east, and Sir Henry Barnard had already with him, it was believed, every man available from the stations of the north-west provinces. Against him had collected all the mutinied Sepoy regiments above Cawnpoor, and crowds of lawless undisciplined soldiery of the country, who had thronged together for plunder, and a final effort to re-establish the ancient dynasty of the Moghuls. In this crisis, Sir John (now Lord) Lawrence, trusted the Sikhs, and was trusted in turn; and yet, Sir John Lawrence and the Sikhs. for some time, the condition of the Punjâb was as desperate as any other portion of Upper India, and it was only the cool, determined will of its chief ruler that saved it, and made it the turning point of eventual triumph.

Mutiny had not been extinguished by disarmament of the native regiments in the Punjâb. On July 7, at Jullunder, the 6th Cavalry, and the 36th and 61st Native Events in the Punjâb. Mutiny at Jullunder. Infantry, who had been previously disarmed, rose at night by concert, and after much confusion and plunder, which was only checked by a troop of native horse-artillery, still faithful, and the levies of the Sikh Rajah of Kupoorthala, they left

the station, and marched towards Dehly. As they passed the station of Phillour, they were joined by the 3rd Native Infantry, and though checked for a while by a small body of men under Lieutenant Williams, and Mr. Ricketts of the civil service, succeeded in crossing the Sutlej to Loodhiana, which they left wrecked, and eventually reaching Dehly. The attempt at pursuit from Jullunder had been abortive.

On July 8, the 14th Native Infantry at Jhelum, on being disarmed by three companies of the 24th Foot, resisted, and were not defeated without the loss of seventy-six Europeans in killed and wounded. Nearly 100 of the regiment were subsequently caught and executed, but a large proportion escaped to Dehly. Brigadier Nicholson, at the head of a moveable column, now disarmed the 59th at Umritsir; but on the 9th, the 9th Cavalry and 46th Native Infantry mutinied at Sealkote, and marched for Dehly. They were, however, pursued by Nicholson on the 10th, who, making a forced march of upwards of fifty miles, came up with them on the 12th at Trimmoo, on the Ravee, and after a sharp fight, drove them across the river, to an island which they defended till the 15th, when the position was stormed, and the whole bayoneted or drowned in the attempt to escape.

It has been already related that the three native regiments at Lahore had been disarmed, and were closely watched; but they were excited and uneasy, and on July 30,

the 26th Native Infantry murdered their commander, Major Spencer, and took to flight in a furious dust-storm, which concealed their movements. Next day they were trying to cross the Ravee, opposed by a local native officer at the head of some Sikh police levies, when they were pursued by Mr. Cooper, of the civil service, at the head of ninety Sikh horsemen, and the

remainder of the survivors, who had taken refuge on an island in the river, 282 in all, surrendered. Of these, 237 were forthwith hanged or shot; and the remainder, who had been confined in a small bastion, were found dead or dying from suffocation. This action was, and still is, heavily blamed by

many; but it was recognised as a necessity, stern and terrible indeed, but justified under the murder of Major Spencer, and the general exigency, by Sir John Lawrence and Mr. Montgomery; there was no doubt that its effect re-

strained others from outbreak, or attempt to join the rebel forces, and in the end saved many lives. A similar fate attended the 51st Native Infantry at Pesháwur, who, upon a search for concealed arms in their lines, in which many were found, broke into mutiny on August 20, but were at once overpowered, and fled towards the Jumrood pass. They

Other Punjáb
mutinies.

Native
regiments at
Lahore.

Mr. Cooper's
pursuit.

Its result.

The 51st
Native
Infantry at
Pesháwur.

were pursued by the newly-raised levies, by police, and the people of the country, and not a man escaped: 700 perished; and on the 29th, 'lay dead in three deep trenches.' After these terrible examples, there was no further attempt to escape, and the Sepoy regiments in the Punjab remained tranquil.

On June 8, Sir Henry Barnard advanced from Allypore towards Dehly, and attacked the advanced division of the enemy at Budlee Serai, where it was strongly posted.

*Combat of
Budlee Serai.*

The combat was short and decisive, and the Sepoys fled to Dehly, leaving six heavy guns to the victors. The army then pursued its march to the heights on the north-west of Dehly, from which the enemy was soon dislodged; and the weary troops, under cover of the ridge, had a little time for rest. Towards evening, the rebels advanced heavy masses of men, with an apparent intention of attacking the ridge; but their courage failed them, and they returned into the city. The first step to the investment of Dehly had thus been

*The invest-
ment of
Dehly.*

gained, with the comparatively small loss of fifty-one killed and 132 wounded. The loss of the Sepoys was about 400, with thirteen guns. So far all had been well, and it was clear that in the field the Sepoys would have no chance of success, had they even dared to attempt to gain it; but they held a position strong by nature and art, well protected by massive fortifications; they were at least 30,000 strong, and the roads to the south and east were open to their constantly arriving reinforcements of revolted stations and garrisons. There was abundance of provision, a very powerful artillery in heavy and light guns, with ample supplies of shot, shell, and powder. It is not therefore surprising, that they were confident, or that the siege, when it began, was prolonged. On June 13, an enterprise to capture the city by blowing open two gates was planned, which was called 'the gamester's throw;' but day broke before the preparations were completed, and it was judiciously abandoned. It is certain that failure then, which might have ensued, would have been most dangerous.

*Position of
the muti-
neers.*

*The siege
commences.*

It is impossible to follow in detail the results of daily combats maintained in almost all parts of the British position. After the arrival of two newly-mutinied regiments from Nusseerabad, a sharp attack was made on the right rear of the English lines on June 19, which was defeated, and was repeated on the 20th with the same result. Joined by the regiments from Jullunder and Phillour, another attack was made on the British lines on June 23, the anniversary of the battle of Plassy; and the rebel Sepoys, it was acknowledged, fought better than on any previous occasion, while their movements, particularly in the

*Attacks on
the British
position.*

employment of clouds of skirmishers, proved them to be directed with much military skill; nor did they flinch from the bayonet. But they were forced back on every point with heavy loss, and in one place, 150 lying dead from bayonet wounds were counted. Their loss was estimated at 800 men, and that of the English was 160 in killed and wounded.

Meanwhile, and till the first week in July, the new levies from the Punjâb had been steadily arriving, bringing in supplies, stores and money, with every other necessary that the thoughtful and indefatigable Sir John Lawrence could supply; and it was felt throughout the army, now 7,000 strong, that Dehly might be taken. On the other hand, the mutineers were reinforced by the arrival of four new regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a battery of artillery from Rohilkhund, and others were on their way. At Agra, the Kotah contingent, with mutineers from Neemuch and Mehidpoor, sought to besiege the fort; but were attacked on July 4 by Brigadier Polwhele, at the head of a small force, and compelled to retire. But the rebels nevertheless claimed a victory, for the English were too weak to pursue them; and the Agra news was received with great rejoicing when it reached Dehly.

On the same day Sir Henry Barnard, already much exhausted by exposure and incessant anxiety, was attacked by cholera, and died. Brigadier Reed, the next senior officer, took up the command, but he resigned on the 17th, and was succeeded by Brigadier Archdale Wilson. Passing by, though with regret, the brilliant combats of the 9th, 14th, 18th, 23rd of July, and 2nd of August, and Lieutenant Hodson's able march to clear the country as far as Rhotuck up to the 22nd, it is cheering to record the account of a new reinforcement sent by Sir John Lawrence, as fully equipped as the preceding, which reached Dehly on August 14. It consisted of H.M.'s 52nd and a wing of the 61st Foot, Green's Punjâb Rifles, Bouchier's field-battery, and 200 Mooltan Horse, under the command of Brigadier John Nicholson, whose dealings with the mutineers of Sealkote, on July 12, have already been mentioned in this chapter. With this efficient reinforcement the British army, deducting the sick absent, exceeded 8,000 men, and a heavy siege-train was in progress from Ferozepoor. An attempt to intercept it was made by a rebel force of 7,000 men, but they were followed and attacked by Nicholson at Nujufgurrh on August 25; and with a comparatively small loss of twenty-five killed and seventy wounded—though the brave Lumsden

Progress of
the siege.

