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ILLUSTRATED

HISTORY OF INDIA

VOL. II. PART I

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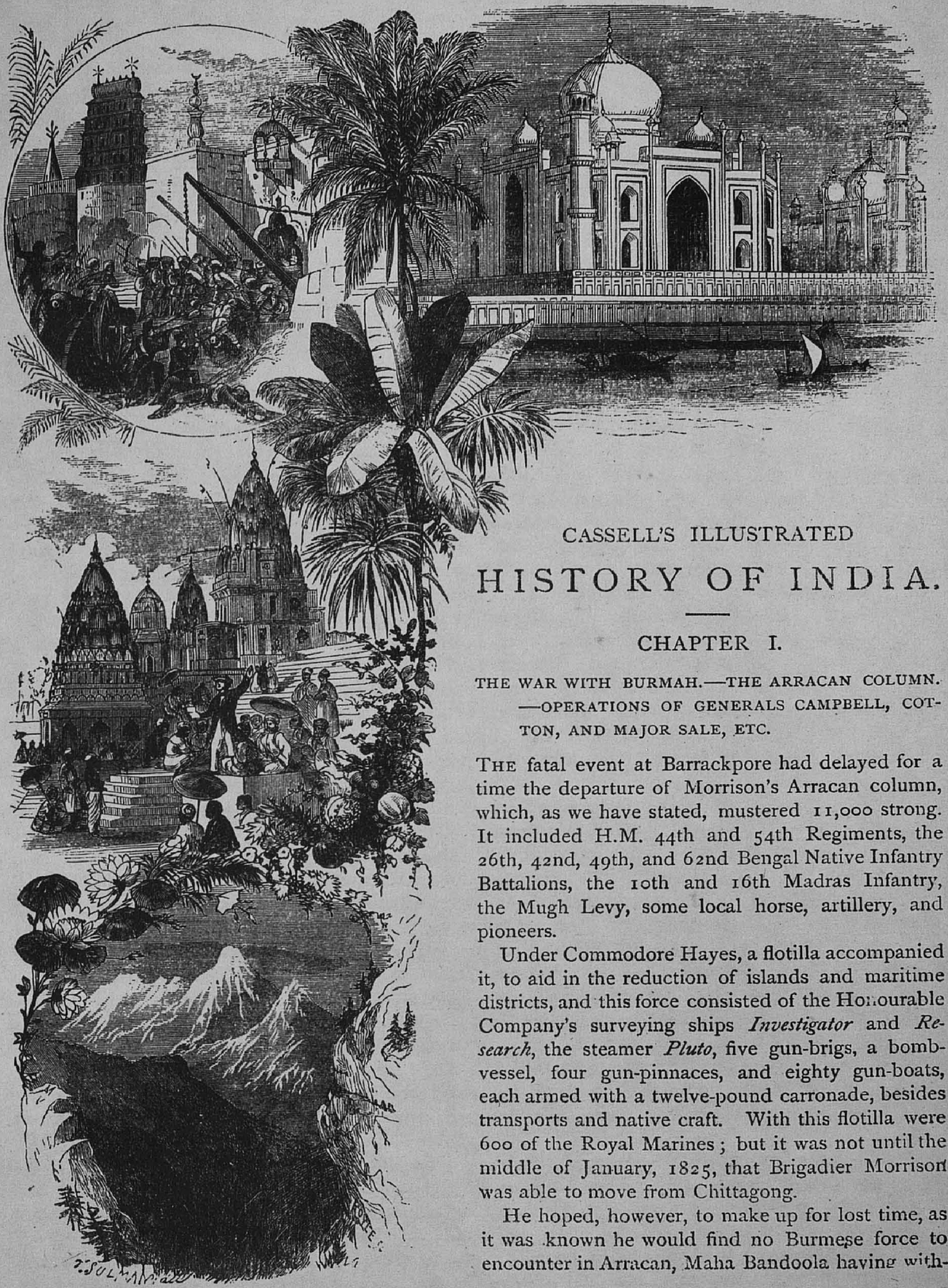
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CHAPTER I.

THE WAR WITH BURMAH.—THE ARRACAN COLUMN.—OPERATIONS OF GENERALS CAMPBELL, COTTON, AND MAJOR SALE, ETC.

THE fatal event at Barrackpore had delayed for a time the departure of Morrison's Arracan column, which, as we have stated, mustered 11,000 strong. It included H.M. 44th and 54th Regiments, the 26th, 42nd, 49th, and 62nd Bengal Native Infantry Battalions, the 10th and 16th Madras Infantry, the Mugh Levy, some local horse, artillery, and pioneers.

Under Commodore Hayes, a flotilla accompanied it, to aid in the reduction of islands and maritime districts, and this force consisted of the Honourable Company's surveying ships *Investigator* and *Research*, the steamer *Pluto*, five gun-brigs, a bomb-vessel, four gun-pinnaces, and eighty gun-boats, each armed with a twelve-pound carronade, besides transports and native craft. With this flotilla were 600 of the Royal Marines; but it was not until the middle of January, 1825, that Brigadier Morrison was able to move from Chittagong.

He hoped, however, to make up for lost time, as it was known he would find no Burmese force to encounter in Arracan, Maha Bandoola having with-

drawn all his troops for the purpose of hemming up Campbell in Rangoon; but a more terrible enemy than Burmah could send forth was to be met on his disastrous march.

The total length of the province of Arracan is 250 miles, its greatest breadth is 105, though in some parts it is little more than ten miles. On the north it is separated from the Chittagong district by the river Nauf. A range of mountains, named the Yeomandong, whose height varies from 2,000 to 8,000 feet, running parallel to, and in some places approaching very near the coast, separates it from the Burmese empire. No fewer than twenty-two passes exist in this chain between Arracan and Ava; of these, the principal, the Pass of Aeng, at its summit, attains an altitude of 4,664 feet; but these passes are generally little more than mere foot-tracks, traversable only by bullocks or mountain ponies. The sea-coast is bordered by numerous isles, the largest of which is Cheduba, and has a line of dangerous shoals, and is torn and indented by creeks, the formation of the fierce torrents that are for ever pouring from the Yeomandong. The interior presents only a succession of rugged heights, with deep ravines and marshy flats between.

Towering forests and impervious jungle render every route one of extreme difficulty, and poison the atmosphere so much that, at the commencement and cessation of the rainfalls, it becomes quite pestilential. In the town of Arracan, fifteen inches of rain have been known to fall in one day. In 1825, the year of Morrison's march, out of 16,500 square miles, the Mughs, its inhabitants, had only 400 under cultivation.

In order to avoid the serious obstacles which he was aware would beset him, General Morrison resolved to march as near the coast as possible, to the end that he might avail himself of the assistance of Commodore Hayes for the conveyance of the troops and stores across the mouths of rivers. On the 1st of February, 1825, he reached the mouth of the Nauf, and threw a detachment across it to take possession of Mangdoo, but twelve days elapsed ere the whole of his troops had crossed; and, as many of his baggage animals had not yet come up, he was compelled to leave there many of his stores, under a guard, while he pushed on to the mouth of the Myoo, a stream there more than three miles in width.

So varied and unforeseen were the causes of delay, that a whole month elapsed ere the last man was across, after which the army encamped at the town of Chankroin, near a tributary of the Kaladyne, which is navigable even to deeply-laden boats, to within a few miles of Arracan, the capital of the province, to capture which, with its population of about 10,000 souls, was now the chief object of the brigadier.

Commodore Hayes having entered the river with his shipping towards the end of February, found his progress obstructed by the guns of a stockade, which he failed to force; but when the troops reached the same point on the 20th of the subsequent month, it was found to be abandoned. Morrison's force had now marched 150 miles from Chittagong.

On the 26th of March, after storming two stockades, it continued to advance, without further opposition, till, on the 29th, it halted at the base of a hilly range, about 400 feet in height, that overlooks Arracan, the houses of which are all built on piles, above the mud and ooze which the river deposits around them. On the summit of these hills, 9,000 Burmese troops were found strongly stockaded, and Morrison ordered an instant assault.

Up this steep ascent our soldiers rushed to the attack, but were met by a dreadful matchlock fire, accompanied by volleys of enormous stones which were rolled down upon them, and after suffering considerable loss, they were compelled to fall back, and acknowledge themselves beaten. On the 30th, he brought up his battering-guns, which opened briskly on the stockade, while next evening a detachment, by a circuitous route, attacked it in rear; the Burmese, finding themselves assailed on two points at once, lost all presence of mind, and fled. Arracan was captured, and the whole province was subjugated; and by the Treaty of Yandaboo—yet to be narrated—was ceded to Great Britain.

So far all had gone well with Morrison's column; but there, in one of the most unhealthy places between the tropics, he put his troops into cantonments, while he halted to complete the occupation of a country where there was nothing to subdue. In the month of May the rains of the monsoon set in, fever began to appear, and it continued to augment daily and nightly, amid the horrid miasmatic atmosphere of Arracan, till scarcely a soldier remained fit for duty, and even the baggage animals drooped and died. The horses, bullocks, and elephants, perished by hundreds; and the mortality was so great in the ranks of the two king's regiments that, together, they did not muster 1,004 men.

Three-fifths of the whole force found their graves in Arracan during the course of eight months; and the rest became utterly inefficient, as the sepoys suffered quite as much as the British soldiers. And all this came to pass from Morrison's abandoning the original plan for co-operating with the army of

the Irawaddi, and the ignorance of his staff as to the geography of the country. The perfectly practicable Pass of Aeng, by which an extensive trade was carried on between Burmah and Arracan, was overlooked, and the army, supposing there was no further outlet, instead of aiding Campbell, was left in the latter place to pine away and perish by disease.

Yet that the road by the Aeng Pass, though steep, was a perfectly open one, ample and practicable proofs were given to the public, when, in the March of the following year, Captain David Ross tells us that he marched homeward with the 18th Madras Infantry, fifty pioneers, and all the elephants of the army, from Yandaboo on the Irawaddi, across the Arracan mountains, by that route, on an excellent road—a march extending over only nineteen days.*

After the successes of our troops at Kokim on the 15th of the preceding December, the condition of our Rangoon expedition was greatly ameliorated. The return of the healthy season had lessened disease, and reinforcements had arrived, including, among other European regiments, the second battalion of the Royal Scots, under Colonel Armstrong; but prior to commencing more active operations, a new policy was inaugurated, by offering independence to the Peguers, that confidence might be given to the returning inhabitants of Rangoon. To this end, Sir Archibald Campbell issued a proclamation, showing the folly of resisting the British arms, and reminding the Peguers of the oppression and tyranny they had so long endured, drawing a contrast between their degraded state and the happiness now enjoyed by the freed people of Tenasserim under the British flag, concluding with the recommendation to choose from among themselves a chief, and he would acknowledge him. The ancient dynasty of Pegu was extinct: there was none to choose from; and before there was any prospect of a candidate appearing, the policy of Great Britain had adopted a new phase, and it was deemed unsafe, amid eventualities, to encourage a spirit of national independence in the people of Pegu.

When General Campbell began a new line of operations, he led the first division in person. It consisted of only 2,400 men, and by way of distinction was called the Land Column. It was composed of H.M. 38th, 41st, and 47th Regiments, all very weak, with three native battalions, a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, and a rocket troop.

The second division was under Brigadier-General Cotton, and consisted of H.M. 89th Regiment, the 1st Madras Europeans, and 250 of the 18th Madras Native Infantry, some foot artillery, and a few of the rocket troop, but mustering only 1,200 men in all.

The third division—if such slender formations can be so called—consisted only of H.M. 13th Regiment, the 12th Madras Native Infantry, and a few artillery, but only 600 men in all, under the gallant Robert Sale, then holding the rank of major.

Campbell's division was to proceed by land to Prome, on the Irawaddi, while Cotton, by water, would form a junction with him at the same point, for the purpose of reducing the enemy's works at Panlang and Donabew. With Cotton were to come fifty-two gunboats, under Captain Alexander, R.N. Sale's small force was to operate by sea; in pursuance of which order it proceeded to Cape Negrais, and after destroying the batteries there, had orders to advance to Bassein.*

The latter must not be confounded with the place of the same name in Bombay, as it is a district, town, and river of Burmah, in the province of Pegu. Sale was most successful; and after destroying the enemy's works, ascended the river to the town of Bassein, from which the enemy retired, leaving it in flames. Being without means of transport, Sale was unable to follow them up, and thus had no alternative but to re-embark at Bassein, and sail back to Rangoon to await fresh orders.

Meanwhile, Cotton's division advanced to Yougan-Chena, where the Rangoon branch separates from the Irawaddi. When Panlang, on the former, was reached, on the 19th February, Cotton found the flat reedy banks on both sides strongly stockaded; these were ultimately, with difficulty, shelled, after which the enemy took to flight before a shower of rockets. Leaving a detachment of Madras Infantry at this point, the flotilla proceeded on its way, and on the 6th of March appeared off Donabew.

There, the works were on the right bank of the stream; they were of great strength, and commanded the whole breadth of the current. The chief work, as described by an officer of the staff, "a parallelogram of 1,000 by 700 yards, stood on a bank withdrawn from the bed of the river in the dry season, and rising above it. Two others, one a square of 200 yards, with a pagoda in the centre, and the other an irregular work, 400 yards from it, stood lower down the river, forming outworks to the principal stockade, commanded and supported by its batteries. All three were constructed of squared beams of timber, provided with platforms,

* "Two Years in Ava." By an Officer of the Staff.

* Wilson, &c.

and pierced for cannon; and each had an exterior ditch, the outer edge of which was guarded with sharp-pointed bamboos, and a thick abattis of felled trees and brushwood. One hundred and forty guns of various calibres, and a greater number of jingals, were mounted on the parapets, and the garrison consisted of 12,000 men, commanded by [Maha Bandoola] the most celebrated general in the service of Ava."

Having left part of a native regiment at Panlang, and some of his Europeans to guard the gunboats and stores, the whole available force of Cotton did not amount to much beyond 600 bayonets—a strength manifestly inadequate to storming Donabew; but Cotton having only unconditional orders to attack the place, had no alternative but to obey them.

Accordingly, on the 7th of March, he formed two little columns of attack, consisting of 500 men in all. These advanced against the smaller stockade, covered by the fire of two field-pieces and a rocket battery. They carried it successfully, and then an attempt was made against the second intrenchment. A rush was made at it by 200 gallant fellows; but numbers overwhelmed them, and they were driven back with loss. It was a gross blunder of General Campbell to send Brigadier Cotton with such inadequate means on such a service; and it was an equal blunder on Cotton's part to assault Donabew, after a reconnaissance must have proved to him the enormous strength of the place.

Disparity of force rendered the attempt criminal and absurd. The brigadier was compelled to relinquish it, and re-embarking, to drop down the river to Yung-Yung, and there await fresh instructions from the general in command.

As has been too often the case in British military expeditions, it was now painfully evident that the force sent to Rangoon was too weak, and that the government at Calcutta had formed no correct idea of the task it had undertaken; and Cotton, while waiting for orders, learned that Campbell, finding himself also too weak to achieve anything at Prome, was falling back.

His division had started on the 13th of February; with the grenadiers and light infantry of the 1st Royal Scots as his advance-guard, he had proceeded along a difficult path, tending obliquely towards the Irawaddi river. He marched through the provinces of Lyng and Sarrawah, or Tharawa, till he reached a place called Mophi; when about 3,000 Burmese, under Maha Silwah, abandoned an old Peguan fort, which they at first seemed disposed to defend, and dispersed in the jungle. From Mophi, Campbell continued his progress uninterrupted by the enemy, and forded the Lyng at Thaboon, on the 1st of March. The whole inhabitants of the country through which his column marched viewed the expulsion of the Burmese with much satisfaction, and assisted the troops in making roads, and in procuring supplies of rice and buffaloes.*

During these arduous operations, the troops were well-nigh maddened by clouds of mosquitoes. These issued from the jungle and high reeds by the river banks, and tortured the poor Europeans by biting them through every kind of clothing. "A cavalry officer," says Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir James Edward) Alexander, "affirmed that he found no protection in a pair of leather breeches; an infantry soldier declared that they bit him through his breast-plate; an artilleryman, to crown the joke, asserted that he could not secure his head by thrusting it into a mortar." †

On the 2nd March, Campbell's division reached that point on the Irawaddi where its junction with the Water Column had been intended, only to learn that it had fallen back from Donabew. Campbell was thus compelled to retrace his steps, and concentrate his force for the reduction of that formidable place, if possible. He accordingly crossed the Irawaddi by means of canoes and rafts, which, owing to the insufficiency of these craft, caused the movement to last five days.

After halting two days at Henzada, a large town, where there were many temples and wooden bridges, the column, cutting a path through jungle and thicket, pursued its march along the right bank of the river, and arrived before Donabew on the 25th of March. Two days after, a communication was opened with the Water Column, under Cotton, and both leaders now prepared to co-operate for the reduction of the place. Campbell had halted above Donabew, while the flotilla, under Cotton, was below it. Thus, ere they could act together, the latter had to take advantage of a fair wind, before which he sailed up against the current, gallantly running the gauntlet of every gun the enemy could bring to bear upon him.

Batteries were now constructed without delay, and to retard their progress Bandoola threw out many spirited sorties. One of these was headed by seventeen elephants, each carrying six men, armed with jingals or matchlocks, supported by horse and dense masses of infantry; but a well-directed fire of grape and musketry threw them all into confusion. Torn with bloody wounds, the

* "Hist. Records 1st Royal Scots.'

† "Journey from India to England," 1827.

huge elephants became wild and unmanageable, and, trampling the foot soldiers to death, fled to the nearest thickets, followed by the horsemen, while the infantry took flight to their stockades. In their subsequent operations, neither skill nor courage was shown by the besieged; against whom Campbell opened his batteries on the 3rd of April, when, to the surprise of all, there came no response from the vast works of the Burmese. It was then found that the latter had abandoned the place, and for some time had been in full retreat through the friendly jungle.

The works were then at once taken possession of. Maha Bandoola, the only leader in whom the Burmese had confidence, had been slain by a shell, and his body was stripped of his armour, which is now preserved in the Tower of London. The suit consists of a mixture of plate and quilting; the former having a circular breast defence, and all the pieces ornamented with a richly-gilded arabesque bordering; the latter composed of crimson velvet, with small metal studs. His spear-shaft, which is also preserved, is all of chased silver. It was rumoured in the camp, that before his death this leader had begun to evince some tendencies to Christianity. When the reporter of this interesting fact—a Mugh from Chittagong—was questioned to explain what these symptoms were, he replied, that Bandoola was of his "master's caste"—having acquired a relish for beef, pork, and brandy! Our total loss was thirty killed, and 134 wounded.

All the guns and stores of every description now fell into the hands of our troops, who then resumed their progress towards the heights of Prome.

On the 8th of April, Campbell was joined by Brigadier M'Creagh, with the eight battalion companies of the 1st Royal Scots, the 28th Madras Native Infantry, and a good supply of draught cattle and elephants. The Prince of Tharawaddi, brother of the king, was now at the head of the Burmese army, which fell back to defend Prome, a town on the left bank of the Irawaddi, a mile and a half in circumference, enclosed by a brick wall and stockade, near which are hills covered by pleasant groves of tamarind and palmyra trees. But instead of fighting, the prince continued to retire, step by step, as Campbell advanced, till the latter was within thirty miles of Prome; when one of our soldiers, who had been taken prisoner, came into camp with a letter addressed to the general by two of the royal councillors.

This document attributed the war to the conduct "of a certain paltry chief," and suggested that a negociation should be opened for the restoration of peace and the ancient friendship of the two states.

To this Sir Archibald Campbell replied, that when the British army was at Prome he would then listen to overtures for peace. And on the 25th of April he entered that place without the least opposition, although, according to his own opinion, it was strong enough by art and nature to have been held by one thousand men against ten times their number.

Though the Burmese would seem to have begun to despair of success at this time, they gathered courage and made fresh levies of troops, till they had 52,000 under arms. Of these, 20,000 were assembled at Meaday, on the Irawaddi, forty miles north of Prome, under a half-brother of the king; 12,000 were at Tongho, eighty miles distant; and the remaining 20,000 were about Melloone and elsewhere; while to oppose all these, Campbell had only five thousand, the half of whom were native troops, with his head-quarters at Prome, and 1,500 more from Rangoon had orders to join him. An armistice was agreed upon, to extend from the 17th of September to the 17th of October, in order to enable the British agents and Burmese vakeels to come to terms of peace. In September, Sir James Brisbane, Commander-in-chief of the British Navy in the Indian Seas, joined the army.

The Kye Wungyee and Lamain Woon met these two leaders on the 2nd of October, to form the terms of a definitive treaty, on the plain of Narenzik, when it soon became obvious that our demands were deemed arrogant by the Burmese. On first meeting in the hall of audience there was much appearance of friendship. "Shaking of hands, and every demonstration of amicable feeling having passed," says Major Snodgrass, "the parties entered the house, and sat down on two rows of chairs, fronting each other; the Wungyees and their suite, in all fifteen chiefs, each bearing the chain of nobility, and dressed in their splendid court dresses, evidently doing grievous penance in seats they were never accustomed to, that no difference might appear, even in the most trifling particular, between the parties; and so observing and tenacious were they on this point, that scarcely a movement could be made without a corresponding one on their side."*

But the business in hand soon disconcerted them, for General Campbell's conditions were these:—"The court of Ava was expected to desist from all interference with Assam and Cachar, and to recognise the independence of Munipore. Arracan, with its dependencies, was to be given up to the British, and an indemnity of two crores of rupees (£2,000,000) was to be paid for the expenses

* "Narrative of the Burmese War."

of the war, until the discharge of which sum, Rangoon, Martaban, and the Tenasserim provinces were to be held in pledge. A Resident was to be received at Ava, and a commercial treaty to be concluded, by which trade with Rangoon should be relieved from the exactions by which it had hitherto been repressed." *

It was soon evident that the Burmese would never concede to all this without another struggle; and thus, a few days before the expiration of the armistice, a letter arrived from the Burmese commissioners, intimating the final resolution of the Golden Foot in these terms:—

"If you sincerely want peace, and our former friendship re-established according to Burmese custom, empty your hands of what you have, and then, if you ask it, we will be on friendly terms with you, and send our petition for the release of your British prisoners, and send them down to you. However, after the termination of the armistice between us, if you show any inclination to renew your demands for your expenses, or any territory from us, you are to consider our friendship at an end. This is Burman custom."

As soon as the Burmese had thus, with undisguised indignation, rejected the terms proposed by Sir Archibald Campbell, they lost not an hour in preparing for the resumption of hostilities, and began to advance upon Prome.

A considerable body of them took post at Watigaon, about twenty miles from that place, and by commanding the country on Campbell's right flank, threatened to give his army the greatest annoyance.

CHAPTER II.

WAR WITH BURMAH.—THE BATTLE OF PROME.—THE AFFAIR OF MELLOONE.—BATTLE OF PAGAMHEW.—PEACE WITH THE KING OF AVA.

To dislodge this advanced party of Burmese, on the 15th of November, 1825, Brigadier McDowall marched in the evening, with five slender regiments of native infantry, formed in three divisions; but the ground, which was found to be flooded and swampy, did not admit of the conveyance of field-pieces, and no heavy guns had been brought. Ignorance of the position led to confusion in the attack, which proved a failure, and McDowall was repulsed, with the loss of nine officers wounded—one mortally—and 216 rank and file killed or wounded. The Burmese, who had never shown much apprehension of the sepoys, for a considerable time after this spoke of them with exulting contempt.

They were now encouraged to make an attempt upon our lines at Prome, by advancing and intrenching themselves within a few miles of that place, under Maha Nemiow, 8,000 of whose *corps d'armée* were Shans, who had not yet come in contact with our troops, and were expected to fight with more courage and resolution than those who had already encountered us. These new levies were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank, who were supposed to be endued with the gifts of prophecy and of turning aside the bullets of the British.

On the 30th November arrangements were made to attack the enemy next morning, beginning with the left, and taking the divisions in which the Burmese troops were formed in rapid detail. Commodore Brisbane, with the flotilla, was to cannonade the enemy's post upon both banks of the Irawaddi at daylight, and a body of native infantry was to advance at the same time along the margin of the river upon the position of Kye Wungyee, drive his advanced posts back on the main body, drawing the enemy's whole attention to his right and centre, while the columns were marching for the real attack upon his left at Simbike.

Leaving four regiments of sepoys in garrison, at dawn on the 1st December, the rest of the force assembled in two columns of attack at a short distance in front of Prome. One, under Brigadier Cotton, advanced by the straight road that led to Simbike; the other, led by General Campbell, crossed the river Nawine, and moved along its right bank to get into the enemy's rear, and cut off his retreat upon the division of Kye Wungyee.

"The columns," says Major Snodgrass, "had

* Wilson.

NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE: MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND BURMESE COMMISSIONERS.

scarcely moved off, when a furious cannonade upon our left announced the commencement of operations on the river, and so completely deceived the enemy, that we found the pickets of his left withdrawn, and the position at Simbike exposed to a sudden and unexpected attack. Brigadier Cotton's column first reached the enemy's line, consisting of a succession of stockades erected across an open space in the centre of the jungle, where the villages of Simbike and Kyalaz had stood, having the Nawine River in rear, a thick wood on either flank, and available only by the open space in front, defended by cross-fires from the zig-zagging formation of the works." *

Cotton's plans were soon matured. With the 41st Welsh in front, and the flank companies of the Royal Scots and 89th Regiment, with the 18th Madras Native Infantry, in flank, he advanced with great intrepidity. Encouraged by the presence of the aged Kye Wungyee, who was borne from place to place in a gilded litter, and cheered by the example of the three beautiful Amazons, the Shans certainly fought well; but no sooner was a lodgment effected in the interior of their densely-crowded works than confusion ensued, and they were unable to contend with, or check the progress of, the fast-forming line of disciplined soldiers who formed up to the front as they poured in, and from whose destructive file-firing there was no escape.

The strongly-built enclosures everywhere prevented flight, and in a few minutes the narrow outlets were choked up by the dead and dying. Horses and men rushed wildly to and fro; in some places groups were seen trying to tear down the stockades, in others, offering a feeble resistance to their conquerors. "The grey-headed *Chobwas* (princes) of the Shans, in particular, showed a noble example to their men, sword in hand, singly maintaining the unequal contest; nor could any signs or gestures of good treatment induce them to forbearance; attacking all who offered to approach them with humane or friendly feelings, they only sought the death which too many of them found."

Maha Nemiow fell, with all his litter-bearers, and his body, with his sword, Kye Wungyee's chain, and other insignia, were found among the dead. One of the Amazons received a mortal wound in her breast, and expired in the hands of our soldiers.

Elsewhere, Campbell's column was pushing forward in rear of these stockades, and met the panic-stricken in the act of emerging from the jungle. The Horse Artillery now unlimbered, and opened a crashing fire upon the flying mobs. Another of the Shan ladies was then seen galloping on horseback into the Nawine River; but before she could reach the protection of the forest beyond it, a shrapnel exploded over her head, and she fell from her saddle; but whether she was killed or merely terrified was never known, as the Shans bore her away.

The rout of the Burmese army was complete, with enormous losses; ours were three officers killed and two wounded—one mortally—twenty-five soldiers killed, and 121 wounded.

On the 19th of December the army reached Meaday, accompanied by the flotilla, when a flag of truce came to the naval commander, offering to negociate. Lieutenant-Colonel Tidy and Lieutenant Smith, R.N., had conducted previous negociations, and these officers were deputed to meet the Burmese. Nevertheless, Sir Archibald Campbell was resolved neither to be deceived nor obstructed by delays under the guise of negociations, and he continued to advance with the armaments till they arrived at Patanagoh, opposite to Melloone, on the 29th of December.

Next day the negociators undertook to have an interview in a boat in the centre of the river. The general, the commodore, Mr. T. C. Robertson, the civil commissioner, and their suites, went on board, and found five great officials of Ava ready to receive them. The demands of the British were repeated, and met by the old expostulations on the part of the Burmese; who, at last, gave way, by consenting to a surrender of territory, but protesting against the payment of any indemnity, though the British reduced the latter to one million sterling.

On the 3rd of January, 1826, a definitive treaty was executed, and an armistice settled, to extend to the 18th of that month. On the 17th an extension of time was asked, and General Campbell, perceiving that they only meant to delude him, demanded that the Burmese should evacuate the fortified camp of Melloone by sunrise on the 20th, or expect an attack; and on that day, as no ratification of the treaty arrived, the troops advanced against Melloone.

By the 19th Campbell had lined the bank of the river with his batteries; one of eighteen-pounders and heavy mortars was opposed to the centre of the greatest stockade; another, of lighter guns, was ready to batter a pagoda to the southward. The guns and howitzers of the Horse Artillery were in battery to the left of the central work. "By eleven o'clock," says Sir Henry Havelock, "twenty-eight mouths of fire were ready to open on Melloone, and the whole strength of the rocket

* "Narrative of the Burmese War."

brigade was posted near the right of the central battery."

Campbell, in person, gave the word. The roar of the first combined salvo shook the ground, and seemed to rend the air. It reverberated amid the rocks and woods of Melloone, and died away in rumbling echoes among the distant hills. Shots followed each other in deafening peals; and they were seen dashing the works to pieces, and raising clouds of whirling dust and splinters from the stockades. "Shells hit sometimes a few paces from the parapet, behind which the garrison was crouching, bursting among their ranks; sometimes upon the huts of the troops and marked points of the pagodas. The rockets flew in the truest path. Many fell upon the barbarians; many shaped their course direct into the pavilions of the chiefs. Partial fires were soon seen to break out at Melloone. Twice the line of the barbarians which manned the eastern face was seen to give way under the dreadful fire; twice they were rallied by their chiefs. The storm of fire, of shells, and bullets continued, without intermission, for an hour and a quarter. Fifteen minutes before one, the boats of the flotilla began to move from a point 200 yards above the light battery. The first brigade had been embarked on board the leading vessels." *

The flank companies of the Royal Irish Fusiliers —the 41st and the 89th—with some strong sepoy detachments, found themselves at the same moment afloat in the remainder of the flotilla, under the orders of Brigadier Cotton, with whom were Lieutenant-Colonels Henry Godwin, one of the heroes of Barossa, B. B. Parlby, C.B., and Hunter Blair, C.B., who had been severely wounded at Waterloo. This force was to gain the right bank a little above the great work, and operate against its northern face, then being fearfully enfiladed by the Horse Artillery guns.

As one of its columns was intended to intercept the retreat of the Burmese, the whole body ought to have been put in motion before the first brigade; but the attempt which was made to render the advance of both simultaneous, ended by an inversion of the order of their operations. Thus the first brigade came too soon, and the turning columns too late, in contact with the enemy.

The boats of the first brigade began to fall rapidly down the stream. Colonel Sale, says Havelock, was seen in the leading man-of-war boat, far ahead of the heavier vessels, moving to attack the south-east (Snodgrass says the south-west) angle of the great work; thus he had to receive the fire of the whole eastern front of the fortification, and every matchlock and jingall opened the moment the first boat was abreast of the place. The force of the stream swept the British to within half-musket range of their numerous enemies, who, relieved from the severity of our cannonade, caused by the approach of our boats, had full leisure to pour their fire upon them. "It caused a sensation of nervous tremor amongst the unoccupied spectators on the right bank, to see these two old tried corps (the 13th and 38th) thus silently enduring the storm of barbarian vengeance. A dense cloud of smoke from the Burmese musketry began to envelop the boats. Now and then, by the flash of a nine-pounder from one of the gun-vessels, she was seen to present her bows for an instant to the line, and direct a piercing shot against the works. The headmost boat was seen to touch the sand. A body of troops sprang ashore. They formed themselves, with the alacrity of practised *tirailleurs*, under the slope of the bank. They were part of the 38th; they began to answer and check the fire of the Burmese bastion near them. The vessels followed as rapidly as possible; but all seemed too slow for the wishes of those who looked upon the animating scene. They felt the inexpressible desire to urge on, by the power, as it were, of imagination, to press forward, to impel to the point, the headmost boats, which, though dropping quickly, yet seemed, to the eyes of impatience, to lag. More soldiers leaped upon the dry land, with a cheer; others followed. The spectators looked for the leader of the brigade. They did not know that a ball had struck him—the gallant Sale—between the shoulder and the breast, and that he lay swooning from loss of blood in the bottom of the boat."

Lieutenant-Colonel Frith then assumed the command, and conducted the assault, which was made with a steadiness and regularity that must have struck awe into the enemy. In an incredibly short time our soldiers entered by escalade, and established themselves in the interior of the works.

A prouder, or more gratifying sight, wrote another actor in the scene, has seldom been witnessed, than this mere handful of gallant fellows driving a dense multitude of from ten to fifteen thousand armed men before them, from works of such strength, that even Memiaboo, their general, contrary to all custom, did not think it necessary to quit until the troops were in the act of carrying them. The other brigades, cutting in upon the enemy's retreat, as they were rushing in headlong flight across the open ground, completed their

* "Campaigns in Ava."

destruction, and the capture of the whole of their artillery and military stores.*

But these stern examples were yet insufficient to overcome the obstinacy of the Burmese.

On the 8th of February our army approached within five miles of Pagamhew, an ancient town on the left bank of the Irawaddi, 260 miles above Rangoon. It consists of numerous mouldering pagodas and other ruins, covering some seven miles of ground along the bank of the stream, and extending for three miles inland. For many centuries it was the capital of the Burmese empire, and was regarded as a holy city. There the Burmese seemed resolved to make another stand, as it is solidly built and capable of defence; so Sir Archibald Campbell lost no time in attacking the enemy, though mustering 16,000 warriors, under a leader named the "King of Hell and Prince of Sunset."

The British advanced along a narrow road bordered by a species of plum-tree, above which rose the clouds of dust their marching raised from the dry sandy soil. Instead of defending Pagamhew, the Prince of Sunset, despising all tactics that savoured of timidity, or even throwing up the inevitable Burmese stockades, drew up his army on open ground to which this narrow roadway led, and along which Campbell was marching, with only 1,300 men.

The Burmans fired the first shot; the advance of their right opened a random fusillade, out of all range, at the head of the 43rd, and then fell back. The leading troops, in a moment after, became engaged with the advance of the Burmese, posted at a place called Loganunda, and drove it in, though they had come on with great fury, with frantic gestures and hideous shouts. The whole 13th Light Infantry were thrown forward in skirmishing order, and in this formation actually dashed among the Burmese, overthrew them, and, by bayonet and bullet, strewed the plum-thickets with their bodies. In their flight the Burmese were hotly pursued and thundered upon by the Horse Artillery guns, and cut down by the sowars wherever they could be overtaken.