Reinforce-
ments to the
enemy.

Action at
Agra.

Death of Sir
Henry
Barnard.

Brigadier
Wilson
succeeds.

Reinforce-
ments from
the Punjâb.

Siege-train
from Feroze-
poor.

Action at
Nujufgurrh.

was slain in the action—the enemy's strong position was carried, and thirteen guns with all their stores taken. Thus matters continued, sometimes with days of comparative inaction, and again recurrence of attacks and skirmishes, until September 6, when the long looked-for siege-train arrived, and on the 7th the siege operations were commenced in reality. Hitherto maintenance of position was the only object attainable, for the artillery was too weak to attempt the breach of the city walls; but the position on the ridge had proved a rock, against which every effort of the mutineers had been broken.

It is almost needless to explain the danger which existed everywhere at this crisis. The long inaction, as it had appeared, before Dehly, had given rise almost universally among natives, to the opinion that the English could not take it, and that the Sepoys and the king would in the end be masters. Even the Punjâb was seething, and while insurrection was repressed, there was many a wild chieftain who only waited to strike in when a general *mêlée* should ensue.

Danger of
the crisis.

CHAPTER V.

THE MUTINY (*continued*), 1857.

IT is now necessary to follow the progress of events in Calcutta and Bengal generally, to the period at which the last chapter terminates. Until the receipt of the news from Meerut, no steps had been taken to provide for any emergency. Lord Canning, necessarily ignorant of the Sepoys, of the existing alarma, and the state of native feeling, may well be excused for not perceiving intuitively, what he might have learned from others, had there been any—except perhaps one, the veteran Hearsey—who dared to tell him; and it is little to say that through April, and till the final outbreak took place in May, the apathy, indifference, or real want of perception in the highest and most experienced officials of Calcutta, appears now unaccountable. When the mystery was solved, however, by the electric telegraph on May 12, its agency alone, for which the Government was indebted to the foresight of Lord Dalhousie, enabled the governor-general not only to comprehend the extent of the calamity, but to make provision against it. He is blamed for having been slow at first; but the reasons are so evident as to preclude blame. The attribute of prescience, indeed, was not possessed by him; but when the trouble came upon him,

State of
feeling in
Calcutta.

The
governor-
general
unjustly
blamed.

his clear calm mind, and true, if slow, judgment, caused him to rise immeasurably above all by whom he was surrounded. Henry

Lawrence's telegram from Lukhnow on May 16 was

Measures.

not neglected; and while on the 14th the 35th Foot had been summoned from Burmah, on the 16th Lord Harris at Madras, and Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, were requested to send all the European troops at their disposal to Calcutta. The P. and O. mail-steamer took a message from the governor-general to Ceylon for reinforcements, and Lord Elgin and General Ashburnham were called upon to spare every available soldier from the Chinese war. In addition to this, the hands of every commander and head civil officer in India were strengthened by powers to act on emergent occasions. The commander-in-chief, Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Colvin, and every other high official holding responsible posts, and frequently men of lower degree, who had done, or were doing, good work, were cheered and encouraged by autograph letters, as men like to be cheered in times of great danger; and considering all these acts, and many more, it is impossible to deny to Lord Canning the possession and exercise of great determination and foresight.

The execution of his measures were, however, not commensurate

Delay in
transmission
of troops.

with his will; and the miserably slow progress of dribblets of men up the country was most disheartening.

Twenty European soldiers a day, sent off in carts from the end of the railway at Ráneegunje, was not the way in which Cawnpoor and Lukhnow could be succoured. The 10th Foot at Dinapoor could not be spared, as they were watching three native regiments not yet disarmed. The 84th was detained at Calcutta for the same reason, as regarded the native troops at Barrackpoor; but Bengal was tranquil: and as all March and April had passed without an attempt to reinforce the upper provinces, so also May; when, on the 20th, Lord Canning publicly thanked the 70th Native Infantry for volunteering for service at Dehly, but declined the offer of the Europeans of all nations in Calcutta to form a volunteer corps.

On May 23, Colonel James Neill, with the 1st Madras Fusileers,

Arrival of the
Madras
Fusileers and
other English
regiments.

arrived, and at once proceeded *en route* to Benares; and in the first few days of June, the 64th Foot and 78th Highlanders were soon followed by the 35th Foot

from Burmah. These regiments, as fast as they arrived, were sent on by the now better organised system of transit, which sometimes took 100 men a day, but was still too inefficient for the emergency; and till the river should fill, the steamers were next to useless. On June 12, the governor-general invited the Europeans of Calcutta to form a volunteer corps, as they had pre-

viously offered to do—a request which was responded to cheerfully, and promoted a sense of security which had long been wanting. On the 14th, Brigadier Hearsey disarmed the native regiments at Barrackpoor, which had shown decided symptoms of mutiny; whereupon, notwithstanding the cool, staunch bearing of the governor-general, a panic, disgraceful in many respects, pervaded Calcutta, which it is almost shameful to record. Next day, however, under the pressure of his Council, Lord Canning passed an act of severe restriction upon the press, which no doubt aggravated the alarm which the measure was intended to suppress, and for which the imprisonment of the ex-King of Oudh in Fort William was a poor equivalent. On the 17th, Sir Patrick Grant and Brigadier-General Henry Have-lock reached Calcutta, and on the 23rd the latter proceeded to join Colonel Neill at Allahabad.

At the station of Secrole, near Benares, were the 13th Irregular Cavalry, a regiment of Sikhs, and the 37th Native Infantry; and to check them were three guns manned by Europeans and 150 of the 10th Foot. On June 3, Colonel Neill arrived, with sixty of his men, and the disarming of the 37th was determined upon. As the combined force of Europeans and Sikhs were moving down upon them, the 37th flew to arms, and fired irregularly; but the Sikhs, hitherto unsuspected, now fired upon the Europeans, and then with the Irregular Cavalry broke and fled. The mutiny was, however, quelled; and the Rajah of Benares, Ráo Narráin Singh, and Soorut Singh, a Sikh chieftain, who was a state prisoner, proved by their fidelity and assistance to Mr. Carre Tucker, the commissioner, and Mr. Gubbins, the magistrate, that order could be maintained even among the excitable and fanatical population of the city. The exertions and bearing of the civil officers of Benares, at this juncture one of the most dangerous spots in India, were beyond all praise.

On June 5, the Sikh detachment at Jounpoor rose, shot down their officers, and plundering the treasury they were guarding, made off into the country. At Azimgurh, which the civilians had deserted, Mr. Venables, an indigo planter of much local influence, maintained order in a manner most creditable to himself and beneficial to Government; and on the 9th, Benares and its neighbourhood being tranquil, Neill set out for Allahabad, with forty men of his corps, and reached the great fortress on the 11th. He found the place invested on the land side by swarms of the rebels, and its only defenders some European invalids from Chunar, and Brasyer's Sikhs; but Sikhs in Neill's eyes found no favour after the Benares affair, and he quietly put them out of the fort. Subsequently these

Sikhs earned his confidence by their good behaviour in clearing the villages around of rebels, and were of material use in the advance to Cawnpoor; and had it not been for a severe visitation of cholera, the admirably effected occupation of Allahabad would have been attended with no material loss. Every endeavour was now made to march upon Cawnpoor, but the tardy arrival of the men prevented this until June 30, when 400 of the Fusileers and 300 Sikhs, with two guns, marched under Major Renaud.

On the same day General Havelock arrived, and on July 7, a column set out under his own command, to avenge the butchery at Cawnpoor, which it had been too late to prevent. To the last, Neill and Havelock had clung to the hope that the garrison of the intrenchment would be able to hold out; but the news which had arrived before the column could march, had extinguished hope.

Havelock's column, including Renaud's force, consisted of about 2,000 men, European and Sikhs, a company of Royal Artillery, and fifty horse, of whom twenty were English officers and gentleman under Captain Barrow. On the 10th he received news that the Sepoy regiments from Bithoor were advancing; and making two forced marches, he joined Renaud near Futtehpoor on the 12th. Without having time to rest the men, he found himself obliged to attack the enemy, about 4,000 strong, with twelve guns. The Sepoys did not await his advance, but scared by the execution of the Enfield rifles, fled, abandoning their guns; and want of cavalry alone prevented the action from being more decisive; but not one English soldier had been lost. On the 15th, crossing the bridge at Pandoo Nuddee, after a sharp combat, in which he lost Major Renaud and twenty-five men, but took four guns from the enemy, Havelock found himself on the 16th opposed by 5,000 Sepoys, under, it was said, the command of the Nāna himself, strongly posted in a succession of villages. The odds were very heavy against the English force; but village after village was carried by the men of each regiment in turn, without a check, and the whole of the rebel army were driven from their position, fleeing into Cawnpoor, and leaving seven guns and 250 dead behind them. The English force had lost eight killed and eighty-eight wounded, or disabled by sunstroke.

It was impossible to do more, for the evening was closing in: and the men, weary and hungry, lay down to rest near the great parade-ground of the station. They had heard again, as they marched up, of the destruction of Wheeler's garrison; but also that more than a hundred English people were still in confinement. Would they have the glory and the happiness of rescuing them?

Advance on
Cawnpoor by
General
Havelock.

Incidents of
the march.

Havelock
reaches
Cawnpoor.

Alas no! After the defeat on the Pandoo Nuddee on the 15th, it was debated by the Nána and Azim Oolla whether the remainder of the prisoners should not be put to death; and on its being decided that this course alone, as at Jhansy, would prevent further advance, they were all brutally destroyed on the 16th, some by shot, some by sword-cuts; while there is no doubt that many who survived wounds for a while, and little children, were thrown alive into the well which received, by most accounts, 210 bodies. Early on the 17th, Havelock's brigade marched into the station, and soon reached the scene of massacre. What was seen there, in all its sickening horror, need not be described again; but was it marvellous that the mournful blood-stained relics, the little shoes and scraps of clothing, the deep well filled with fresh dead—caused every British soldier to make an inward vow of revenge, which to the last was sternly fulfilled? Over that well, now enclosed by a rich Gothic screen, stands an angel in marble, with folded wings and crossed arms, an emblem of the rest of the dead beneath, who await the Lord's coming.

Massacre of
the English
prisoners.

Havelock did not delay at Cawnpoor. Reinforced by Neill with 200 men, and the party which had come up in the steamer, he marched to Bithoor on the 19th, blew up the magazine, and burned the palace, but found no enemy; and, returning to Cawnpoor, left Neill, now brigadier-general, in command of the station, and crossed over into Oudh. How Neill did his work there, restoring confidence, re-establishing the administration, and punishing rebels—making the worst of them clean up the blood of the murdered prisoners, and while he protected the well disposed, became a terror to evil-doers—how piles of plundered effects were, as it were, laid at his feet, does not require repetition; but Havelock's progress needs to be followed. On the 29th, he advanced from Mungulwar towards Lukhnow, and beat the enemy at Oonáo; but from disease, sunstroke, and casualties in action, he had lost 150 men in one march, and he returned to his camp and awaited reinforcements from Neill. Again, on August 4, with 1,300 men and thirteen guns, he advanced, and met the enemy, 20,000 strong, at Busherat Gunj, and, nothing daunted by numbers, attacked and defeated him; but advance was impossible, for cholera and dysentery were fast striking down his men. He therefore again retired to Mungulwar, and on the 13th, finding it impracticable to force the thirty-six miles of road to Lukhnow with the troops at his disposal, he recrossed the Ganges, in time to save Neill from some inconvenience: for, encouraged by the weakness of his force, the rebel troops had gathered round him in considerable

Havelock's
operations.

Neill at
Cawnpoor.

Havelock's
advance
towards
Lukhnow.

He returns
to Cawnpoor.

numbers. On the 15th, they had advanced close to the cantonment, where they were attacked by Neill and driven off, and the day after, a heavy body of them, drawn up near Bithoor, was engaged by Havelock, and routed; but there was no cavalry to pursue. Henceforth the brigade at Cawnpore was not molested; but by sickness and casualties it had been reduced to little more than 700 able men, and it was evident that considerable reinforcements must arrive ere Lukhnow could be relieved.

The progress of the relieving detachments was, however, delayed by events at and near Dinapore, where, on July 25, three native regiments—the 7th, 8th, and 40th—mutinied, and succeeded in leaving the station unopposed. To the last General Lloyd, who commanded them, had believed in the good faith of these men, and refused to disarm them. The mutineers crossed the Soane, plundered Arrah, and, joined by Kōer Singh, a Zemindar who had rebelled, attacked a house in which sixteen Englishmen with fifty Sikh police had taken refuge and fortified. The defence of this position forms a most interesting episode of the war: and it is satisfactory to record that the services of Mr. Boyle, an engineer, who had fortified the house, and conducted the defence, have been recognised by his admission to the Order of the Star of India. An attempt to relieve the besieged party, made from Dinapore by a detachment of the 10th and 37th Foot, was attended with serious loss, owing to incautious proceedings, and forced to retire; and the fate of the Englishmen appeared inevitable, when, collecting such men as were available, Major Vincent Eyre, of the Artillery, formed a small field force, with which he defeated the rebels, with severe loss, on August 2, and on the 3rd had the satisfaction of releasing the gallant men who had so bravely defended themselves.

Meanwhile extensive reinforcements of English soldiers had reached Calcutta: Sir Colin Campbell had arrived as commander-in-chief, Sir James Outram had come up as far as Allahabad, and, on September 16, he had joined Havelock and Neill with 1,400 men. Outram was the senior officer and might have assumed the command; but he generously waived his rank, and acted only as civil commissioner. On the 19th and 20th, 2,500 English soldiers crossed the Ganges, and on the 21st encountered the rebel army, which was sharply put to flight, losing four guns, taken by Outram at the head of the volunteer cavalry; and on the 23rd, a much superior force was attacked at the Alumbagh, near Lukhnow, routed, and pursued almost to the city. On the 24th, General Havelock gave his men rest before the final struggle,

Combat at
Bithoor.

Mutiny at
Dinapore.

Gallant
defence at
Arrah.

Arrival of
Sir Colin
Campbell.

Havelock

Second
advance on
Lukhnow.

which he saw would be severe, and on September 25, Neill leading, the defences of Lukhnow were attacked. These consisted of at least two miles of narrow lanes, streets, and massive buildings, defended with skill and desperation, and the fire poured upon the assailants was tremendous; but they were never checked, and as the evening closed, the victors, and those they rescued, had clasped hands, thanking God that deliverance had been effected. Such a combat had necessarily caused heavy loss, and the killed, wounded, and missing were 464 men; among them, to the grief of the whole army, and of the English nation, the gallant James Neill met his death from a chance shot almost at the entrance of the British position, in the moment of victory. There had been few men more popular in the army, and few, if any, whose real military skill and dashing bravery inspired more confidence, or were more deeply respected.

Rescue of
the garrison.