The rest of the force found a difficulty in seconding this manœuvre, as it could not debouch with sufficient rapidity from the narrow path into which the troops were wedged, with the carriages of the foot artillery, the tumbrils, and rocket-tubes. The heat was overpowering, and two of the weak battalions had been harassed by a night march; the skirmishers of the 13th, thrown out along a considerable space, became closely engaged with formidable masses before they could be adequately supported.

"The barbarian general took advantage of this with laudable adroitness," says Havelock. "He promptly moved up large bodies of horse and foot to the aid of his worsted advance; he caused a mass to debouch from his extreme left, menacing the right flank of the British, and another to press down from his centre, to cut off their vanguard from the road. The ground was a succession of hillocks planted with the jujube. Many of the little summits were covered with the ruins of pagodas; others with monuments less worn by time. Thus the adverse lines were scarcely aware how closely they approached each other. . . . The major-general, accompanied by the principal officers of his staff, was in the very centre of the attack of the vanguard. His person must have been distinctly seen by the barbarians. Large bodies advanced within a few yards of him; their shouts seemed already to announce a victory. The situation of the major-general was for many minutes critical. He had with him only fourteen men of the 13th, sixteen sowars of the Body Guard, and two field-pieces of the Horse Artillery."

The fire of the latter disconcerted the enemy, who fell back, and General Campbell recalled the 13th by sound of bugle, at a time when our guns and howitzers were got into position on the plateau of a ridge, where a ruinous brickwork formed a species of rampart. At its foot stood the enemy in immense force, their infantry supported by squadrons of Cassay horse. Campbell surveyed them steadily for a time through his telescope, and then said calmly, as the troops re-formed:—

"I have here the 13th and Body Guard, so the whole Burmese army shall not drive me from this hill."

Nevertheless, he was full of anxiety; there was no intelligence yet of the movements on the left, and detachments of the enemy filled all the thickets on both flanks, and even penetrated to the rear; but, at length, the 89th Regiment came up, and took its position in support, and the British once more prepared to attack the "King of Hell"—as his name of *Nee Woon Brëen* has been translated—when it was perceived that he had diminished the frontage of his force, in consequence of his right flank and his communications with Pagamhew being menaced. When the troops advanced, with loud cheers, the Burmese were driven from position to position, from pagoda to pagoda, in total rout. All their standards were captured, and Campbell and his staff rode triumphantly into Pagamhew by its eastern gate; and we are told, that the boom

* Major Snodgrass.

of the last cannon-shot had scarcely ceased to echo among the pagodas of the ruined city, when his sentiments were thus conveyed to the troops in general orders :—

"Providence has once more blessed with success the British arms in this country; and in the decisive defeat of the imposing force posted under and within the walls of Pagamhew, the major-general recognises a fresh display of the military virtues which have characterised his troops from the commencement of the war."

The defeated commander left the field of battle with such rapidity, that he was the first to bear to Ava the tidings of his own disaster. The object of this, we are told, was to solicit a new army with which to expel the presumptuous invaders ; but the courtiers, or the king, thought they had had enough of him. He was expelled from the royal presence with ignominy, and put to death the same evening. The employment of "the King of Hell and Prince of Sunset" had been the last effort of desperation; and it soon became evident that the resources of the empire were incapable of preventing a mere "handful" of British troops from penetrating 500 miles into the interior of the country, and compelling its capital to surrender at discretion.

After a five days' halt at Pagamhew, Sir Archibald Campbell resumed his march, and arrived at Yandaboo, within sixty-three miles of Ava. It is a town in the Mranma, on the left bank of the great Irawaddi, and there negociators met him, in the persons of two Burmese ministers and two American missionaries, the Messrs. Price and Judson. As a proof of the sincerity of the now thoroughly humbled court of Ava, they were accompanied by a number of released captives, and brought with them twenty-five lacs of rupees (£250,000) as the first pecuniary instalment.

The terms had been previously arranged, so nothing remained but to give effect to them by a regular treaty, which was concluded, without giving rise to much discussion, on the 24th of February, 1826, and ratified without any unnecessary delay; and of this treaty we may quote the following five articles out of the eleven of which it consisted :—

Art. II. His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all further interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous states of Cachar and Jynteca.

Art. III. To prevent all disputes respecting the boundary-line between the two great nations, the British Government will retain the conquered provinces of Arracan, including the four divisions of Arracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandowey, and his Majesty the King of Ava cedes all right thereto. The Arracan Mountains will henceforth form the boundary between the two great nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the said line of demarcation will be settled by commissioners appointed by the respective Governments for that purpose, such commissioners to be of suitable and corresponding rank.

Art. IV. His Majesty the King of Ava cedes to the British Government the conquered provinces of Ye, Tavoy, Mergue, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto belonging, taking the Saluen river as the line of demarcation on that frontier. Any doubts regarding their boundaries will be settled as specified in the concluding part of Article III.

Art. V. In consequence of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the two nations, and as part indemnification to the British Government for the expenses of the war, the King of Ava agrees to pay the sum of one crore (£1,250,000) of rupees.

Art. VII. In order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two Governments, it is agreed that accredited ministers, retaining an escort of fifty men from each, shall reside at the durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase or build a suitable place of residence of permanent materials ; and a commercial treaty, upon principles of reciprocal advantage, will be entered into by the two high contracting parties.

So ended the war with Burmah, which proved one of the most costly waged in the East. Various writers estimate it at fourteen millions sterling ; and the loss from all causes—in the field and garrison, along the frontier of Assam, in Arracan, and upon the pestiferous banks of the Irawaddi—at twenty thousand men. Our European troops, especially the officers, perished in much greater proportion than the sepoys, and, more especially, than the Mugh levies, among whom the loss of life was not great.

It has been asserted by some writers, that the Burmese war was never cordially sanctioned at home. Be that as it may, the court of Ava was resolutely bent on war, and every concession we might have made would have been followed by some new and degrading demand ; and ultimately, the Burmese did, in fact, lay claim to districts lying within the ancient and recognised frontier of Bengal. "A Burmese war, therefore, however little to be desired on its own account, was, sooner or later, inevitable ; and the Indian Government,



BURMESE TOY-GIRL.

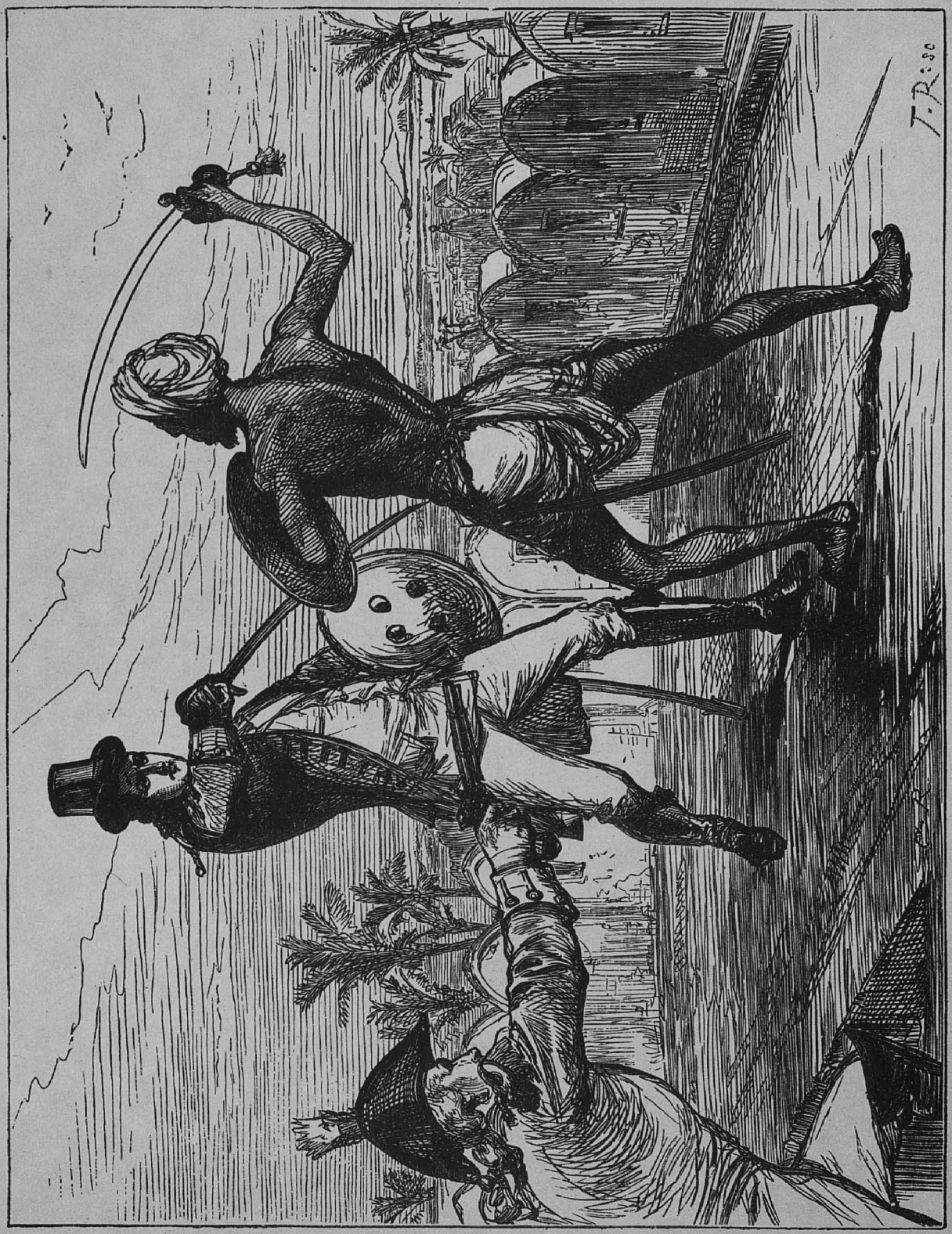
which undertook it, have a sufficient vindication in the fact that they only yielded to a necessity which was laid upon them. For the mode of conducting the war, they, and the commander to whom they entrusted it, were strictly responsible; and it is here that the blame lies. They carried it on without any regular plan, committed gross blunders, from which careful inquiry, previously made, would have saved them; and incurred enormous expense and loss of life by scattering their forces, instead of concentrating them, and engaging in wild expeditions, without any reasonable prospect of an adequate result."

When peace was fully concluded, Sir Archibald Campbell, deeming it justly of the highest importance that the inlet from Arracan to the heart of Ava should be fully known to us, in case of future wars, dispatched Captain Trant, with a battalion of sepoys and the elephants of the army, to explore the best route across the mountains from Sembewghewn, on the Irawaddi, in north latitude 20° 40′, to Aeng, in Arracan, in north latitude 19° 53′. Captain Trant found "a superb road"—the same described by Captain David Ross *—which had been executed by the Burmese Government some years before to facilitate intercourse between Arracan and Ava; and which, as it was the channel of so great an inland trade as to be annually traversed by 40,000 persons, ought to have been as well known to our authorities in India as the high road from Calcutta to Cawnpore.

For his past services, and those in this war, Sir Archibald Campbell was created a baronet in 1831, with an augmentation to his ancient clan arms, in chief "a mount *vert*, inscribed *Ava* in gold letters, surmounted by a Burmese stockade;" and for a crest, a Burmese warrior, armed and on horseback.

He died at Edinburgh, when colonel of the 62nd Regiment, in 1843.

* "Two Years in Ava."



HAND-TO-HAND COMBAT BETWEEN MR. SHORE AND THE GOOJUR.

CHAPTER III.

DEATH OF CHARLES GRANT.—THE GHURRY OF KOONJA.—THE POTAIL OF OOMRAIZ.—THE CHIEFS OF KITTOOR.—THE RAJAH OF KOLAPORE.—DEATH OF GENERAL OCHTERLONY.

To preserve continuously the narrative of the Burmese war, we have made no reference to events occurring in other parts of the East, or connected therewith, during that time.

In 1823, Mr. Charles Grant, long one of the most brilliant and able of the Company's civil servants, and one of their most zealous and powerful supporters in the House of Commons, the originator also of the College at Haileybury, died on the 31st of October, in his seventy-seventh year. An active member of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and connected with the Church Missionary, and other bodies, religious and charitable, he was for years the coadjutor and bosom friend of Lord Teignmouth, whose letters contain several references to his grief for the loss he sustained personally by his death. In one, to Lady Teignmouth, dated from Portman Square, 5th November, 1823, he says:—"My thoughts turn perpetually to the melancholy family in Russell Square. I have just received your letter of yesterday, in which you express the feelings which have overwhelmed me. Yes, I do hope and believe that the death of our dear and beloved friend will prove a blessing to us, and to many. Why should he be taken and I left? Was he more ripe for the harvest, and am I spared that I may ripen? God grant that it may be so! Such deaths do indeed preach home to our hearts and consciences most impressively."

Three days after, he wrote:—"I am just returned from the melancholy solemnity of depositing the last remains of my loved and respected friend . . . . It will be long, very long, before the events of this day, and that which caused them, will be erased from my recollection—nor do I wish it. On the contrary, I hope that the impression which they have made upon me will be deep and salutary. We think too little of death, forgetting the consequences of it."*

In the month subsequent to his death, at a General Court held in the India House, a motion was carried for the erection of a monument to his memory in the church of St. George, Bloomsbury, at the expense of the Company, in whose service, during a long career, dating from the year 1773, he had won and secured to himself the familiar sobriquet of "Honest Charles Grant."

* "Life of Lord Teignmouth," vol. ii.

Three years subsequent to this time, Lord Teignmouth had a source of keener grief in his own household, by the death of his second son, Henry Dundas Shore, who died in India, when serving with the 11th Light Dragoons.

At the close of the Burmese war the whole of the East was swarming with reckless military adventurers—the relics of defeated armies, or of mercenary corps which had served under the British colours as irregular cavalry. Hence there were many men ready to join us against any power—native or foreign—or join it against us. "On the whole," says a writer, "they were more willing to serve against, than for, the prevailing power. Notwithstanding that Bengal and Central India had been subjected to them, the British were in the predicted condition of the Arabs—their hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against them. While yet the Burmese war exhausted the exchequer and drained the garrisons of India of European troops, war was waged elsewhere."

On the 2nd of October, 1824, an express reached Deyrah from Mr. Grindall, the local magistrate of Saharunpore, stating that part of the district had risen in rebellion, that upwards of 800 men, principally Goojurs, headed by a notorious freebooter, named Kower, had taken possession of the Ghurry of Koonja, in that neighbourhood, and was committing every species of atrocity. He announced his advent as Kali, the last of the Hindoo avatars, for the purpose of putting an end to the reign of foreigners. Mr. Grindall solicited the aid of 200 rank and file of the Sirmoor Battalion, which had been formed of disbanded Nepaulese in 1815; and this detachment instantly marched, under Captain Young (commanding the corps), accompanied by the Hon. Frederick Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service, "who, with his accustomed zeal and love of enterprise, marched with the little band. Mr. Grindall joined the detachment at Secunderpore, with 150 men of the Sirmoor Battalion, attended by Lieutenant Debude, of the Engineers, and Dr. Royle, as volunteers."*

After a forced march of thirty-six miles, these forces reached the scene of action in the Deyrah Doon, a valley through which the Ganges flows in the form of a stream, full of green islets, and

* "Services of the Sirmoor Battalion," 1834.

fordable with difficulty, and where the forests abound with elephants, tigers, leopards, black bears, and striped hyænas.

The rebels were found drawn up outside the fort and along the skirts of the village of Koonja in fighting order, and they instantly opened fire upon the advancing column, which was quickly led to the attack by Captain Young, and after a short conflict they were routed, broken, and driven into the ghurry, or fort, in their rear. Lest they might make their escape, it was resolved to attack this place; but, as the walls were high and in excellent repair, escalade was impossible, as there were neither ladders with the detachment nor the means of making them.

Without a gun to blow open the gate there appeared little prospect of forcing an entrance; the walls were well protected by matchlocks; and a determined band of well-armed ruffians, hopeless of mercy, and treble the number of their assailants, was not likely to prove an easy or bloodless conquest.

The only question was how to get at them. On the suggestion of Mr. Shore, a large tree was cut down, and its branches were lopped off by the sharp *kookeries* of the Ghoorkas; ropes were obtained, and after being tied along it at equal distances, were manned by these active little mountaineers—the two front ropes being held by Mr. Shore and Lieutenant Debude. As the holders of this impromptu battering-ram approached the gate, a fire was opened from the ramparts; several of the Ghoorkas fell under it, but Captain Young led his men in skirmishing order to the edge of the ditch to cover their movements, and then long spears were thrust through openings in the iron-bound gate at the bearers of the tree. At the fifth shock a portion of the gate gave way, making an aperture, but only large enough to admit of entrance in a stooping posture.

Attended by two Ghoorkas, Young dashed through the opening, closely followed by Shore and others. "As he rushed on, without having time to look about him, a man sprang from a corner in the rear, and aimed a desperate blow at the back of his neck, and would assuredly have killed him, but the quick eye of Shore, who had just reared his tall form after bursting through the aperture, saw his friend's danger, and with the full swing of his sword sent the lifeless trunk of the Goojur bounding past Young. The tulwar, however, descended where it had been aimed, but the arm which impelled it was already paralysed and nerveless from Shore's mortal blow, and a blue mark on Young's neck was the only consequence of the murderous attempt." *

* "Services of the Sirmoor Battalion," 1834.