Death of
Colonel Neill.

CHAPTER VI.

OPERATIONS AT DEHLY AND CURRENT EVENTS, SEPTEMBER TO NOVEMBER, 1857.

BEFORE Havelock was able to make his final endeavour to reach Lukhnow, the siege of Dehly was in active progress. As had been previously stated, it was opened in reality on September 7; for what preceded it was simply retention of position. The ground between the British position on the ridge and the city was first cleared as much as possible of walls and buildings during several days of constant skirmishing. Between the 7th and 11th, three batteries of heavy and one of light guns had been constructed and armed, in spite of the furious musketry fire from the walls of Dehly; and fifty guns poured shot and shell against the curtains between the water and the Kashmere bastions, without cessation, day or night. It was acknowledged by all that the rebel defenders did their utmost in never flinching from the fire, even after all their guns were disabled and dismounted; maintaining an unceasing discharge of musketry, making sallies on the works, and endeavouring with their cavalry to force the rear of the position. By the 13th, the massive walls were reduced to ruin, and at night, Greathed, Home, Lang, and Medley, officers of the Engineers, crept to the foot of the breaches, and returned safely, reporting them practicable. There was no time for delay, which was desired by none; for every

The siege of
Dehly.

Batteries.

Conduct of
the rebels.

Breaches are
practicable.

day's skirmishing and protection of the batteries only decreased the number of effective soldiers and swelled the list of non-effectives, now over 3,000 men. At three in the morning of September 14, three assaulting columns had formed in the trenches. One, under Brigadier Nicholson, 1,000 strong, was to storm the breach of the Kashmere bastion; the second, under Brigadier Jones, 850 strong, that of the water bastion; and the third, 950 strong, under Colonel Campbell, to attack the Kashmere gate, when it should be blown down—in all, 2,800 men. Other columns were formed for reserve and for attack upon the suburb of Kissengunj, and, with the exception of a trifling force left to protect the camp, the whole of the British troops were employed. At the main breach, as the counterscarp had not been blown in, the dry ditch, eighteen feet deep, was a formidable obstacle under the furious fire opened upon the stormers; but it was crossed, the wall beyond climbed, and in a few minutes the breach was won.

At the Kashmere gate the powder-bags were laid by Lieutenants Home and Salkeld of the Engineers, with a party of volunteers for this desperate service, of whom the two foremost were shot dead as they laid the bags. Salkeld was wounded in two places as he tried to fire the train, and Sergeant Burgess, who took the match from him, was also shot dead as he applied it: but the explosion followed, and the bugler of the 52nd, attached to the party, sounding the advance, the stormers rushed in over the ruins of the just fallen gate, and carried all before them. But Dehly was not yet won. As the various columns advanced into the city, they were met by an unceasing and deadly fire from terraced houses, from massive buildings and mosques, and in an attempt to storm a narrow street which led to the Burn bastion, the gallant John Nicholson was struck down by what proved to be a mortal wound. After a vain attempt to carry the great Jumma mosque, the wearied troops rested on the ground they had won.

Outside the walls, the right attack, under Major Reid, had failed: and the Kashmere contingent lost their guns, Major Reid being badly wounded. The columns retired to the ridge, but their retreat had been bravely covered by the cavalry under Hope Grant, and three of the rebels' guns in Kissengunj, which had done much execution, were spiked. All the northern ramparts, from the church to the Kabool gate, had been cleared of the enemy, and thirty-seven guns had been taken; but the loss had been very severe, in 280 killed and 1,170 wounded, and many of the enemy's strongest positions remained intact. Early next day these were shelled by the

Storm of
Dehly.

The Kash-
mere gate.

Death of
Brigadier
Nicholson.

Failure of
right attack.

Operations in
the city.

mortars which had been brought up, and the magazine having been breached, was stormed and taken. It contained 170 guns, many of the largest calibre, which might now be employed against the enemy; but the mortars were doing their work effectively upon the palace and other positions, the rebel fire manifestly slackened, and the English line of attack, carefully maintained and supported during the 17th and 18th, advanced steadily through the city.

On the 19th, the Burn bastion, the strongest point of the rebel defences, was surprised and carried, and on the morning of the 20th, the Lahore gate and Garstin bastions followed. Hodson, with his horse, finding the Dehly gate open, made his way to the Jumma Musjid unopposed, and shortly afterwards the gates of the palace were forced open, and the last ^{The palace occupied.} stronghold captured; but it was unoccupied, except by some wounded Sepoys, and a few fanatics who had retreated into it and there met their doom. General Wilson had ordered no quarter to be given to men with arms in their hands; but beyond rebels, it was a joyful consideration of the victors, that amidst all the plunder, devastation, and, at one time, drunkenness, of the troops, who had fallen upon stores of liquors purposely placed in their way, no women or children, and few, if any, of the peaceable inhabitants and traders of the populous and wealthy ^{Possession of Dehly.} city had suffered. The capture of Dehly had occupied six days of hard fighting in narrow streets and at every disadvantage; but the triumph had been complete, and not a rebel soldier remained alive in it. Alone, and as Lord Canning happily expressed it in his proclamation, 'before a single soldier of the many thousands who are hastening from England to uphold ^{Proclamation.} the supremacy of the British power has set foot on these shores,' Wilson's army had achieved a success which, from the character and obstinacy of the resistance, was unparalleled in the history of India, and by few, if any, in that of war.

Contrasting the utterly inadequate force with which Sir Henry Barnard invested Dehly with that which took it, the undying glory of assistance rests upon Lord Lawrence. ^{Assistance by Lawrence.} Under the domination of his powerful will, Sikh levies, Goorkhas, the troops of Sikh rajahs and feudatories, the powerful siege-train, supplies, money, and English soldiers had successively reached the camp on the ridge, and one and all contributed to the result, while the dauntless bravery of English and native soldiers crowned all. But the cost in dead and disabled men had been heavy. From the beginning of the investment to the close of the siege and storm of the city, 3,837 were killed, wounded, or disabled, ^{English losses.} in the following proportions:—Europeans killed, 572; wounded,

1,566; missing, 13—total, 2,151. Natives killed, 440; wounded, 1,220; missing, 17—total, 1,686. The rebels' loss could never be

The rebels. estimated; but their dead lay literally in heaps in some places, and the whole was necessarily very great. Those that escaped broke into two bodies, one proceeding into the Dooh, another along the line of the river Jumna. It was at first supposed

The king brought from Hoomáyoona's tomb. that they had taken the king with them: but on the 21st it was ascertained that he was at the tomb of the Emperor Hoomáyoona, his ancestor, at a short distance from the city, and he was brought in with his family

by Captain Hodson, and lodged in his own palace. Next day Hodson, taking a hundred of his own men, went again to the tomb, and seized two of the king's sons, and his grandson, in the midst of a crowd of armed retainers, who, overawed by his bearing, laid down their weapons; but as the princes proceeded in a native

Hodson shoots two of the princes. carriage to the city, it was surrounded near the gates by a threatening crowd, and anticipating an attempt at rescue, Hodson shot both of them, and taking their

bodies to the most public place in the city, they were exposed, as men who had caused the helpless English women and children to be murdered on May 11 and 12. Thus closed the terrible tragedy of Dehly, blood-stained from the earliest period of its foundation to the close of its greatness.

With what eagerness the news of the final result was looked for throughout India can hardly be expressed: and while

Anxiety in India regarding Dehly. the six days of fighting in the city, and the apparently slow progress made in its capture, could only be understood by those who estimated the nature of the warfare and were

Effects of the victory. assured of final success, there were many who yet feared there might be failure, and dreaded the result. To all

well-affected natives the news was as joyful as to the English; to others it was a deathblow of hope. By it many a wavering chieftain was restrained from outbreak, for no prominent head to the rebellion now existed: and those who might have rejoiced in the chance of a new sovereignty of Dehly refused the domination of mutinous Sepoys, without leaders, without any common bond of union, and without resources. Day by day the mighty power of England was becoming manifest in the arrival of fresh soldiers, and was aided not a little by the loyal demonstrations of native princes and people in every part of India.

Two flying columns were at once dispatched from Dehly to pursue the mutineers and prevent them from making head in the country. That under Brigadier Greathed, sweeping down upon Allygurh, and dispersing and shattering every rebel band, was pursuing its way to

Pursuit of rebels from Dehly; Greathed's column.

Cawnpoor, when an urgent message from Mr. Reade at Agra met him at Hattras. Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces, had died on September 9, and for his successor, Colonel Fraser, Mr. Reade was officiating. While the English forces were occupied with Dehly, a considerable army of mutineers from Indoor, Gwalior, and other southern stations had assembled at Dhólpoor, on the Chumbul, hoping to be joined by the Gwalior contingent; but as yet it had not moved, for Sindia had been able to restrain it: the others could not remain inactive, and Agra, weakly defended, seemed an easy prey, and, could it be gained, would be a rallying point for all other bodies of mutineers now in the field. It was indeed fortunate the Dhólpoor rebels had not moved sooner; but Greathed, making a forced march, reached Agra on the morning of September 10, and as the men were resting, unaccounted, a sharp fire was opened upon them from masked rebel guns. During the previous night, the rebel force, 7,000 strong, had marched from Dhólpoor with the intention of surprising the fort, but were happily forestalled. The action was short but decisive; and with the loss of their twelve guns, their camp, and 500 dead, the rebels were pursued by the cavalry and horse-artillery for five miles, when the weary troops could do no more, and the rebels, scattering themselves among the fields of tall maize, escaped. This essential service performed, the column marched on to Cawnpoor, which it reached on October 10.

Events at
Agra.

Defeat of the
rebels at
Agra.

With a like success, another column from Dehly, under Brigadier Showers, took the forts of Kanoud and Jhájur, and cleared the country of all rebel bands and plunderers that infested it, restoring order, and re-establishing the executive government. To the south, many spirited affairs had taken place, into the details of which it is needless to enter; but success had attended all, and the loyal Bombay troops had at last struck in, beating a large body of rebels at Mundissoor in good style; and Brigadier Stuart, at Dhár, was doing good service with the Malwah field force, part of which was composed of the cavalry and infantry of the Hyderabad contingent. During July and August, Colonel Davidson, the Resident at Hyderabad, had, with excellent judgment, assembled a strong brigade of the contingent at Mulkapoor in Berar; and throughout the subsequent campaigns no force rendered more able or gallant service than the Nizam's contingent, which, composed as it was of the same elements in men as the Bengal army, and excited by the prevalent rumours and events, might, under inaction, have proved mutinous.

Showers's
column.

Stuart's
Bombay
column.

Hyderabad
contingent.

The country now became, as it were, dotted with smaller

events and actions, as everywhere that they could be discovered bands of rebels and mutineers were successively attacked. Near Azimgurh the Goorkhas of Jung Bahádoor of Nipál, led by Captain Boileaux and Mr. Venables, defeated a large body of the enemy on September 20. On October 2, Major English, with a wing of the 53rd and a few Sikhs, attacked a large rebel force at Chuttra and routed them, taking four English six-pounder guns, ten elephants, and all their camp-equipage, with 50,000 rupees in cash. On November 1, with part of the Naval Brigade and some detachments of English regiments, Colonel Powell attacked the Dinapoor regiments at Kájwah, and though he lost his life, the victory was won by Captain Peel, whose seamen here had their first brush with the enemy. All these movements and actions were, however, of secondary importance before the great combinations of Sir Colin Campbell, which were now in progress.

Varied minor
events and
combats.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SECOND RELIEF OF LUKHNOW, AND FIELD OPERATIONS, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1857.

AFTER the first relief of the garrison of Lukhnow on September 25, Sir James Outram assumed the command. The rebel forces, so far from retiring from the city, now pressed the siege more closely, with augmented numbers, and for the succeeding two months the defence rivalled that of the preceding. The details form an instructive lesson in the art of war, from the manner in which advantage was taken of every building and cover, however slight, and the incessant mining and countermining against the native attack, which in this respect was peculiarly ingenious and persevering. At the crisis at which the former relief took place, two mines had been carried under the very centre of the English position, which were fortunately discovered: and during the second defence General Outram records that shafts aggregating 200 feet in depth and 3,291 feet of 'gallery,' were executed by his troops. It had been impossible either to send away the sick and wounded of the previous siege, or to retire from Lukhnow; and though in some peril from the duration of the attack and shortness of provision, it was a happy circumstance that the position was maintained without the necessity of attempting to retire.

Outram's
defence of
Lukhnow.

Native mines
and counter-
mines.

Meanwhile, reinforcements from England were arriving daily in Calcutta, and were forwarded consecutively to Cawnpore, which was the point of rendezvous for all detachments and flying columns; and on November 9, Sir Colin Campbell advanced for the relief of General Outram to Buntara, on the Lukhnow road, where, on the 12th, and afterwards on the 14th, he was joined by other troops and detachments, which brought up his force to about 5,000 men of all arms, with thirty guns. The daring feat of Mr. Kavanagh in carrying news from General Outram to Sir Colin through the rebel forces, is a well-known incident of the war, and met with a merited reward in the Victoria Cross and a handsome donation of 2,000*l*.

Reinforcements.

Sir John Campbell's advance.

On the 14th, the advance against the rebel positions began: and one after another they were carried at the point of the bayonet, the Sikhs and Punjâbees vying with the English soldiers for pre-eminence in the varied combats.

Operations against Lukhnow.

The Sikunder Bâgh, a large enclosure, strongly garrisoned by the enemy, was breached and stormed by the Highlanders, the 53rd Foot, and 4th Punjâbees, when every soul found within it perished, and more than 2,000 of the enemy's dead were afterwards taken out and buried. The day's proceedings were wound up by the capture of the Shah Nujuf, a mosque, surrounded by a loopholed wall, where the Naval Brigade greatly distinguished themselves, bringing up their heavy guns, in the thick of the fire, close to the building. The capture of this position brought the assailants into communication with the garrison. The Mess-house, another fortified rebel post, was not carried till the afternoon of the 17th; but the women, sick, and wounded, could not be removed till the 19th, when they all happily reached the Sikunder Bâgh in safety.

Next day the position, defended so nobly for six weary months, was evacuated under such admirable precautions that the enemy, ignorant of the movement, continued firing on it long after no one remained there. Sir Colin Campbell's dispatch forms an eloquent record of the services performed by all, which were liberally rewarded by Government, by honours, distinctions, and extra allowances. Considering the severity of the fighting, the loss of the British force in the last movement was not heavy, in 122 killed and 414 wounded. That of the rebels could never be ascertained, but was believed to have been about 6,000: and it was mainly owing to Sir Colin's care in not employing his men in assaults till the powerful artillery had done its work, that the comparatively small loss may be attributed. It was no part of Sir Colin's Campbell's plan to attack the city

Evacuation of the British position.

Sir Colin Campbell's dispatch.

itself on this occasion. With the small force at his disposal, it would have been impossible to have done so with effect, and any partial operation was out of the question. On the 23rd, the whole of the troops were safe at Dilkosha, near the city, where, on the 24th, the noble Sir Henry Havelock died from dysentery, and was buried at the Alumbagh. Here General Outram was left with 4,000 men, and on the 27th Sir Colin commenced his return to Cawnpoor with a large convoy. He had only reached Bunnee, when sounds of a heavy cannonade in the direction of Cawnpoor induced him to push on, the more especially as he had not heard from General Windham, whom he had left with 2,000 men in charge of the entrenchment, for several days.