The bayonet and the kookerie decided the contest rapidly within the fort, where 150 were slain, and Shore's sowars cut up all who attempted to escape on the outside; but the writer we have quoted details at some length a gallant single combat between the young civilian (who had already slain seven of the enemy) and an athletic and gigantic *pehlwan* on the flat roof of a house adjoining the ramparts, some of the details of which are picturesque.

The Indian was perfectly naked, with the exception of a middle cloth, and he was gaily and fantastically painted "for this, his last battle." He was armed with a sword and shield, and scornfully addressed Shore as they advanced towards each other:—"What! you too have turned sipahee, and come to fight the Goojurs?" The next moment their swords were seen flashing in the setting sun; but, in the combat, Shore fought at a great disadvantage, his shield having been rendered nearly useless by the loss of its corded handle, and he could only grasp the two rings to which the latter had been attached. At this time Captain Young reached the place where the two were fighting, and levelled his "Joe Manton" at the Goojur's breast; the first barrel flashed in the pan, but a ball from the second pierced his chest just as he was making a desperate cut. The sharp blade swept under Shore's unsteady shield, and gashed his side at the moment his antagonist fell back dead.

The loss of the detachment was thirty-seven killed and wounded. In his thanks to Captain Young, Sir Thomas Reynell, commanding the division, says:—"Mr. Shore has been wounded by sabre-cuts on both breasts, after performing feats of valour and displaying exertions in the course of it, which entitle him to the applause of those who have the power of bestowing it."

The rebel Kower was afterwards caught and hanged at Saharunpore; but in memory of the affair at Koonja, Mr. Shore presented to the Sirmoor Battalion of Ghoorkas a magnificent battering-ram, constructed upon scientific principles, the head and horns covered with a thick plate of brass. This stood in front of the Quarter Guard, and on occasions of festivity is still gaily festooned with flowers.*

His originally robust constitution never recovered the wounds received at Koonja, though he survived till 1837, when he died at Calcutta, in his thirty-eighth year.†

During the greater part of 1825, the whole of the Deccan was in a very disturbed state, particularly

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1834.

† "Life of Lord Teignmouth," vol. ii.

in February, partly from a scarcity of food, amounting almost to a famine, and partly from the number of armed freebooters scattered over the country, encouraged by the presence of whom the Potail of a village called Oomraiz refused to pay his accustomed *kist*, or rent, to the government, adding, that he cared nothing for force, and would fight us if we chose. Orders were then sent to the officer commanding at Sholapore to take immediate measures to punish the refractory Potail, and capture his fort at Oomraiz, "lest it should become a nucleus for the many discontented spirits that were roaming throughout the land, and its seizure be attended with great difficulty."

So severe had been the drain upon the troops during the Burmese war, that only two corps, one of cavalry and another of infantry, without a single gunner, formed the garrison of Sholapore, where there was only one field-piece, a six-pounder, with abundance of twelve-pound shot, but only twenty-four for the field-piece. A squadron of cavalry, and 300 infantry, with a few extemporised artillery-men to handle the six-pounder, marched to Oomraiz, under the brigadier commanding at the station, who anticipated some resistance, as the Potail was a resolute man, who had once held Oomraiz for three months against all the power of the Peishwa's army.

As the advance-guard wound up the opposite bank, through a low ravine a mile beyond Oomraiz, dawn broke, and the glitter of arms told the Potail of our approach. Then the great gong in the fort was heard resounding, and the walls were seen crowded with armed men. The cavalry made a *détour* so as to prevent any attempt at escape, and while the infantry, with the field-piece, marched straight for the gate; one dragoon, a dashing fellow, galloped up the glacis to the edge of the ditch, reconnoitred it, and returned untouched amid a shower of balls.

The ghurry of Oomraiz was a square of sixty yards, divided into two distinct courts, enclosed by a curtain wall twenty-five feet in height, with circular bastions at the four corners, on which were mounted long jingalls, and some cannon of very small calibre. The whole was surrounded by a wide dry ditch, in which were the huts of the respectable ryots. On the north flowed a river, 500 yards broad, parallel with which was the outer line of three successive outworks. In each of these walls was a gate, and in the centre of the curtain was a fourth gate, guarded by a low, circular, machicolated wall, which precluded the possibility of its being blown open by a gun. It was further protected by bastions on both sides.

Such was the ghurry of Oomraiz; and to a force unprovided with shells or a battering-gun, and to whom the simple mode of blowing open gates by powder-bags was as yet unknown, it presented means of determined opposition.

Under cover of some huts on the glacis, one company took ground to the left, to keep down the fire that was certain to open on the attacking party, which marched direct for the outer gate. After shouting some warnings, the explosion of a few matchlocks followed. This was answered by the covering party, while the six-pounder was run up with all speed. A line of fire now garlanded the whole work, while the first shot from the gun blew open the gate. It proved too narrow to admit the field-piece, so, by two shots the door-posts were blown away; still it could not be brought to bear upon the second gate; and meanwhile, shot, logs, lighted combustibles, and great stones were showered from above on the troops, wounding many, and nearly disabling the field-piece, from which five shots were now fired; one-half of the second gate came thundering down, but by falling across the passage became wedged, leaving an entrance about four feet square.

Through this aperture, amid the smoke and dust, three officers and twelve soldiers sprang, and flung themselves against the third gate, which the retreating enemy had just time to fasten. Other soldiers now rushed to a traverse; but the smoke and dust having cleared away, they were left exposed to the whole fire of a bastion. Their commanding officer was shot dead; and so fast and true was the fire, that every soldier with him was either killed or wounded. The small party within strove in vain to burst open the third gate, and many were wounded, as no shelter could be found; while the fire from the bastion at the second gate precluded all possibility of their being supported. So the refractory Potail seemed likely to be victorious in the end; and he permitted them to creep forth, with the loss of fifty-eight officers and men killed or wounded.

It was now ten a.m.; the troops had been under arms since eleven p.m. the night before, had marched since then, been exposed for three hours to a hot fire and a burning sun without food or water. By great exertion the gun was extricated, and the detachment, with their wounded, followed by the derisive cheers of the Potail's band, encamped, out of gunshot, on the bank of the stream, while reinforcements were sent for from Sholapore.

About noon two Brahmins, who had long been detained as prisoners by the Potail, came to the officer in command, offering an immediate sur-

render, on the part of the garrison, if he would guarantee the safety of their persons; but he would listen to no terms, save an unconditional surrender. All night a huge gong was thundered on the ramparts, where an enormous fire was kept blazing, to delude our troops as to the movements of the garrison, all of whom effected their escape unnoticed; a few remaining only till the last moment, as guard over three men and two women, who were found chained to a large ring, and with the two Brahmins, had been compelled to beat the gong and feed the watch-fire.

In the fort was found a great store of grain, and from a well were taken several jingalls, an ancient Spanish wall-piece, some long Mahratta spears, seventy swords, including a superb Andrea Ferrara, some breastplates, chain armour, and more than 300 matchlocks, some of which were beautifully mounted in gold and silver. The fort was demolished, as a den of thieves and marauders; the village was resumed by the British Government; the Potail of Oomraiz became a mendicant and a wanderer in the Deccan, and, though a large reward was offered for his apprehension, he was never betrayed or given up.*

At this time a strange impression prevailed in the upper provinces of India that the British were preparing to evacuate the whole country; and Bishop Heber tells us, that those with whom the Hon. Mr. Shore had to deal pled this "to justify their rebellion, or, at least, to account for their temerity."

At some distance to the south-west, on the borders of Rajpootana, and even in the vicinity of Delhi, the Bhotteas and Mewattees, and other plunderers, taking advantage of the withdrawal of those troops by whom they had been so long overawed, resumed their predatory habits, and carried their outrages to such an extent, that for some time all communication with the city of the Mogul was interrupted; nor was order restored till an increase of military force was obtained.

The Mewattees were an ambiguous race—half Hindoo and half Mohammedan—and who, according to Sir John Malcolm, were not only robbers and assassins, but the most desperate rogues in all India. Even in the time of Bishop Heber, they had been, in a great measure, so reclaimed that he could travel amid the scenes of their ferocious crimes with perfect safety. "This neighbourhood," says he, speaking of the province of Delhi, "is still badly cultivated; but fifteen years ago it was as wild as the Terrai, as full of tigers, and with no human inhabitants but banditti. Cattle-stealing still prevails to a considerable extent; but the Mewattees are now, most of them, subject either to the British Government or that of Bhurtpore; and the security of life and property afforded them by the former has induced many of the tribes to abandon their fortresses, to seat themselves in the plain, and cultivate the ground like honest men and good subjects." *

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1836.

At Calpee, on the Jumna, about fifty miles west of Cawnpore, a refractory jaghirdar of the Rajah of Jaloun, a province in the Bundelcund, suddenly appeared in 1824, with a considerable body of horse and foot, and after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the fort, containing a vast amount of public treasure, he plundered and set the town of Jaloun on fire; and so current became the rumour at Malwah that the British were about to abandon, at least, Central India, that in one locality a rising of the people was actually organised; and in the vicinity of Boorhanpore, among those wild jungles which cover the country north of the Tapti, between Aseerghur and Ellichpore, an old Pindaree leader, named Sheikh Dalla, mustered a strong body of horse and foot, and committed many outrages before he was effectually checked.

The Bheels, of whom we have already written, began again to grow troublesome, and were with some difficulty restrained from resuming their habits of outrage and robbery.

And now a Mahratta disturbance took place at Kittoor, a town and district in the province of Bejapore, which belonged of old to the Peishwa, and yielded a revenue of five lacs of rupees yearly. On the death of the chief, without heirs, in September, 1824, the grant he held under the Company was supposed to have lapsed; but certain natives, who had previously been intrusted with the management of the district, being most unwilling to relinquish the profits they made out of it, endeavoured to keep it still in their hands, by alleging that the chief, on his death-bed, had authorised his wife and mother to adopt an heir to him; and in accordance with this pretended injunction, a youth, but distantly related to the family, was brought forward at Kittoor, and hailed as the successor of the dead man.

This was, according to Indian usage and custom, informal; as the adoption, to be valid, should have taken place in the chief's life-time; and, at all events, nothing should have been done subsequently without the permission of Lord Amherst. On these double grounds, and because that he believed the real object of the proceedings at Kittoor was to favour the ambition and avarice of a faction, whose

* Heber's "Narrative of a Journey," &c.

object was to carry off the amassed wealth of the late chief, to the injury of his widow, Mr. Thackeray, the British collector, declined to recognise the new arrangements, and meantime, while awaiting instructions from Bombay, assumed the management of Kittoor, and took possession of the treasure, to prevent the chance of which being carried off clandestinely, it was sealed up and placed within the fort, with a guard over it.

Outside this stronghold Mr. Thackeray, with his two assistants, was encamped, with an escort, consisting of two native companies—one composed of horse artillery and the other of infantry; and on the morning of the 23rd October, on sending a new guard to relieve the old, as usual, over the treasure, he was astonished to learn that the gates had been closed and all admittance refused. He ordered an entrance to be forced, and the attempt proved disastrous. The collector and two British officers were killed, one officer was wounded, and the two assistant collectors were taken prisoners, and detained in the fort as hostages.

Trivial as this revolt seemed, it acquired importance from the high excitement it occasioned, and the active sympathy of the adjacent people with the isolated insurgents. Hence it became necessary to lose no time in crushing the rebellious spirit with a firm hand. Accordingly, a strong body of troops, under Colonel Deacon, marched against Kittoor; and, though the garrison of that small place must have known from the first that their case was desperate, they refused to yield until the colonel's guns had breached the walls.

Then came disturbances at Kolapore in the same year, 1824. This was the capital of another Mahratta district among the Western Ghauts, the rajah of which boasted a direct descent from Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire; thus he had a high idea of his own importance, and thought himself entitled, without consulting any other power or potentate in India, to take his own way of displaying it. In this spirit he made a claim to supremacy over Kagal, a possession of Hindoo Rao, brother-in-law of Scindia; and when the claim was disputed, he marched in, with a body of Raj troops, and took military possession of it.

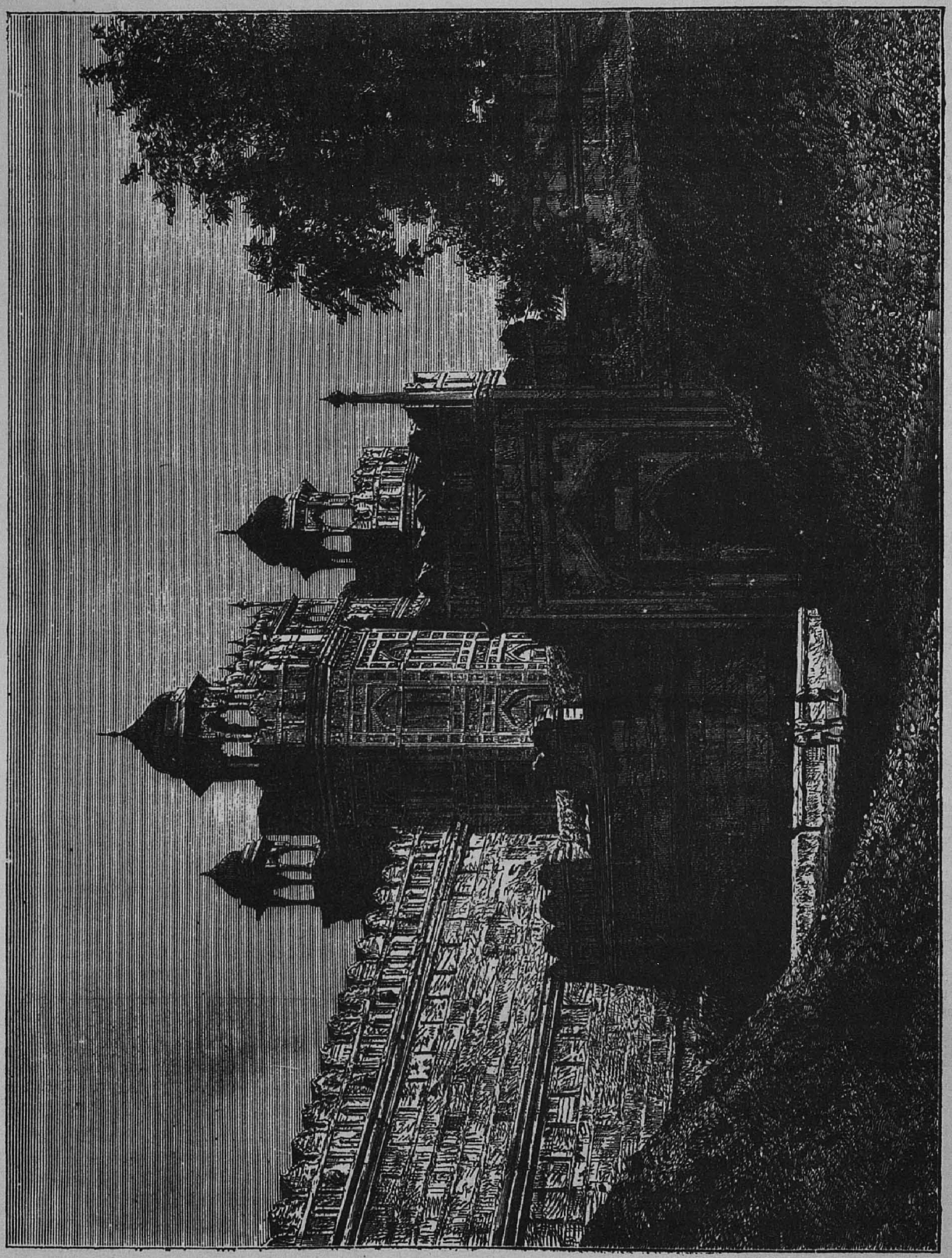
Offended by this rough treatment of his relative, Scindia applied to Lord Amherst, complaining, with some show of justice, "that while his own hands were tied up by a treaty which did not permit him to interfere, the Rajah of Kolapore was allowed to deprive others of rights which were as good as his own, and thus virtually to set the paramount power at defiance." And now the non-interference system on the part of the British Government produced its usual baleful effect.

The Rajah of Kolapore, finding his first encroachment unheeded, next attacked a landholder, who held his fief partly under the Bombay Presidency and partly of the Rajah of Sattarah. Growing bolder, he next appeared, at the head of 6,000 horse and foot, with a brigade of guns, pillaging and levying tribute in all directions; till the Bombay authorities, who had displayed the greatest reluctance to interfere, were at last compelled to do so, and sent a body of troops against him, and then his cowardice became as manifest as his arrogance. He submitted at once, and made a treaty, by which "he renounced all claim to the territories which he had seized, agreed to pay compensation for the depredations he had committed, and became restricted to the employment of a limited number of troops."

The moment, however, that the forces left his vicinity he began to pursue his old course, on which it became necessary to curb him more stringently. Thus, British garrisons were placed in his forts of Kolapore and Panala, by which means he was deprived of the last semblance of independent sovereignty.

Towards the end of 1826, disturbances which took place in Cutch were encouraged by the Ameers of Scinde, who were ever on the watch for meditated conquest; but the dispatch of a strong force from Bombay, under Colonel Napier, and the brilliant close of the Burmese war, convinced the Ameers that, for the present, their views were hopeless; yet, in another quarter, there was a disturbance not so easily quelled, and which was ultimately to lead to results of the highest importance in history. The treaty which had been made with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, after Lord Lake had failed in four attempts, as we have related, to storm his capital, had been faithfully observed on both sides, and the relations between the two governments had long been of the most friendly description, though our disasters before that place had ever been a taunt to us by surly Mussulmans and sly Hindoos, as the well-known Indian anecdote records. "Is that the way to Hansi?" asked one of our officers of a Jaut agriculturist, a few years before the capture of the great fortress, yet to be recorded. "I cannot tell you," replied the Jaut, pointing in an opposite direction; "but that is *your* way to Bhurtpore."

In 1824, the reigning rajah, Baldeo Sing, finding his health failing, was anxious to secure the possession to his son, Bulwunt Sing, whose legitimacy was indisputable, but whose chances of succession were rendered precarious by the well-



VIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL GATE OF THE PALACE OF THE PADISHAHS, DELHI.

known ambitious designs of his cousin, Durjan Sal. Hence, it occurred to the old rajah that the most effectual mode of preventing disputes was to place his son under the protection of the British Government.

To Sir David Ochterlony, the British Resident at Delhi, he applied with this view, and induced him to invest Bulwunt Sing with a *khelat*, or dress of honour, in recognition of his being the heir-apparent, and this ceremony was performed early in 1824; and about a year after, the question of the succession was opened up by the death of the old rajah. Bulwunt Sing, then in his sixth year, was immediately recognised as rajah, while his maternal uncle, Ram Ratan Sing, was to act as regent, and conduct the affairs of Bhurtpore. But this arrangement had not been in existence a month, when Durjan Sal fully justified all the suspicions of the late rajah, by suborning the state troops, at the head of whom he forced a passage into the citadel, slew the unoffending regent, and seized the person of the boy-rajah.

Resolute old Sir David Ochterlony held these proceedings to be equivalent to an usurpation of the supreme authority, and he instantly issued a proclamation to the Jauts, denouncing Durjan Sal as an usurper, and summoning all to support their lawful prince, whom he meant to uphold at the head of a British force. His firmness was effectual so far, that Durjan Sal, who fully intended to murder the boy-rajah, asserted that he had no other object than to hold the regency during his minority. However plausible, this explanation was deemed unsatisfactory; and on his declining either to visit the British cantonments or send thither the young rajah, Sir David Ochterlony assembled a considerable force for the purpose of marching against Bhurtpore; but his movements were suddenly arrested by a mandate from Lord Amherst, condemning them in terms so severe and undeserved, that the veteran, who had served India so long, so faithfully, and so well, had no alternative but to resign.

Cut to the heart by the harsh and ungracious terms in which he was addressed, his health gave way, and he died at Meerut, on the 25th of July, 1825. He had served the Company for fifty years; and in their service there was no grander or more distinguished old soldier. Manifestations of regret and respect became strong and universal. Minute guns were fired from the batteries of Fort William, and in the official gazette a becoming acknowledgment announced the merits of the valued servant whom the state had lost. Lord Amherst, besides, in his private capacity, contributed a handsome sum to a subscription for a public testimonial to his memory.

The inhabitants of Calcutta subsequently did themselves and Sir David Ochterlony honour by erecting in their city the column which bears his name, and testifies the worth of the Hero of Maloun, as he has been appropriately named.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SIEGE OF BHURTPORE.—DURJAN SAL CAPTURED.—THE RAJAH RESTORED.

THE time soon came when that very same government which so ungraciously condemned the military preparations and the policy of the veteran Ochterlony, and gave him such unwarranted censure, had now to adopt the very measures they had condemned. Ochterlony had only resolved to draw the sword when all efforts at peaceful negociation failed. Durjan Sal, while professedly aiming only at the regency, affected to be willing to bind himself by missive to retire so soon as the boy-rajah attained his majority; but there were many secret contingencies against that event ever taking place. The removal of an heir was never a difficult matter in India.

But Durjan's modest demand was supposed to be a mere pretence, as he was in high favour with all the leading chiefs among the Jauts, and a short time sufficed to give the case at Bhurtpore an aspect entirely new, as the moment that Durjan Sal learned that the military preparations against him had been abandoned, by order of Lord Amherst, he threw off the mask, ridiculed the position of regent, and claimed the throne of Bhurtpore as legal heir, asserting that he had been adopted by a previous rajah, and had a title preferable to the boy, Bulwunt Sing.

While putting forth this claim he showed plainly that he was prepared to enforce it by the sword,

and to Bhurtpore military adventurers began to flock from all quarters to take service under his standard; but the apparent unanimity which at one time prevailed among the Jauts—a people whom Tod has foolishly endeavoured to identify with the ancient *Getæ* and with the Jutes, the progenitors of the English*—had been destroyed by this time; for Madhoo Sing, a younger brother of Durjan Sal, suddenly unfurled a banner of his own, and made himself master of Deeg; and it now became obvious to Lord Amherst that the alternative lay between armed intervention and looking quietly on that congenial state of anarchy which would speedily extend to other states.

The question was submitted to Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had succeeded Sir David Ochterlony as Political Resident at Delhi, and has been described as "one of that band of able diplomatists who had received their first training under the Marquis of Wellesley, and had ever since been strenuous supporters of the Indian policy which that great statesman inaugurated;" and it was soon shown that his opinions coincided in the main with those of the ill-used Ochterlony.

"We are not bound by any positive engagement to the Bhurtpore state, nor by any claim on her part, but by our duty as supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right, to maintain the right of Rajah Bulwunt Sing to the raj of Bhurtpore, and we cannot acknowledge any other pretender. This duty seems to me so imperative, that I do not attach any importance to the investiture of the young rajah in the presence of Sir David Ochterlony. We should have been equally bound without that ceremony, which, if we had not been under a pre-existing obligation to maintain the rightful succession, would not have pledged us to anything beyond acknowledgment."

And now the same views were adopted by the Governor-General, who asserted his belief that, without direct interference on our part, there was a probability of very extended disturbances in the upper provinces, and that he was fully prepared to maintain, by force of arms, if necessary, the succession of young Bulwunt Sing to the raj of Bhurtpore; but in the first place, he resolved in Council, "that authority be conveyed to Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe to accomplish the above object by expostulation and remonstrance, and should these fail, by a resort to measures of force."

By the 25th of November, 1825, Sir Charles Metcalfe, finding all expostulation vain, issued a proclamation, denouncing Durjan Sal as an usurper, and declaring the resolution of the British Government to maintain the lawful prince by the presence of an army.

The command of the latter was assigned to the new leader of the forces in India, Lieutenant-General Lord (afterwards Viscount) Combermere, G.C.B., who, as Sir Stapleton Cotton, had seen a long career of brilliant services from the time when he accompanied the 6th Dragoon Guards to Flanders in 1793. After being at the Cape of Good Hope, under Sir Thomas Craig, he had fought in the memorable campaigns of 1797 and 1798 against Tippoo Sultan, at Malavelly and Seringapatam; and afterwards through the glorious war in the Peninsula, where he distinguished himself at the head of the cavalry on every occasion that presented itself, from the operations against Oporto to the crowning victory by the hill of Toulouse.

He now prepared to move against Bhurtpore, at the head of a force including two European regiments and six of native cavalry, three regiments of European and sixteen of native infantry, with strong brigades of horse and foot artillery and pioneers—in all 35,500 men of all ranks—with a train consisting of 160 pieces of cannon and mortars. Of these, fifty were for service in the field. Among the former the heaviest guns were only 24-pounders.

In Bhurtpore the garrison—chiefly Jauts, Rajpoots, and Afghans—was supposed to be quite equal in numbers to the army of Lord Combermere, which assembled in two columns at Agra and Madura (or Muttra); the former under Major-General Sir Jasper Nicolls, K.C.B., a veteran of the battles of Argaum and Corunna, of the Nepaulese and Pindaree wars; and the latter under Major-General Sir Thomas Reynell, Bart., who had served in Egypt, Flanders, and been wounded at Waterloo.

These columns began their march on the 7th and 10th of December respectively, and soon left the frontiers of Bhurtpore in their rear. On the 10th, Reynell, moving towards the north-west, kept considerably to the north of the fort, and concealed from view by an intervening forest, arrived in the vicinity of the Mottee Jheel, from which the wet ditch around the fort derived its supply of water. During the siege conducted by Lord Lake, the great ditches had been all filled by this extensive piece of water; and to prevent this being so again, detachments of our troops opened the sluices, while others cut the embankments—operations of exceeding difficulty, but of the first importance, as the great ditch continued dry. The extent of the fortress was so great that it could not be completely invested, but posts were placed all round it.

* "History of Rajasthan."

As we have already referred elsewhere—in the account of Lord Lake's campaign—to the defences of Bhurtpore, it will suffice to remind the reader that it stands in a plain, the ground of which is somewhat broken towards the west; that it covered an area of five miles in circuit, was enclosed by a broad and deep ditch, from the inner side of which towered up a thick and lofty wall, constructed, according to Major Hough,* of clay hardened in the sun, flanked by thirty-five turreted bastions. High above the rest of the town rose the citadel, on a rocky height, girt by an enormous ditch, dug, with vast labour, to the depth of fifty, and width of 150 feet.

The first division of the army took up ground which, resting on the Mottee Jheel to the north-west, extended along the northern face; while the second division, connecting itself with the left of the former, was opposed to the eastern front. Unfortunately, thus the southern and western faces were left nearly open, but the chain of posts referred to, prevented alike the escape or reinforcement of the garrison. The points chosen for attack were a ravelin near the principal gateway on the north-eastern face, and a work on the eastern side, abutting out from the ramparts by a narrow neck, thus named the Long-necked Bastion.

On the 23rd December ground was broken, and eight eighteen-pounders and twenty mortars were got into position during the night, though under a heavy and well-directed fire from the enemy; and on the following day another battery for mortars was formed at Buldeo Sing's garden, and opened at dawn.

"I went down to the garden," wrote an officer of the Sirmoor Battalion, "to see the guns open, and never witnessed such an interesting scene in my life. The place was full of troops, and upwards of 2,000 men, in various uniforms, as busy as bees, were digging and filling baskets for the batteries. Engineers taking observations—guns roaring—shot flying all around and over us—all bustle, activity, and gaiety—the soldiers laughing and cracking their jokes, and running about quite in their element."

While the garrison fired briskly, their cavalry and infantry made many desultory attempts to interrupt the progress of the siege; but in proportion as the batteries were advanced, and established a fire that was overpowering, the enemy's guns were withdrawn from the outer works, and the besiegers suffered but little interruption, while for several days they rained a destructive shower of shot and shrapnel-shell from forty-eight battering-guns and thirty-six mortars.

* "Hist. of Brit. Mil. Exploits in India."

Some of these works were pushed so close to the walls that the enemy could be heard talking behind them. The mortar practice was splendid; and the officer quoted says:—"It was a beautiful sight to see them fall like so many stars at night, and then they exploded in the very centre of the fort."

On the 28th, an European deserter was seen working at the enemy's guns on the wall. On Christmas night, the fort was set on fire in several places, and the red flames were seen to shoot up from the very spots where the shells burst. On the night of the 30th December, the enemy conceived an idea that the town was about to be assaulted, and for about twenty minutes, 5,000 matchlock-men poured their fire over the walls at random, while ghastly blue lights were blazing in every direction. The night was one of intense darkness, yet all Bhurtpore and the sky above it appeared in flames. It was on fire in three places at once, and our shells were falling into it five or six at a time. Though our soldiers were determined to punish the garrison severely when they got in—many in memory of what Lord Lake's wounded suffered in the same place—the frightful shrieks and cries of the women and children, when our shells burst in the streets, excited much commiseration.*

One of our soldiers, who fell into the hands of Durjan Sal's people, was used with unnameable barbarity; and another wrote thus of it:—"The 14th and 59th are worked up to a pitch of perfect frenzy by the shocking spectacle of their unfortunate comrade who was so dreadfully mangled in the wood the other night, and have sworn to kill man, woman, and child, when they get inside. What a scene it will be! I dread it." †

The effect of the breaching-guns was unsatisfactory: the clay ramparts were so tough that they resisted the dint of cannon shot better than if they had been built of solid masonry, and though considerable breaches had been made, the engineers were unable to report them practicable; consequently, mining was resorted to. By the 8th of January, 1826, four mines were sprung, one of them under the cavalier and curtain of the north-eastern angle; and though the effect produced was far short of what had been anticipated, still the dilapidation showed what other efforts might achieve. On the 11th, 12th, and 16th, other mines were sprung—the last containing no less than 2,000 pounds of gunpowder—with terrific effect.

The garrison had made some attempts to countermine, and also to repair the vast breaches that yawned in their defences; but so tremendous was

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1835.
† "Journal of the Siege."

the fire of the batteries that every effort proved vain, and the assault was fixed for the 18th—the signal for it to be the explosion of a mine under the north-east cavalier, charged with nearly a ton of powder.

The attacking columns were led by Major-Generals Reynell and Nicolls against the breaches, while the Jaugina gate was stormed by a column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Delanami, the whole assailing force being 11,000 bayonets. After a momentary pause and the tremendous explosion of the mine, which seemed to shoot a mountain of earth and stones heavenward, darkening all the air, with loud cheers the stormers rushed simultaneously to the points of attack, and in an incredibly short space of time, the colours of H.M.'s 14th and 59th Regiments were seen flying in two of the breaches, while the attack on the gate was equally successful. The enemy made a resolute defence, but it was unavailing. The gholandazees fell, nearly to a man, under the bayonets of our soldiers, defending their guns to the last desperate extremity.

Of the garrison, 14,000 were killed or wounded, including every chief of note. During the storm, great bodies of horse and foot attempted to escape by the western gates, but all were cut to pieces or captured by our cavalry. Among the latter was Durjan Sal, who, with his wife and two sons, were sent prisoners to Allahabad.

The British losses were 103 men and officers killed, and 466 wounded. The prize-money taken amounted to forty-eight lacs of rupees. The fall of Bhurtpore was hailed with joy at home, as contrasted with the failure of Lord Lake, in 1805; and for his exploit there, Lord Combermere was created a Viscount.

The total number of cannon-shot, case-shot, and shrapnel-shell fired at Bhurtpore, amounted to 61,446 rounds. Of the operations, an officer wrote thus:—"We find a great similarity of object between this siege and those of Hattrass and Antwerp, conducted by the trench. Both were citadels or forts, with strong garrisons, and both were well fortified after the modes of the several countries; for Hattrass had a good glacis and a ditch. It was required to occupy them, in both cases, with as much certainty of result as could be commanded, and with as little sacrifice of human life as could be obtained; and in neither case was the time taken at all an object if this could be secured by it. On both occasions, bombardment was chiefly depended upon, and in both cases the bombardment was, in fact, efficient in the success. For the siege of Antwerp there were 145 siege-pieces, viz.: fifty-nine guns, and eighty-six mortars and howitzers. At the siege of Hattrass there was about half this number only; thus showing that the train there was not equal to that used for the attack of a secondary fortress in Europe." *

Among the guns found at Bhurtpore was one of great calibre and destructive power, popularly known among the besiegers by the absurd name of "sweet lips," taken by H.M. 14th, at the point of the bayonet. Another was an antique Scottish brass cannon, inscribed, "JACOBUS MENTEITH ME FECIT, EDINBURGH, ANNO DOM. 1642." It was found on the ramparts by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Lewis Carmichal, a Peninsular officer, then serving as aide-de-camp to Sir Jasper Nicolls, who, on the day before the storm, with six grenadiers of the 59th and four Ghoorkas, made a gallant dash into one of the breaches to reconnoitre it for the deadly work of the next day. The old Scottish cannon was given to him by the Governor-General and Council of India, and is now in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh.

On the 19th of January Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe entered the citadel, and on the 20th the young rajah was placed on his throne. The chief widow of the late rajah was nominated regent, and intrusted with the custody of the person of his young successor; while the government was given to two ministers, who were to rule under the control of a British Resident, specially appointed to reside at Bhurtpore. Durjan Sal's brother, Madhoo Sing, made his submission; surrendered Deeg, and retired into the British territories, there to live on a liberal pension.

Among many interesting objects taken at Bhurtpore, one of the most remarkable is the silver howdah of Durjan Sal, now in the museum of the East India Company. "It is made of thin plates of silver, very beautifully wrought, fixed on the exterior of a wooden framing. The bottom of the howdah is of open cane-work, and the sides are covered with crimson silk, of which material, also, are made the cushions. The canopy is of extremely ungainly form, but is very curious, from being in the shape of a crested bird with outstretched wings. The body, head, and outside of the wings are covered with silver, the underside of the latter being lined with flowered crimson silk." †

The capture of Bhurtpore put an end to those taunts in which the natives had been prone to indulge since the failure of Lord Lake, and its impregnability, so fondly believed in, was extinguished; but, as it was quite possible that it might

* "Journal of Artillery Operations before Bhurtpore," 1834.
† Beveridge's "India."

become a focus for discontented spirits at a future time, its fortifications were completely dismantled. "The expediency of this proceeding cannot be questioned; but since the British Government were professedly acting, not for themselves but for an ally, it sounds rather strange to hear that one of the first things they did, after reinstating him in his capital, was to render it incapable of defence."