The Gwalior contingent, heretofore neutral, and restrained by Sindia, though they had mutinied in June when several of their officers were shot by them, had at last marched to join the rebel forces under the Nana and his brother, Bala Sahib; and their united troops amounted to 20,000 men, with forty guns. The Gwalior contingent was one of the finest and most perfectly disciplined native levies in India, and among the rebel leaders, Tantia Tópee, a Mahratta Brahmin, but a soldier of singular ability, now appeared for the first time as a general. As the rebel forces advanced on Cawnpoor, General Windham went forth to meet them on the 20th, with about 1,200 men and twelve guns, and routed the first body he came up with, near the Pandoo river; but he had evidently no conception of their entire numbers, and next day, finding himself outflanked, retired on his entrenchment in some confusion, losing the camp-equipage, which had been collected for the army, and much stores. The enemy now closed upon the entrenchment, gaining possession of the city of Cawnpoor, and it was only by severe fighting on the 28th that the entrenchment itself was preserved from bombardment, while there was the utmost danger that the bridge of boats across the Ganges, by which alone Sir Colin Campbell's force could gain Cawnpoor, would be destroyed. His hurried march forward, therefore, was an able stroke of generalship: and on the 29th and 30th the whole of the convoy and troops had safely reached their destination.

There was no doubt that the English force at Cawnpoor had been handled unskilfully, while that of the rebels had been cleverly directed, and it was evident they must be driven from their position, which was every day becoming stronger; but till Sir Colin Campbell was free of all impediments and anxieties in regard to sick and wounded, he made no step in advance. All these were dispatched to Calcutta, with the garrison of Lukhnaw,

by December 5, and on the 6th the enemy was attacked with infinite spirit and resolution, the Naval Brigade winning fresh renown by the manner in which they moved and handled, as it was described, 'like playthings,' their heavy 24-pounder guns. All the troops, combined and admirably led, routed the right wing of the enemy, taking seventeen guns, twenty-five waggons, and all their stores; and the pursuit, taken up by General Little, was continued for fourteen miles. Meanwhile their left wing was attacked by General Mansfield's success. The enemy defeated at Cawnpoor. not a man of the great rebel army could be seen for miles around Cawnpoor. The British loss had been singularly small, in thirteen killed and eighty-six wounded.

Making sure of overtaking at least a portion of the rebels, who had made off to the ferry called Serâi Ghât, twenty-five miles above Cawnpoor, Brigadier Hope Grant, after discovering a large amount of treasure at Bithoor, pursued them with a brigade of 2,000 infantry and 500 cavalry. He found them on the 9th where he had expected, and won a complete victory, taking fifteen guns, and their waggons, much ammunition, and some standards; while it is more surprising to relate that not one man of his force was even hurt: the rebels, on the contrary, sustaining heavy loss from a noble charge by the cavalry, the 9th Lancers and 5th Punjâbees. In two actions the Gwalior contingent had lost thirty-two guns, the arm in which they had most prided themselves.

The commander-in-chief was now free to undertake a general campaign against the rebels in Oudh and Rohilkhund. It was ably planned and as ably executed. Separate columns under himself, Hope Grant, Seaton from Dehly, and Walpole, cleared the country as far as Furrukabad, in the course of the month of December; and at Futtehghurh a brilliant victory over the rebel Nawâb of that place was won by Colonel Kinleside, who took twelve guns and their waggons and stores from the enemy, who left 700 dead on the field and in their pursuit for seven miles. On the 27th, Colonel Seaton routed the enemy at Mynpooree, taking six guns: and in both these affairs the British loss was strangely small.

At Lukhnow, Outram had not been idle. On December 22, he sallied out with two regiments at night, and routed a body of rebels who had taken up a position on the Cawnpoor road; and on the 28th, Mahomed Hussein, a rebel leader, with 5,000 men, posted at Majowlee, was also defeated by Colonel Rowcroft. Jung Bahâdoor of Nipâl was advancing to co-operate with the British forces, with 10,000 Goorkhas from

his frontier; and at Furrukabad were now collected 10,000 troops under the commander-in-chief. Elsewhere, before the close of the year, many districts had been cleared of rebels. The mutineers of Dacca were perishing in the jungles of Bhootán, to which they had retreated. In Sylhet, the last remnant of the 34th Native Infantry had been destroyed by Captain Byng; and thus, eastward from Dinapoor, all was already safe and tranquil. In Central India, Saugor was held by the 31st Native Infantry and 3rd Cavalry, both faithful to the last. Brigadier Stuart had routed, near Mundissoor, the rebel force, which was attacking Neemuch. Rewah, the spirited rajah of which was throughout faithful, had been purged of rebels by the gallant young political agent, Lieutenant Osborne. At Mhow, and Holkar's Indoor, order had been completely restored: for on December 15, the three mutinous regiments there were disarmed. Thus, the future war was restricted to Oudh, Rohilkhund, and part of Bundelkhund; and for operations to the southward two columns under Sir Hugh Rose (now Lord Strathnairn) and Brigadier Whitlock, of the Madras army, were already in motion.

Much retributive justice had been dealt out to prominent rebels. The Nawáb of Jhájur, the Meer Nawáb, and other men of rank, taken in arms, were tried by commission, and hanged at Dehly. No mercy was shown in any case, either to great men or subordinates: and all who were connected with murders or massacres, as at Dehly, were for the most part hunted down and executed. Yet, though the people of disaffected districts had already perished by thousands, the cry for more revenge, more blood—raised furiously in Calcutta, and repeated by the press of India almost without intermission for many months—still continued, and Lord Canning was assailed in India and in England by a hurricane of abuse, which was indeed hard to endure, but which passed over him unheeded. Time, and subsequent events, have done ample justice both to his motives and to his much-abused 'clemency.' While, at the outset, he endowed every person in authority with extra powers, he found, as the circle of rebellion and resistance narrowed, and as almost indiscriminate slaughter was carried on, that restraint was needed, and he resolutely imposed it by his order on July 31. Real criminals were not the less brought to condign punishment; but the burning of suspected villages and indiscriminate slaughter of the people, were checked in time, and the pacification of disturbed districts and the establishment of order were rapidly effected. Even at Dehly, before the end of 1857, most of the inhabitants had returned to their houses; trade and usual occupations had been resumed; the fortifications had been saved from a wild cry that had gone out for their

destruction; and little but the ruins of the bastions and breaches remained to tell of the fierce contest that had raged there. Lastly, the north-western provinces were separated from the regulation districts, and for the present placed under the able administration of Sir John Lawrence.

CHAPTER VIII.

MILITARY OPERATIONS, JANUARY TO JUNE, 1858.

ON January 27, a military commission, of which Colonel Dawes of the Bengal Artillery was president, assembled in the palace at Dehly, the scene of the glories and vicissitudes of the great imperial family for 330 years, for the trial of Mahomed Bahádoor Shah, the last king. After twenty days' proceedings, the king was found guilty of having ordered the murder of forty-nine Christians at Dehly; of waging war upon the British Government; and of exciting the people of India, by proclamations, to destroy the English. Sentence of death was recorded against him, but commuted into one of transportation. His favourite wife, Zeenut Mahál, and his son Jumma Bukht, decided to accompany him, and they were eventually forwarded to Tounghoo in Burmah. In the state of existing feeling against the royal family, it might have gone hard with the queen if she had been put on her trial; but no prosecution was entered against her or her son. The commutation of sentence raised afresh the clamour against Lord Canning's clemency, and in self-defence he reviewed, in a minute for the Court of Directors, all his own acts, in so admirable a spirit of fairness and justice to the people of India at large, that his worst enemies were silenced by his calm magnanimity.