CHAPTER V.

THE SUCCESSION OF ALVAR.—CLOSE OF LORD AMHERST'S ADMINISTRATION.

All was quiet now at Bhurtpore, but there was another quarter in which disturbances were likely to ensue. The Rajah of Alvar—a province of Upper Hindostan, some 3,000 square miles in extent, and comprising two districts, Mewat and Macheny—having died, left an illegitimate son and a nephew, both minors; and as usual, his succession was disputed by different partisans.

As neither seemed to have any decided sign of success, a compromise was effected. By this, Benee Sing, the nephew, became nominally rajah, while Bulwunt Sing, the son, was to be minister on attaining his majority, until which period a neighbouring nabob, Ahmed Buksh Khan, then under our protection, was to hold the office of guardian; but as the youths approached manhood, ambition fired them both, and civil war began to rage, for the inhabitants of the Mewat district are fierce in disposition, and even predatory in their habits.

In 1824, the nephew, Benee Sing, gained so decided an ascendency that he became the real ruler; while the son, Bulwunt Sing, retired upon a jaghire. Soon after this a wanton attempt was made to murder Ahmed Buksh Khan; but, on the seizure of the assassin, the latter confessed that he had been secretly prompted to the deed by Mulha, the rajah's dewan and favourite, and other leading people at Alvar. Ahmed was, by his protection treaty, prohibited from resorting to arms, even for his own protection; hence he applied to the British authorities, who required that the guilty persons should be sent, under guard, to Delhi for trial.

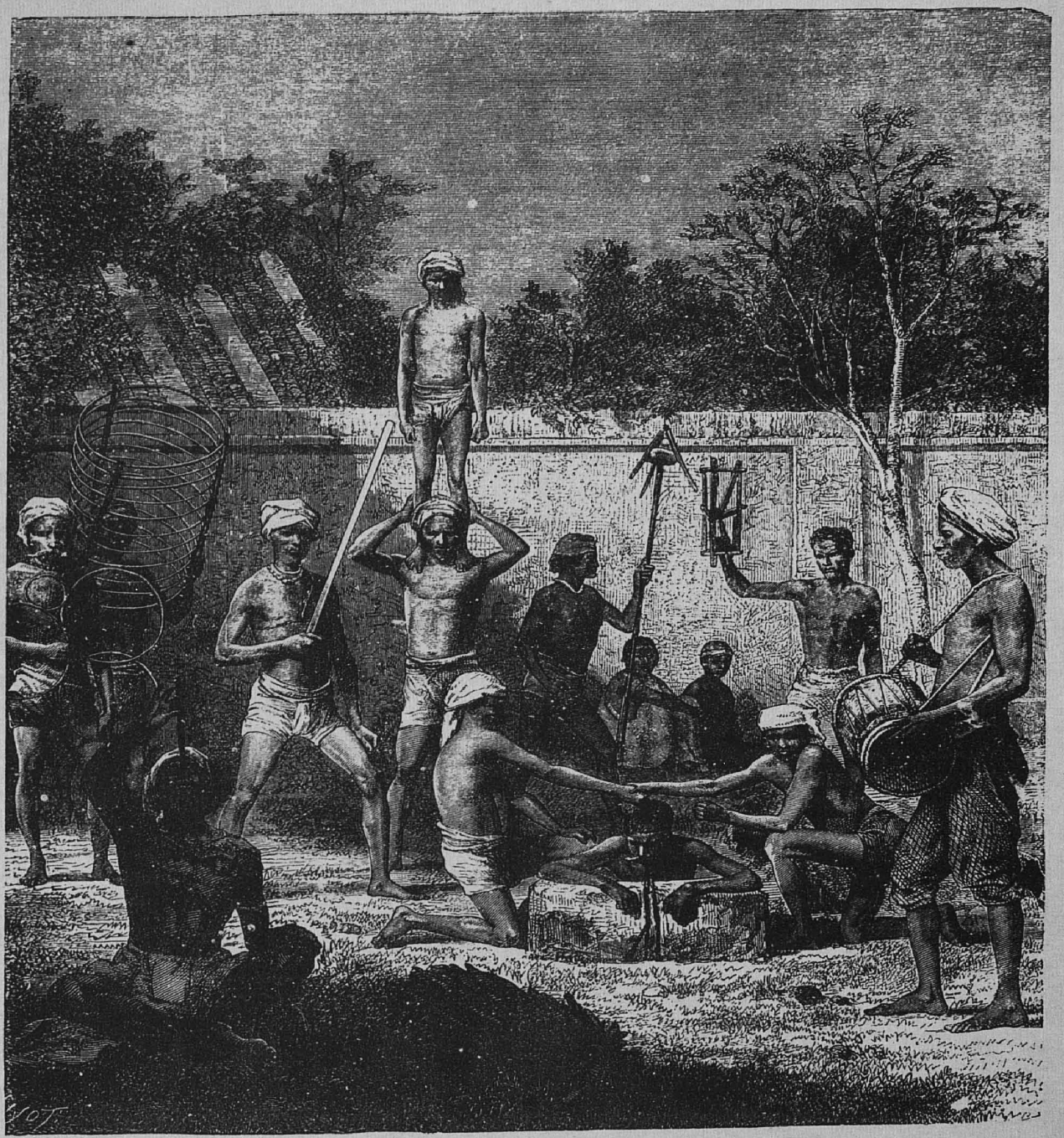
Bulwunt pretended to make them prisoners, but after a time he displayed his real views by taking Mulha into greater favour than ever; and when our Resident at Delhi remonstrated with him, he replied, not unnaturally, "That, as an independent prince, he alone was entitled to try his subjects for any crimes alleged to have been committed by them."

To show that he was determined to assert his independence, he proceeded to strengthen the fortifications of Alvar, his capital, which stands at the base of a steep hill, 1,200 feet in height, commanded by a strong fortress thereon. He also began to muster troops and enter into communication with all who were disaffected to British rule, and more especially with Durjan Sal, of Bhurtpore; till the fall of the latter, and the flight and captivity of its master, filled him with terror; and the instant he heard that Lord Amherst was about to dispatch troops against him, he made submission, by giving up the parties accused of attempting to murder the khan, for trial at Delhi, by releasing Bulwunt Sing from a prison into which he had cast him, and by ceding to him a large amount of territory.

Earl Amherst, finding all India quiet, now intimated his intention of resigning. "The progress of the British," says Auber, "had now reached a point when campaigns could no longer be required within the limits of India. Powerful enemies they had none. In 1827, all the chiefs of Malwa, with the Mahratta princes, sent missions to the government which they had once dreamed of destroying. Holkar was dead, and Scindia died in the following March, leaving no wreck of the dominion which had formerly spread over the largest provinces of Hindostan, and bearing no malice against the stately power which had deprived him of it. In the same year, also, the crown of Delhi was, in name, as it had long been in reality, transferred to the Company; while the title of the king, acknowledged until now, was extinguished. The British put an end to the folly of acknowledging themselves vassals to a man who had lost every attribute of power, except its rapacity and pride." *

In the beginning of August, 1826, the Governor-General set forth on a tour through the upper provinces.

* "British Power in India," vol. ii.



HINDOO JUGGLERS.

On reaching Cawnpore, on the 16th of November, he was visited by several native princes, and among them was Ghazee-ud-deen Hyder, the King of Oude, to return whose visit he went to Lucknow. During the friendly intercourse that now ensued, the king complained, in strong terms, of the extent to which his royal authority was usurped by the British Resident, and added, that there was nothing in the affairs of Oude to justify it. The turbulence of some refractory lords on the frontiers had led to certain disturbances, but the whole kingdom was in a most prosperous condition, and the people were

contented and happy. The complaint of the king, if just, derived much additional importance from the fact that he was without court favourites of any kind, that he always fulfilled all his agreements, and had repeatedly, by liberal loans and advances, relieved the Calcutta treasury in times of serious embarrassment; but, notwithstanding all this, there was no change in the administration of Oude when he died in the October of 1827, and was succeeded by his eldest son, under the title of Nazir-ud-deen Hyder.

Earl Amherst, after visiting Agra and the young Rajah of Bhurtpore, proceeded to Delhi, where the envoys of the Rajpoot States met him; and he found himself obliged to discuss certain questions concerning precedence with the Mogul, who, in the midst of the humiliation related by Auber, would fain have exacted from the Governor-General of British India that homage which he claimed from him as his vassal. "The time for such mummery had passed away; and before the visit terminated, the King of Delhi was made perfectly aware that he must henceforth be contented to regard himself as only a stipendiary of the Company."

From the city of the Mogul, Earl Amherst travelled northward to Simla, in the protected Sikh territory, between the Sutlej and the Jumna, which thus, for the first time, became "the court *sanatorium* of Bengal," and a residence for the Governors-General of India; and while there, he established the most friendly relations with Runjeet Sing, the King of Lahore; and in the end of June, set out for Calcutta, on his homeward way.

On the 6th of July, the government of India lost one of its most distinguished servants in the person of old Sir Thomas Munro, the governor of Madras. The Burmese war prevented him from retiring from India so early as he wished; and sacrificing his personal wishes and convenience to the public service, he retained his office till its conclusion. At length, in 1827, he made every arrangement for returning to enjoy his well-earned honours, and what remained to him of life, among the mountains of his native land; and before his departure, he proceeded to pay a farewell visit to the people of the ceded districts, in whom he continued to feel a strong interest, but was attacked on the 5th of July with cholera, and expired on the following day at Puteecoodah, near Gooti, where he lies interred. An equestrian statue, by Chantrey, has been erected to his memory at Madras.*

In 1827, by a general order, issued by Lord Combermere, all native soldiers who underwent the degrading punishment of flogging were to be discharged from the Company's service; but it was not intended that this order should extend to Christian drummers, and caused some mistakes and military disputes in 1836.

On the death of Dowlut Rao Scindia, in March, 1827, without any heir of his own body, and without having appointed a successor, in accordance with what was supposed to be his wish, a boy of eleven years of age, and distantly related to his family, was, with the sanction of Amherst's government, placed upon the throne, under the guardianship of Scindia's favourite wife, Baiza Baee, as regent; but in the September of the same year, it was resolved to expel from Gwalior, Maun Sing Rao Patunker (the governor of Powaghur), who had established himself there, and was in opposition to the government. Accordingly, Major Fielding was instructed by the Resident, Colonel Stewart, to march the whole of the late Scindia's Reformed Contingent for that purpose to Gwalior, to which we have already referred as one of the most famous of Indian forts.

A lofty rock starts suddenly out of the thickly-wooded valley of Gwalior, to the height of some hundred feet, surrounded by battlements a mile and a half in length, by about 300 yards in breadth, and overlooks the surrounding country. Early in December, Major Fielding was before this place, which Patunker was prepared to defend, at the head of 2,000 men, though the major acquainted him with the instructions he had received.

The order for a preconcerted attack, before three and four p.m. on the 11th, was issued by Fielding, who conducted that on the south-east in person. It consisted of two battalions of infantry, and 600 of the Contingent Cavalry, dismounted, and led by two native officers, named Churanajee and the Rissaldar Jour Buksh Rao, who dashed on in gallant style, and drove in the outposts of Patunker till they got close to the wall, under which they placed themselves. The battalions then advanced, and also effected a lodgment about dark.

The second column, led by Captain Stubbs, consisted of 400 of the contingent, two battalions, with their guns, and about 600 matchlock-men; the order to Stubbs was to dispossess Patunker of the substantial houses in the Sharaffa, and occupy them himself; but that officer was wounded while leading on a party of the British levy, and although the house against which he advanced was carried, the rest remained in possession of the enemy.

It was Major Fielding's intention to carry on ulterior operations from the west; thus, the troops

* Gleig's "Life of Sir T. Munro," 3 vols.

were established in their several positions, and arrangements were made for battering the inner wall through the outer, which was so completely taken in reverse as to be untenable. When everything around him was in Major Fielding's possession, and batteries were erected against his western wall to breach it, Patunker sent to request a cessation of hostilities, which was granted, the major saying: "I have only to advert to the nature of the dispute to account for my exercising a degree of forbearance which, in a mere military point of view, would be quite ridiculous."

Eventually, Maun Sing Rao, with his son and their followers, were permitted to evacuate Gwalior on the 15th of December, and theirs were the last shots fired during Lord Amherst's tenure of office.

In his report to Colonel Stewart, Major Fielding says:—"I have great pleasure in stating that the conduct of the contingent, both British levy and Mahrattas, was most gallant, and I should have derived great assistance from Captain Stubbs' intrepidity, had he not unfortunately been disabled at the very beginning. My loss, I am happy to say, is smaller than was expected from the nature of that service. There are fourteen of the contingent killed, and twenty-five wounded; and from what I have heard—not having yet a detailed report—the loss of the rest of the force falls short of 100 killed and wounded. Of Patunker's people, seventy-five were killed, including sixteen persons of consideration, and a proportionate number were wounded." *

But Maun Sing Patunker was to be the cause of fresh troubles in the following year.

The year 1827 was remarkable for the ravages committed by tigers in the province or kingdom of Hyderabad. Within twelve months, about three hundred persons, together with a vast number of cattle, sheep, and goats were devoured in the circle of seven villages, near Doongul. There is a great uniformity in the detail of these occurrences; but we may select one or two.†

A poor bunniah, or shopkeeper, when returning to Doongul from Hyderabad, whither he had gone to obtain some money that was owing him, when a little way beyond the cantonment of Secundrabad, overtook an armed peon, who was apparently a traveller in the same direction. After mutual inquiries, the peon told the bunniah that he was going to the same place; and, as the trader was glad to have a companion in a district of so much peril, he gave him a share of his food, and, as they mutually spoke of their affairs, he was unwise enough to mention the object of his visit to Hyderabad, and the sum he had collected. This roused the cupidity of the peon, who made up his mind to kill the bunniah at a certain place, and possess himself of his money.

They proceeded together till they came to a spot where the ravages of one of those tigers were notorious, and then he attacked him. While they were struggling together, and the peon was endeavouring to draw his sword, the savage quadruped sprung from the jungle upon him, and carried him off bodily, "leaving his sword and shield, which the bunniah carried to Doongul as trophies of retributive justice in his favour. If such instances of retribution were frequent and regular, it would deter us from those crimes which are often committed in defiance of every real or fictitious terror with which our minds are inculcated. The next was a Brinjarra and his wife, who were lying together under a tree, when a tiger sprang up, and seized the woman by the head. The man, from mere impulse to save his wife, held her by the legs, and a struggle ensued between them, the tiger pulling her by the head and the man by the feet, until the issue, which could not be doubted, when the tiger carried off the woman. The man devoted himself to revenge her death, forsook his cattle and property, resigned them to his brother, offered his services to the tiger-killing party, and strayed about the jungles till he was heard of no more. A camel-driver, who had just been married, was bringing home his bride, when a tiger followed, and had them in view for a great part of the way to seize one of them. The bride having occasion to alight on the road, was instantly seized, and borne off by the tiger."*

The interim administration of Lord Amherst in India does not require any lengthened notice. A feeling averse to him had arisen in Britain, in consequence of the slow progress of the Burmese war, and the serious loss of life connected with it; but for this he was not alone to blame, as the officials of the Company at Calcutta have been reprehended, even by their warmest adherents, for a culpable ignorance of everything connected with the kingdom of Ava, its geography, and the habits of its people. Still, says a writer, it must be pleaded on their behalf, "the vast empire of which they were in charge, and the rapid revolutions and terrible wars which they had to assist in directing and bringing to a fortunate close. Lord Amherst was a diligent governor, a just and brave man. He dealt with good faith to native chiefs, with dignity and

* "Origin, &c., of Scindia's Contingent;" *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1839, &c.

† *East Indian Government Gazette*, 1827.

* Ibid.

leniency to open enemies, with sagacity and caution to false friends. He watched over the prosperity of the army, and rewarded merit. He served his king, his country, and the East India Company with fidelity, and ruled numerous nations with an honest, intelligent, and benevolent concern for their good; but the government of this nobleman never received its due meed of praise."

In Bengal, which was more immediately under his superintendence, the different departments of state he left in pretty much the same condition as he found them; while in Madras and Bombay, the most important improvements are due to Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Thomas Munro. The leading objects of these distinguished Scotsmen were the adaptation of their reforms to the sentiments and feelings of the native population; and, in particular, to the employment of native agency wherever, with safety, it could be made honestly available, rather having it as a mere auxiliary to that of the Europeans.

The strife with Ava had greatly injured the finances of India, and more than ten millions sterling had been added to her debt. At the same time, when demands increased the revenues diminished, so as to leave, in 1827-28, a local deficit of more than a million.

"The account," says Beveridge, "comparing the close of Lord Amherst's administration with its commencement, stood as follows:—In 1822-23, revenue, £23,118,000; charge, £18,406,000. In 1827-28, revenue, £22,863,000; charge, £21,974,000. In 1822-23, debt, £29,388,000. In 1827-28, debt, £39,606,000. In financial prospect this was rather alarming; but, as the increased expenditure had been occasioned by wars that were happily terminated, there was ground to hope that, by careful economy the temporary embarrassment which had been produced would disappear."

It is certain, that but for the aid of the Madras Presidency, under Sir Thomas Munro, the Government of Bengal would never have carried on the war along the eastern shores of the bay and up the waters of the Irawaddi with success, whatever the fate of the strife might have been on the plains of Assam and in Arracan.