Trial of the
king of
Dehly.

Lord
Canning's
minute.

On January 2, the commander-in-chief, driving the rebels from its vicinity, became master of Furrukabad, and lay there while Hope Grant routed them in Rohilkhund on the 27th, with his usual success. On the 12th, at Lukhnou, Sir James Outram defeated a very imposing attack upon his position at the Alumbágh, by an army of the rebels estimated at 30,000 men, after a combat which lasted from sunrise till late in the afternoon; and on the 16th, a second, and even more desperate assault from the same army met with a like result. The month of January passed away without any move on the part of the commander-in-chief, for he had received orders from the governor-general, which directed an entire change in the plan of

Events of the
campaign.

his campaign; and it is to be regretted he was ever interfered with. In admirable good temper, however, Sir Colin made new arrangements and preparations for attacking Oudh, instead, as he had before determined, of first clearing Rohilkhund, and reserving Oudh for his final effort. Meanwhile, Brigadier Franks, driving the enemy before him, had advanced to the south-east frontier of Oudh, and joined Jung Bahádoor's Goorkhas, thus completing the cordon in that direction.

The Bombay column under Sir Hugh Rose, which had steadily advanced into Central India, took possession of the strong fort of Rátgurrh, and the road was thus opened for the relief of Saugor. Some alarm was caused by a partial mutiny of Madras troops at Nagpoor on January 18, which was, however, instantly suppressed by the remainder, and Sir Hugh Rose's force was enabled to continue its march. Again, on February 21, General Outram was attacked by 20,000 men, the Bégum of Oudh being herself in the field: and repulsed them with a fearful carnage, losing, on his part, only nine men wounded. On the 23rd, Sir Hope Grant captured the town of Meeán Gunj, in the direction of Lukhnow, taking six guns, and destroying 1,000 of the rebels, his own loss being only two killed and nineteen wounded;

Brigadier
Franks' victory.

and on the 19th, Brigadier Franks, with his force of 6,000, attacked the army of Mahomed Hussein Nazim, estimated at 20,000 strong, near Chunda, and took six guns, and again at Waree, the same evening, putting him to flight. On the 23rd, out-manceuvring the enemy's general, Franks again attacked his army, now 25,000 strong, with twenty-five guns, very strongly posted between Badshah Gunj and Sooltanpoor; and, turning his right flank by an admirable movement, routed the whole, want of cavalry alone preventing him from following up his victory. As it was, twenty-one guns were captured, and nearly 2,000 of the enemy lay dead or wounded on the field. Again it is surprising to record that in the two days' fighting General Franks had only lost two men killed and sixteen wounded. On March 1, General Franks brought his brilliant independent operations to a close by joining the general camp before Lukhnow.

On February 20, the seamen of the 'Pearl' frigate, under Captain Sotheby, joined by Colonel Rowcroft, with some Nipálese levies, captured two forts near Fyzabad, taking all the guns. On the 26th, after a sharp fight, Jung Bahádoor's Goorkhas stormed the curiously strong fort of Berote-poor, slaying all the defenders. On March 5, his troops, under General Khurruk Bahádoor, defeated and utterly routed the remains of Mahomed Hussein Nazim's army at the Kandoo river, taking their only remaining gun, and slaying and wounding 600 of them.

The cam-
paign in
Oudh
continued.

These operations complete the affairs in Oudh during February, and considerably aided the plans of the commander-in-chief.

To the south and west, Sir Hugh Rose, on February 10, drove the mutineers and rebels from the almost impregnable fort and position of Gurra Kóta, and soon afterwards defeated them at the pass of Muddunpoor, which they had disputed. General Roberts, now at the head of a column of 6,000 men, was sweeping through Malwah in the direction of Kóta. General Whitlock's column from Nagpoor, long delayed there by want of draught cattle for his siege guns, was entering Bundelkhund; and in Rewah, Colonel Hinde and Captain Osborne, the political agent, had, unaided by regular troops, taken six forts, sixty-two guns, and completely established order in that principality.

Campaign in
Central
India.

The events of March were more important. Sir Colin Campbell's arrangements were complete; he had conferred with the governor-general, who was now at Allahabad, and on the 2nd, with a noble army of 25,000 men, of which

The second
attack on
Lukhnaw.

hardly less than 16,000 were English troops, the largest number ever brought together in India, the second attack on Lukhnaw commenced. It is impossible either to enumerate the various troops employed in the field, all now veterans, or to follow the operations in detail so admirably described in the official dispatches, and in Mr. Russell's 'Diary' and letters to the 'Times.' There was no doubt, from the strength of the defences, the number of the mutineers and rebels, and the obstinate character of the contest, that the vast preparations of Sir Colin Campbell had been unavoidable to ensure success; and that it would have been bad policy in a political point of view to have run any risk of check or failure. The last of the siege-trains reached Lukhnaw on the 4th, and the operations commenced in earnest. It was impossible to invest a city the circumference of which was twenty miles; but as the commander-in-chief states in his dispatch, 'some avenues of supply or relief might be closed.' On the 6th, therefore, a pontoon-bridge of casks and rafts was thrown across the river Goomtee, and Sir James Outram, at the head of the 1st Brigade, crossed, with instructions to clear the defences north of the city,

Attack of
March 6.

and obtain the command of the two great bridges. By this operation, which involved some severe fighting in the capture of several important positions, the enemy's first line was turned by the 9th, when the Martinière was stormed by the 42nd, 53rd, and 90th Foot, under Lugard and Hope; and the 42nd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Rifles following, cleared the line of outward defences, by which time Sir James Outram had established himself to the north of the Iron Bridge.

Early on the 11th, a great block of buildings in the second line of the defence, called the Bégum Kóthee, was stormed and taken by the 93rd Highlanders, the 4th Punjábées, and 1,000 Goorkhas, led by Brigadier Adrian Hope, and upwards of 500 of the enemy's dead were afterwards buried. It was, in fact, the key of the enemy's position, and was gallantly but fruitlessly defended. On this day, also, Jung Bahádoor arrived, with 9,000 Goorkhas and twenty-four guns, and was allotted a post on the canal covering the left attack. On the 14th, the Imámbára position was carried by assault, and Brasyer's Sikhs, pressing on, gained the Kaiser Bágh, and thus the third line of defence was penetrated. Next day, crossing the river by a pontoon-bridge, Outram took the Iron Bridge in reverse, and captured it; and pursuing his course through the Muchee Bhowán and the Imámbára, reached the residency. So far the city was captured; but most of the rebels had been able to escape by the various outlets. The Queen of Oudh, Huzrú Mahál, still, however, held the Moosee Bágh, a large palace with enclosed gardens about it, with 7,000 men; and the fanatic Moulree of Fyzabad remained in the heart of the city with his adherents. These bodies were successively attacked, the Moosee Bágh on the 19th by Sir James Outram, who drove out the enemy with heavy loss, but did not succeed in capturing the queen; the Moulree's position by Sir Edward Lugard on the 21st, with a similar result.

As on other occasions, Sir Colin Campbell had carefully protected his troops by artillery, of which he had a great preponderance; and the loss during the whole of the operations amounted to only 127 killed and 505 wounded—a marvellous contrast indeed with the results of battles under Lord Gough. Among the officers killed was the brave Captain Hodson, the hero of a hundred combats; and Captain Sir William Peel, of the 'Shannon,' the dashing leader of the Naval Brigade, having been severely wounded, was recovering when he was attacked by small-pox, and died on April 27. Of the enemy, upwards of 3,000 were buried, but of their loss in wounded no account could ever be gained. When victory had attended the British arms in November, Lukhnow was the scene of a fresh tragedy in the murder, under the orders of the fanatic Moulree, of nineteen persons, some of them English ladies. They were taken out of their prison and shot by a party of the 71st Native Infantry. The only survivors, the widow of Captain Orr, and the sister of Sir Mountstuart Jackson, were rescued on the 18th by Captains McNeil and Boyle, with a party of Goorkhas, who had been guided to

Continued
attacks on
positions.

Arrival of
Goorkhas
under Jung
Bahádoor.

Concluding
operations.

Trifling
British loss.

Death of Sir
William Peel.

Loss of the
enemy.

Murder of
English
prisoners
in Lukhnow.

Rescue of
two ladies.

them by a friendly native, a feat which formed one of the many romantic episodes of the capture of the great city. On the 23rd, General Grant overtook a large body of fugitives on the road to Seetápoor, captured their guns, and routed them with heavy loss; and this affair brought the present military operations to a close. The rebels had indeed been driven out of Lukhnow, but they were to be the occasion of many a spirited combat before peace was restored to Northern India.

Lukhnow
cleared of
rebels.

The change in the plan of the commander-in-chief directed by the governor-general has been previously noticed, and as had been expected, the rebels had now united for the most part at Bareilly, where Khan Bahádoor Khan held sway, and as yet had not been molested. He was supported by the fanatical Mahomedans; but, from his oppressive conduct, the Hindoos of the province were already sighing for the return of their old masters, the English. With Khan Bahádoor Khan were now Prince Feróze of Dehly, the Bégum of Oudh, the fanatic Moulvee, and the Nána of Bithoor.

Operations
against
Bareilly.

Leaders of
the rebellion.

For operations in Rohilkhund, three columns were employed under Generals Seaton, Walpole, and Jones. At a place called Rodamow, on April 14, during a rash assault upon a petty fort, which occasioned a greater loss of men than many a general action, the gallant young Brigadier-General Adrian Hope was killed, amidst the regret of the whole army. On the 23rd, Walpole beat the rebels handsomely at Sirsa, taking ten guns—a victory which left their bridge and the road to Bareilly open. Sir Colin Campbell was now advancing from Cawnpore; and having joined Walpole, marched on Bareilly by way of Shahjehánpore; while Jones's column, driving in the rebels' posts, approached the city from the opposite direction, on May 5, as Sir Colin's army was coming up. The object of the combined movement was to allow no one to escape. As it neared the city, the head of Sir Colin's advanced column was furiously attacked by a band of fanatics, sword in hand: but they were all bayoneted on the spot, to the number of 133. On the 6th, the heavy guns opened on the city, which was speedily taken, with all its magazines and stores; but the rebel leaders had effected their escape. The Moulvee now turned back upon Shahjehánpore, where a weak force had been left; and a reinforcement under Brigadier Jones, which followed the enemy, had much ado to hold its own, obliging Sir Colin himself to hasten to its assistance on the 18th, when the rebels made off beyond the frontier of Oudh.

Campaign in
Rohilkhund.

Death of
Brigadier-
General
Adrian Hope.

Bareilly
taken; the
rebel leaders
escape.

Sir E. Lugard's column from Lukhnow was directed against the rebel Kóer Singh, who was still active in Báhar and

districts about Oudh. He was pursued from place to place by Brigadier Douglas, suffering much loss, and being himself wounded; but, on April 23, he turned upon a small force under Captain Le Grand from Arrah, and defeated it in a manner which caused much animadversion on its commander; when Douglas taking up the pursuit, chased the rebels into the jungles beyond, where, throughout June, a most harassing warfare was carried on; nor was it till the lapse of several months that the district was left in peace.

Sir E.
Lugard's
operations.

The manner in which the rebels contrived to re-unite in large bodies during May and June surprised the British commanders. On June 12, General Hope Grant was obliged to march from Lukhnow to Nawabgunj for the attack of 16,000 men, who had collected there; and after a sharp combat, the enemy was routed, with the loss of six guns and some 600 men left dead on the field. Shortly afterwards, however, their leader, the Moulvee, was killed in an attack upon a fort belonging to the Rajah of Powain, which proved to be a severe loss to the rebel cause. Mahomed Hassan tried to supply his place, and scattered bodies of rebels collected round him in the Górukpoor district; but on June 9 and 18 they were beaten and dispersed by Colonel Rowcroft's small force of soldiers, sailors, and Goorkhas, and were not allowed to re-unite.

Events of
May and
June.

Many attempts were made by bands of rebels, driven out of the upper provinces and now become banditti, to penetrate into the Eastern Gangetic districts; but they found themselves everywhere opposed and routed by the moveable columns watching these provinces; not, however, without several desperate combats—that with a small body of sailors encamped near the town of Cháibasa, in which for the first time the Koles of Singhbhoom took part with the rebels, and fought with much resolution, being the most remarkable.

CHAPTER IX.

MILITARY OPERATIONS AND EVENTS IN CENTRAL INDIA AND THE DECCAN, 1858.

No portion of the war against the mutineers and rebels was carried on with more brilliant spirit and success than the operations of Sir Hugh Rose, with his army of Bombay troops and the Hyderabad contingent. The military operations in Oudh and Rohilkhund had been conducted in an open and well-peopled country; those of Sir Hugh Rose, on

Sir Hugh
Rose's
campaign.

the contrary, were for the most part in one of the most rugged portions of India, the jungles, ravines, and broken ground of the Vindhya range, and Bundelkhund, the population of which had defied, for several hundred years, the continued efforts of the Mahomedan emperors. Having relieved Saugor on February 3, Sir Hugh marched towards Jhansy, which had not as yet been molested, and in which city the Ranee had fully established her authority. His success at the pass of Muddunpoor has been previously noticed. On March 17, Chandéree was captured by the First Brigade; and on the 23rd, Sir Hugh invested ^{Jhansy} Jhansy, one of the strongest fortresses in Upper India. ^{invested.}

The siege operations had hardly commenced, when Tantia Tópee and the Rajah of Bânpoor, with an army of 20,000 men, advanced to the Ranee's assistance; and on March 31, their signal—an immense bonfire—that they had crossed the Betwah, was saluted by the fort batteries. Without slackening the siege attack, Sir Hugh took possession, during the night, of the road leading from the Betwah river towards Jhansy, with about 1,200 ^{Battle of the} men of all arms, of whom nearly 700 were English ^{Betwah.} soldiers. The numerical odds against him were immense, but the issue was a magnificent success. As the rebels advanced, before daylight, on April 1, they were met by Sir Hugh, ^{Defeat of the} totally defeated, and pursued for nine miles across the ^{rebels.} Betwah, losing 1,500 men with eighteen guns and all their military stores.

This defeat cut off all hope of succour to the Ranee. Most of the guns of the fort had been silenced, and by April 2 ^{Storm of} a practicable breach had been effected. She had made ^{Jhansy.} negotiations for surrender, but the terms she offered were inadmissible with reference to the murders she had caused to be perpetrated in June; and on the 3rd, the breach was stormed with perfect success, and a lodgment made in the city. During ^{Escape of} the night, the Ranee contrived to evade the outposts, ^{the Ranee.} and fled on horseback, with a small escort of her cavalry. She was pursued for twenty miles, but finally escaped into the jungles. Next morning, the final attack on the citadel and town was ^{The citadel} made. So complete was the cordon about the walls, that ^{taken.} none of the rebels escaped, and 5,000 of them perished; ^{Great loss of} for in memory of the past events, no quarter was given or ^{the rebels.} asked for. The whole British loss amounted to thirty-eight killed and 215 wounded. It is satisfactory to record, that the famishing women and children were fed by the English soldiers from their own rations, and afterwards supported by Sir Hugh Rose with the grain found in the fort.

Some days elapsed in resting the men of the force, who, under