We have shown how many minor difficulties there were, arising out of local aversion to British rule or intervention, prevailing in Hindostan, the solution of which tested, and required, all the firmness and decision of Lord Amherst, and the speedy adjustment of which was not sufficiently observed. Petty wars and quarrels took place at Kolapore and elsewhere, which, if not promptly crushed, might have set all India in a flame.

"Lord Hastings," says Miss Martineau, "left the Company's revenue increased by £6,000,000 a year; and a considerable part of the increase was from the land, indicating the improved condition of the people who held it. He was succeeded by Lord Amherst, who had the Burmese war to manage, in the first instance; and the Mahratta and Pindaree wars had left behind them the difficulty dreaded by every pacific Governor-General—an unsettled and unorganised population of soldiers, whom it was scarcely possible to deal with, so as to satisfy at once themselves and their neighbours. The reforms already conceived, and even begun, had not yet checked abuses or remedied grievances; and there were real causes of disaffection, in the new provinces especially, which gave a most mischievous power to a marauding soldiery at the moment of finding its occupation gone. A vigorous rule was therefore necessary, and almost as much military demonstration as in warlike times. The improved revenue did not meet these calls, and much less the cost of the Burmese war; and a new loan and increased taxation marked the close of Lord Amherst's term. He left the territory in a peaceful state, with not a single fort standing out so long as Bhurtpore did against British authority, while the Company's territories were largely increased by the Burmese forfeitures. He won not a little European popularity by ascertaining the fate of the expedition of *La Perouse*, which had been as much a mystery as that of our Franklin Expedition ever was; and he came home in 1828, full of confidence that the reforms inaugurated by his predecessor, and promoted by himself, would retrieve all financial difficulties if they were duly taken in hand by his successor. For such an object the very best choice was made. If our raj were really over, as the deluded sepoys now suppose, and the last Briton were to leave India for ever, tradition would preserve the memory of Lord William Bentinck in the gratitude of the native population for centuries to come, though he over-ruled whatever was intolerably mischievous in their notions." *

In February, 1828, Earl Amherst, owing to the illness of a member of his family, sailed for Europe, in H.M.S. *Herald*, without waiting for the arrival of a successor; and in the interval, the government was administered by Mr. Butterworth Bayley, who succeeded to it as senior member of Council.

* "British India," 1851.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JUGGLERS AND SNAKE-CHARMERS OF BRITISH INDIA.—THE GYPSIES.—KANGJARS AND CHAMARS.—NAUTCH GIRLS AND TUMBLING WOMEN, ETC.

THE most startling feats and tricks in the world are those performed by the numerous professional jugglers of India; and these have been unvaried since the days of Baber, the descendant of Timour, in the sixteenth century. "I was frequently amused at the public wells and halting-places," says Forbes, "by the vanjarrahs and their families, and especially by the jugglers, who generally found out the encampments of these travelling merchants. There they spread their carpets, and performed feats of legerdemain superior to any I have seen in England; the most conspicuous was generally one of those women mentioned by Dr. Fryer, who hold nine gilded balls in play with their hands and feet, and the muscles of the arms and legs, for a long time together without letting them fall.*

Dr. Fryer saw a juggler "who swallowed a chain, such as our jacks have, and made it clink in his stomach; but on pulling it out it was not so pleasant to the ladies, for whose diversion it was brought. I was promised to see a fellow cast up his entrails by his mouth, stomach and all, showing them to the beholders; but this we excused." In his stead was brought a juggler who, by sheer dint of suction, so contracted the lower portion of his belly, that it had nothing left to support it, but fell on his loins, the midriff being forced into the thorax, "and the muscles of the abdomen as clearly marked out by the stiff tenons of the *linea alba* as by the most accurate dissection could be made apparent; he moving each row, like living columns, by turns."

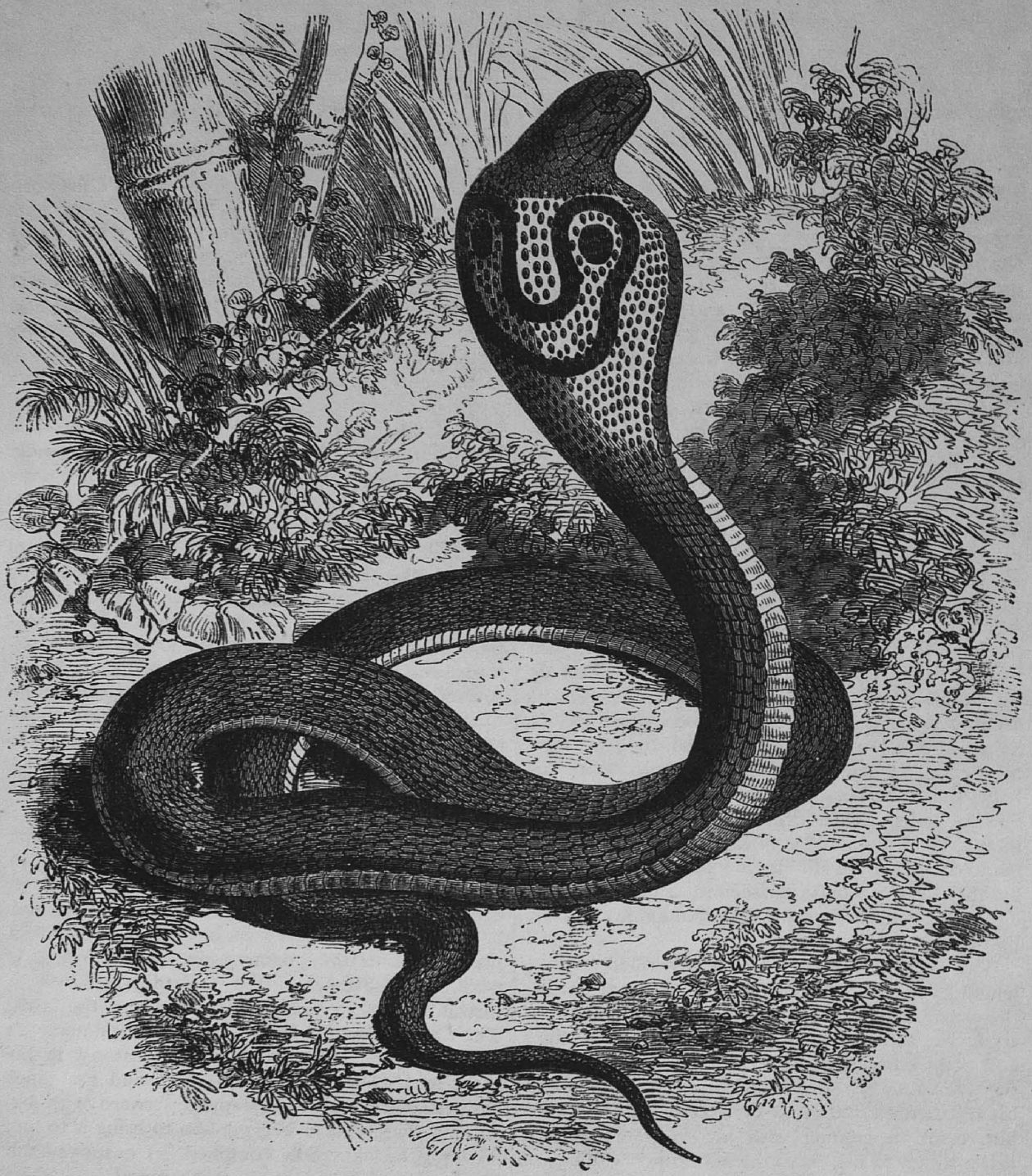
The well-known sword feat is described at great length by Forbes. Seating himself, the juggler took the sword, which had a straight blade, about twenty-six inches in length and one in breadth, with edges and point blunted, and after oiling it, he introduced the point into his mouth, and pushed it gently down his throat until the hand of Forbes, who held the hilt, came in contact with his lips. "He then made a sign to me," says the narrator, "with one of his hands, to feel the point of the instrument between his breast and navel, which I could plainly do by bending him a little more backwards, and pressing my fingers on his stomach, he being a very thin and lean fellow."

On taking his hand from the hilt, the juggler fixed to it a little machine, from which a firework that emitted blue flames encircled his head, and imparted a diabolical aspect to his brown face; and on withdrawing the blade, blood was seen on some parts of it, showing that its introduction was not effected without violence. To this feat he had been accustomed from his earliest years, having from the first been taught to introduce elastic instruments, till he came at last to swallow the iron sword in question. Forbes considers that "the great flexibility of their joints, the laxness of their fibres, and their temperate mode of life, render them capable of having considerable violence done to the fleshy parts of their bodies without any danger of the inflammation and other bad effects which would be produced in the irritable bodies of Europeans: witness their being whirled round on the point of a pole, suspended by a hook thrust into the fleshy part of their backs, without experiencing any fatal consequences. There is, therefore, no great wonder if, by long habit in stretching up their necks, they are able to bring the windings of the stomach into a straight line, or nearly so, and thereby slide down the sword into the latter organ without so much difficulty."

What is called the "bamboo-trick" is thus narrated by Dr. Norman Macleod:—

"While the tom-tom was beating and the pipe playing, the jugglers were singing all the time in low accents, smoothing a place in the gravel, three or four yards before us. Having thus prepared a bed for the plant to grow in, he took a basket and placed it over the prepared spot, and covered it with a thin blanket. The man did not wear a thread of clothing, except a strip round the loins. The time seemed to have come for the detective's eye. So, just as he was becoming earnest in his song, and while the tom-tom beat and the pipes shrilled more loudly, I stepped forward with becoming dignity, and begged him to bring it to me. The juggler cheerfully complied. I examined the basket; it was made of wicker-work. I then examined the cloth covering; it was thin—almost transparent—and certainly there was nothing concealed in it. I then fixed my eyes on his strip of clothing with such intentness that it was not possible it could have been touched without discovery, and I bade him go on. I felt perfectly sure that the

* "Oriental Memoirs."



THE COBRA DI CAPELLO.

trick could not succeed. Sitting down, he stretched his naked arms under the basket, singing and smiling as he did so; he then lifted the basket from off the ground, and behold, a green plant about a foot high! Satisfied with our applause, he went on with his incantations. After having sat a little, to give his plant time to grow, he again lifted the basket, and the plant was two feet high. He asked us to stay a little longer, that we might taste the fruit. But on being assured by those who had

seen the trick performed before, that this result would be obtained, I confessed myself done, without the slightest notion how. I examined the ground, and found it was smooth and unturned. Apparently delighted with my surprise, the juggler stood up, laughing. One of his companions then chucked a pebble to him, which he put into his mouth. Immediately the same companion, walking backwards, drew forth a cord of silk, twenty yards or so in length. But this was not all the discharge; for the juggler, with his hands behind his back, threw forth from his mouth two decanter-stoppers, two shells, a spinning-top, and several other things, and followed by a long jet of fire."

Bruce tells us that at Madras he had seen a female juggler who, in his own house, had frequently converted a stone into a mango-tree. Taking a plain round pebble from the sea-shore, it was placed by her in an earthen-ware dish filled with earth, which was then watered and covered by a cloth. Those spirits by whose aid such wonders can be wrought are then invoked; the cloth was lifted, and a tiny green plant was seen just emerging from the earth. The latter was again watered, again covered, and the spirits were invoked anew. On the cloth being removed a second time, the little tree was found to be grown, and well-stocked with bright-coloured mangoes—the whole process occupying only a quarter of an hour; but it is nevertheless true, adds Bruce, that an English juggler can fry pancakes in any man's hat.*

The magical mango, or orange-tree, is one of the stock tricks of the Indian juggler; and Dr. Francis Buchanan tells us that in Canara, Mysore, and Malabar, this miracle may be witnessed any day for twopence English; though, oddly, he does not seem to credit it himself.*

Another set of singular tricksters are the snake-charmers, who, according to Johnson, are low caste Hindoos, wonderfully clever in catching snakes, as well as in the practice of the art of legerdemain. They pretend to draw them from their holes by a song, or the dull music of an instrument like an Irish bag-pipe; but he tells us this is all done to deceive; for if ever a snake comes forth at the sounds given, it is certain to be a tame one, deprived of its venomous teeth, and put there for the purpose. These snake-charmers are very expert in the first branch of the trade — that of catching the snakes. They can discover the hole of the reptile with equal ease and certainty, and by digging into it, can seize the animal by the tail by one hand, and draw the body through the other with extreme rapidity, till the finger and thumb close round the neck. The venomous fangs are then extracted, and the creature has to commence its mysterious course of instruction.



BAYADERE OF MEWÂT.

The so-called charmer is always provided with hot iron to sear the flesh in case of being bitten. "A man," says Johnson, "exhibited one of his dancing *cobra-di-capellos* before a large party. A boy about sixteen years old was teasing the reptile to make it bite him, which it actually did, and to some purpose, for in an hour after he died of the bite. The father of the boy was astonished, and protested that it could not be from the bite; that the snake had no venomous teeth, and that he and the boy had often been bitten by it before, without any bad effect. On examining the snake, it was found that the former fangs were replaced by new ones, then

* "Scenes and Sights in the East."

* "Tour through the South of India."

not far out of the jaw, but sufficient to bite the boy. The old man said he never saw or heard of such a circumstance before." *

There are several passages in Scripture, particularly in the 58th Psalm and the 8th chapter of Jeremiah, which allude to the commonly-received Indian idea that these reptiles may be rendered docile by certain charms; and Dr. Shaw tells us that the same idea prevails yet in Barbary. This serpent-charming may be but a remnant of that ancient form of serpent-worship, which once existed in many parts of the world, from some dim tradition of the serpents of Eden and Aaron's rod, which, as the *jormugandr* of Scandinavia, formed the emblem of eternity, as a circle, and is one of the wildest fictions of the Edda—

> "That sea-snake, tremendous curled,
> Whose monstrous circle guards the world."

A superstition, a remnant of which was the *Glain Neidr*, or adder-gem of the Welsh Druids, and is still to be found in Scotland, in the form of the knot-work on Celtic crosses and Highland dirk-hilts; while among the Romans, the circle was the emblem of eternity, and hence the rings bestowed to this day upon bishops and brides; and from this ancient, and once prevalent idea, it is that so many instances of serpent-worship are to be found in India, especially among the Nagas, on the south-eastern hills of Assam, who are the most savage of Indian tribes, and whose name is derived from *nag*, the Hindoo word for a serpent, being descendants of a Scythian horde called the Nagshuk, or snake-born race. They are athletic savages, whose faces and bodies are tattooed in a frightful manner, by pricking the juice of the bela-nut into the skin in a variety of fantastic and snakey figures. Negapatam, on the Malabar coast, still signifies the city of the serpents, which abound there; and Nieuhoff tells us that in his time the natives deemed it an inexpiable crime to kill one.

Almost every European stranger in India is still entertained by an exhibition of dancing snakes. The cobra-di-capello, or hooded serpent, is a beautiful reptile in appearance, but one of the most venomous of the coluber class, as its bite proves mortal in less than an hour. Near the head it has a curious hood, which it expands or contracts at pleasure, hence it is named the hooded snake; and of this genus are those which are carried in baskets throughout Hindostan, and thus procure a maintenance for a set of wanderers who play a few notes on a flageolet, to which the snakes are skilfully trained to keep time by a graceful motion of the head, erecting it about half their length from the ground, and apparently following the music with gentle curves, like the undulations of a swan's neck. At times, twenty of these reptiles may be seen dancing thus, with hundreds of natives looking on in admiration. When the music ceases, the snakes become motionless, and are instantly consigned to their baskets, on the plea that they might become perilous to the spectators. In Turkey, Arabs make the same exhibition of dancing snakes, but there are no cobras, such as those shown by the snake-charmers of British India.

Another wandering class in this remarkable land are the gipsies, who exist in considerable numbers, with all the characteristics which belong to that wild and singular race in every part of the world where they are to be found. "The affinity, nay, almost the identity of language, proves that the dark-eyed wanderers who frequent the lanes, commons, and heaths of England, sprang originally from Hindostan, and ought long since to have settled the dispute about their origin. Of course, the language of the English gipsy is much mixed and corrupted, but any one familiar with Hindostanee can converse with them in that idiom."

The gipsies of India are continually moving from place to place, following all kinds of avocations, save those which require hard labour. They seldom have houses or fixed habitations of any kind, and have but vague ideas of honesty. There are different varieties of the class in India, but the two principal divisions are the black and white gipsies—a difference which does not arise so much from complexion as from certain differences in their habits and pursuits.

Two other classes of the vagrant tribe are the Kangjars and Chamars. The former, says Montgomery Martin, prey upon birds of every kind, which they catch with a spike fastened to a long rod. They reject beef, but eat crocodiles, or whatever else comes in their way. The men gather peacocks' feathers for sale, and make ropes of the grass called sabe, which seem to be the principal exertions they make for procuring food. Their women are the only persons who tattoo the female Hindoos. They worship, he continues, a goddess called Bibi (a Persian word for lady), and a god named Porandhami. They offer sacrifices, and their priesthood is hereditary. They usually sleep in portable sheds, but in Patna they have a few shops, where they sell feathers and the grass ropes; the owners have some little capital, and employ their brethren to collect.*

* "Sketches of Indian Field Sports."

* "Eastern India."

The latter tribe, the Chamars, usually frequent deserted caravanserais or old ruins, and are the lowest class of Hindoos. They are the preparers of leather, and as such are pariahs, outcasts under ban, and never permitted to abide in towns or villages. Yet they are too numerous to be all occupied in the preparation of leather, hence they act as porters and labourers more than any other class; but they cannot serve as soldiers. They eat curious and all kinds of unclean and unwholesome food, and have a degraded and inferior aspect. In the south of India they are generally regarded as a great fragment of the aboriginal race; but in the north, where they are less numerous, they do not betray so much personal inferiority, and when in good circumstances are personally quite equal to other Hindoos. Some of these northern Chamars have made good soldiers, and they fought well in the war against Tippoo; but no virtue, no bravery, no merit, can induce the higher or purer castes to associate with them.

"None are to pray, to sacrifice, to read, or to speak to the hapless men," says Forbes; "none are to be allied by friendship or by marriage, none to eat or drink with them; they are to be for ever excluded from all social connections, to wander over the earth, or to dwell at a distance from the pure, deserted by all good men and trusted by none; never to be received with affection nor trusted with kindness; but to be branded with infamy and shame, the curse of heaven, and the scorn and hatred of all men of pure caste."*

The Nautch girls of India, who, though called dancers, are rather pantomimists and posture-makers, form a distinct body in society, and have rights and immunities which are fully recognised and protected by the law. A Nautch is an indispensable part of every entertainment, and of the modesty of it accounts vary very much.

According to the missionary Rhenius, in 1817, he found the dancing of the girls at the yearly festival in Conjeveram indecent; but Mrs. Ellwood says nothing of this in her account of a Nautch at Bombay. "The girls," she says, "were magnificently but not tastefully dressed, in trowsers and petticoats so immensely full, that they would far exceed those of the most fashionable lady of the present day. . . . . They were for a long time employed in coquettishly arranging their costume and in playing with their ankle ornaments. At length they began, not to dance, but to move gracefully and slowly, throwing their arms about, and waving their drapery, which they twisted around them or let fall in becoming folds, whilst the musicians behind made a tremendous, though not inharmonious, noise with their vinas, which are like a guitar, consisting of a long board, on which are placed strings of iron, with hollow gourds at each end as sounding-boards, and their tom-toms, or small drums, beaten with the hand."

Many of these dancing girls are extremely delicate in their persons, soft in feature, and symmetrical in form; dedicated from childhood to this profession, they preserve in general a modesty and decency in their demeanour, and their dances require the utmost attention, from the dancers' ankles being hung with bells attached to their gold or silver anklets, which ring in concert with the music. Their motions are meant to express, with the song or music, love, hope, jealousy, and other passions, which can all be understood, even by those who are ignorant of Hindostanee. Another class of dancing girls, quite apart from these, are those who are dedicated to the Hindoo temples. These are supplied by their parents, who are taught that the presentation of a beautiful daughter to the Deity is highly acceptable. All these dancing girls, of every kind, are generally gorgeously attired, and their persons are redolent of perfume. They scent their long black hair with oil of cloves, attar of roses, and the like, and they frequently wear strongly-scented flowers.*

They are permitted to eat meat of every kind, except beef; they may even drink of spirituous liquors, and they frequently have accompanied Asiatic armies to the field. No ceremony or festival of any kind is considered complete without their presence, and every great temple has its own set of dancers attached to it. Dr. Buchanan tells us that there were 100 of these girls in Conjeveram in 1809. Their most graceful measure is one called "The Kite Dance," the air for which is slow, and to which they imitate the gestures of a person flying a kite. The attitudes incident to this are favourable to Oriental grace, while the upward direction of the eyes displays the finest features of the Nautch girls to the best advantage.

The tumbling women of India—a land where all kinds of professions have been carefully separated from each other since time immemorial—form a class quite distinct from the dancers. "The dancing girl, so long as she continues in the temple," says Bruce, "is professionally devoted to unchastity by religious sanction; for with the Hindoo race, whether they do well or do evil, or whatever they do, they do all for the glory of their gods. On the other hand, the tumbling woman, so long as she continues one, is bound

* "Oriental Memoirs."

* Forbes.

to vestal purity. According to learned Indian authorities, the tumbling girl belongs to a distinct caste of her own." She is in a state of probation previously to becoming a dancer, and purity is strictly enjoined till their places can be supplied by other girls. Thus, says the writer before quoted, one of these females, in the course of a brief life, may pass through three conditions in the fulfilment of her mission: first, professional purity as a tumbler; religiously enjoined impurity while a dancer at the temple; and, thirdly, virtue again, when she becomes a wife, for (he adds) there is no instance on record of a dancing girl ever breaking her marriage vows.*

Before quitting this subject, we may here refer to the Fakirs, Dervishes, and other devotees of British India. It was about the year 1320 that many pious Hindoos, who lived upon charity, obtained a reputation for sanctity by the length of their pilgrimages and the severity of their penances. Among these were the Fakirs, who, through various means, of which cunning was not the least, held, and still hold, over the people, an almost unlimited influence. Those of the Senessee tribe are a set of mendicant philosophers, who live on the charity of all the other Hindoos. They are entirely nude, and many of them are robust and handsome men. They admit proselytes from other tribes, especially youths of intelligence, whom they take great pains to initiate in their mysteries. They often unite in large armed bodies, for pilgrimages to holy rivers and sacred temples; but as the provinces through which these assembled saints marched were always laid under contribution by them, they have often caused infinite trouble, and once put to rout the army of Aurungzebe; and we have related in its place how an army of these fell on Bengal in the days of Warren Hastings. They reside in holes or caves, or under banyan trees near the temples, and imagine that the expiation of their own sins and those of others consists in the most rigorous penances and mortifications. Some make a solemn vow to remain for life in one position; others undertake to drag heavy chains or cannon balls, or to crawl on their hands and knees for years upon years; while some will roll their bodies naked from the banks of the Indus to those of the Ganges, to collect money to build a temple, or to atone for sin.

Some will swing for life before a slow fire, with an Indian sun blazing daily overhead. "I have seen a man," says a writer, "who had made a vow to hold up his arms in a particular manner above his head, and never to suspend them until he had totally lost the power of using them. He was one of the Gymnosophists, who wear no kind of covering, and seemed more like a wild beast than a man; his arms, from having been so long in one posture, were become withered and dried up, while his outstretched fingers, with nails of twenty years' growth, had the appearance of extraordinary horns; his hair, full of dust and never combed, hung over him in a savage manner, and, except in his erect position, there was nothing human about him. . . . . I saw another of these devotees, who was one of the Phali worshippers of Siva, who, not content with wearing or adoring the symbol of that deity, had made a vow to fix every year a large iron ring into the most tender part of his body, and thereto to suspend a heavy chain, many yards long, to drag on the ground. I saw this extraordinary saint in the seventh year of his penance, when he had just put in the seventh ring, and the wound was then so tender and painful that he was obliged to carry the chain upon his shoulder till the orifice became more callous."

Stavorinus describes them as going entirely naked, and carrying a thick club, the end of which is wound round with rags of various colours, adding that they strew their hair, and often besmear their whole body with ashes, and are not allowed to marry. He saw a Fakir at Surat, who had imposed upon himself a silence of twelve years, ten of which had elapsed. He was covered with a white dust, made from the ordure of the sacred cow, and in his hut was a niche, containing a four-armed idol, carved out of black shining stone.* Tavernier mentions that some lay fire on their heads, and burn the scalp to the bone; and that some will bury themselves in a ditch for nine days, without tasting food or water. D'Herbelot reckons that in his time there were 800,000 Mohammedan Dervishes or Fakirs, and 1,200,000 idolatrous ones in India. The terrible exhibitions of self-torture are yearly becoming less: in many places they have disappeared. Hence devotees, stripped to the skin, are no longer seen rolling on the earth, even from Trichinopoly to the great hill temple of Pylna, a distance of a hundred miles; and we no more encounter the revolting spectacle of female devotees lying by the highway, covered with self-inflicted wounds; and the armed Senessees and other fanatical vagabonds, who were wont to traverse the country in perilous bands, varying from hundreds to thousands, adding assassination and pillage to every other conceivable crime, are now, thanks to British rule, to our numerous garrisons and well-ordered native police, only to be found in the history of the past.

* "Scenes and Sights in the East."

* "Voyage to the East Indies," vol. i.

CHAPTER VII.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—THE BATTA DISPUTE.—FINANCIAL AND OTHER REFORMS.—THE OPIUM TRADE.

LORD AMHERST'S successor in the administration of India was Lieutenant-General William Cavendish Bentinck, G.C.B., Colonel of the 11th Light Dragoons, second son of William, Duke of Portland, during whose tenure of office the dreadful society known as the Thugs was suppressed, and the odious act of suttee was abolished. His former Indian career, as Governor of Madras, had not been a fortunate one, as he had been abruptly deprived of that office in 1807 by the Directors, whose resolution declared that, "although the zeal and integrity of the present governor, Lord William Bentinck, are deserving of the Court's approbation, yet, when they consider the unhappy events which have taken place at Vellore, and also other parts of his lordship's administration, which have come before them, the Court are of opinion that it is expedient, for the restoration of confidence in the Company's government, that Lord William Bentinck should be removed."

Of this measure he complained bitterly at the time, asserting the Vellore mutiny could in no way, directly or indirectly, be imputed to him. "I have been severely injured in my character and feelings," he continued. "For these injuries I ask reparation—if, indeed, any reparation can atone for feelings so deeply aggrieved, and a character so unjustly compromised in the eyes of the world. In complying with my demands, you will discharge, if I may venture to say so, what is due no less to your own honour than to mine."

The Court only responded by platitudes and verbose resolutions about the violation of caste, and ultimately by an apology which was by no means satisfactory; and though for some years afterwards he was employed by the king in the cabinet and field, his thoughts were ever turned to India, and his ambition was to tread its soil once more, with a higher office than that of which he had been deprived. In 1809, amid the operations incident to the battle of Corunna, at the head of the 42nd Highlanders and the 50th Regiment, he bore the brunt of the action on the right; in 1812 he commanded, with honour, the British army in Sicily, and in 1814 reduced Genoa. When the Marquis of Hastings retired he became a candidate for the office of Governor-General; and on the preference of Lord Amherst he did not allow his claims to be forgotten, and when the office became again vacant he succeeded in obtaining it.

"The appointment was, in itself, a great triumph to Lord William Bentinck, as it was impossible to resist the inference that if he was fit to be Governor-General he ought not to have been dismissed as unfit to be Governor of Madras; but for a time it seemed doubtful if the appointment would prove more than a barren honour." He was appointed in July, 1827. In the following month the death of Canning caused a change of ministry. The latter might, had they chosen, have annulled the appointment, and put in force the royal right of recall; but they adopted the nobler course, and Lord William Bentinck was permitted to sail in February, 1828, and on the 4th of July assumed the government, on his arrival at Calcutta.

Though all kind of warfare had ceased, and the vast peninsula was—for the first time, perhaps, in its history—tranquil, Lord Bentinck found that he had to face circumstances calculated alike to test his nerve and judgment, in confirming the systems of reform already initiated in the government of India, when, on his arrival, the provisional authority, which had been exercised by Mr. Bayley, of course ceased. A large addition had been made to the debt of the country (the revenue of which was more than a million short of its expenditure), the result of the Burmese and Bhurtpore wars. In short, in the three years previous to his arrival, the public debt of India had swelled to £13,007,823 sterling,* and a policy of retrenchment became absolutely necessary. The Directors assumed that the scale of expenditure in 1823-24 was a fair standard, and Lord Bentinck was prepared to give practical effect to their view; and this he did to an extent calculated to excite the greatest discontent among all parts of the community, but more particularly the army. Hence murmurs were heard on all sides. More than one Governor-General had been instructed by the Court of Directors to abolish several military allowances, known as "batta," "half-batta," "tentage," and so forth; but all had shrunk from the odium and probable peril of doing so.

Lord Bentinck resolved to obey his orders, and those for "half-batta" were issued on the 9th of

* Finance Report, 1832.

November, 1828, under circumstances which must have made him doubt their expedience, as the rupees saved were not worth the good spirit which was sacrificed, and which some men think has never yet been properly recovered, while others are of opinion that the discontent culminated at last in the then remote Mutiny. Viscount Combermere, the Commander-in-chief, protested as strongly as he possibly could against it, and resigned office rather than enforce the order.

The two civil members of the Council, Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. W. B. Bayley, both men of ability and of ample Indian experience, were of opinion that the interests of the Company, and of the British empire there, could neither be saved nor served by means of petty savings.

The chief command of the Anglo-Indian army now devolved upon Major-General Sir Edward Barnes, who, in Spain, in France, and the field of Waterloo, had borne his part as a gallant soldier and able leader, and who, as Governor of Ceylon, had displayed considerable powers as a diplomatist; but when he resigned, in 1833, on the Government of Earl Grey and the Reform party seeming firmly established, Lord William Bentinck added the functions of Commander-in-chief to those of Governor-General.



NAUTCH-GIRL OF ULWUR.

Sir Charles Metcalfe requested that his sentiments concerning the half-batta should be recorded, in hope that the order might be rescinded. This eminent civilian gave it as his opinion, founded on twenty-eight years' experience, "that the allowances of officers on full batta are barely sufficient for their proper support in their several ranks, and do not admit of any reduction without great suffering." The whole amount of the actual saving, which excited such clamour and discontent, fell short of £20,000, and this could only be gained by curtailing the incomes of junior officers, whose allowances were notoriously unequal to their support, and breaking what was called "the compact of 1801," which gave full batta as a compensation for those quarters which officers had been obliged to procure at their own expense, build, or purchase at a sale. The hardship of all this was laid before the Governor-General, who could but plead that he was acting in obedience to orders from Leadenhall Street; but the gentlemen there took higher ground, and after denouncing the tone and tenor of the memorials as inconsistent with military subordination, ended the subject, so far as they were concerned, by declaring their resolution to have the order enforced. "No one was so great a sufferer by it as the Governor-General himself, since it subjected him, at the very commencement of his administration, to a degree of unpopularity of which he was never able afterwards to disencumber himself. The prejudice with which he had thus to struggle was not more unfortunate than it was unjust, since he had acted only ministerially in the matter, and rather in opposition to his own opinion than in accordance with it."

The only stations to which it was first made applicable were Dum-Dum, the great artillery barrack near Calcutta, Berhampore, Dinapore, Barrackpore, and Ghazipore. A much wider application was at first intended, and would have been applied; but the home authorities had a wholesome fear of that discontent which was spreading fast through the entire army.

Still further to carry out their views of retrenchment, Lord William Bentinck, soon after his arrival, appointed two committees, a civil and a military, each consisting of three members, one from each presidency, to sit at Calcutta, for the institution of a complete inquiry into every branch of the Indian service, in order to secure efficiency combined with economy. The military committee found that their work had already been done by

the great reductions that had been made in the number of troops and their allowances, by means of which retrenchment had been made to the extent of more than a million sterling; but the civil committee succeeded, yet only after some years of assiduous labour, in effecting reductions to the amount of about half that sum—the total aggregate being £1,553,991.

While diminishing expenditure on one hand, it was equally necessary to obtain some positive increase of revenue on the other; and some of the methods employed were as follows:—Under native Indian rule, officials in public establishments frequently obtained the privilege of exemption for their estates, or certain portions thereof, from government assessment. In most of these instances, the exemption was declared to be perpetual, but in actual practice it was never so, as one sovereign arbitrarily recalled or quietly disregarded the gifts or grants of his predecessor; and such was more particularly the case while the Mogul Government was in its zenith. When it became dismembered, exemptions were given by those who had no right to grant them, and, in many instances, forged documents were resorted to.



WATER-CARRIERS OF CALCUTTA.

Thus, when the British Government first began to assess the land, as it gradually fell under their care and dominion, being quite in the dark and disposed to be lavishly liberal, they had laid it down as a rule of policy to recognise as valid, all exemptions of a date prior to their obtaining the dewanee; and thus many a grant, unsupported by a sufficient title, was admitted as valid, and this led to a vast increase of forged documents to evade the taxes; but for a time only. The concoction of these fictitious titles soon became so apparent that the collectors were ordered to investigate them and decide upon their validity for being rent-free.

"If the decision was adverse, and confirmed by the Board of Revenue, the land was forthwith assessed at the usual rate, reserving to the proprietor a right of appeal to the ordinary court; but this enactment proved an imperfect remedy, and even caused some injustice. The accumulation of undecided cases in the courts of law led to almost interminable delay, while a per-centage, allowed to the collectors on every case of resumption, converted them into interested parties, and so far deprived them of the character of impartial judges. To remedy these defects, a new regulation was made shortly before the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, and was afterwards carried into full effect with his concurrence. It empowered the Governor-General to appoint special commissioners to decide on all cases of appeal from the decision of the collectors in regard to exemptions, and removed from the collectors themselves the temptation to partiality, by depriving them of the per-centage on resumption. Under this last enactment a considerable addition was made to the public revenue by the assessment of lands which had previously escaped."

The revenue derivable from opium was another means of adding to the government finances. The production of this drug in Bengal was a perfect monopoly, as no cultivator was permitted to grow it, save on account of the government, which made advances in anticipation of the crop, the whole of which was thus taken at a fixed rate per pound weight, and being afterwards sold at a high profit, caused a great increase to the revenue. During

the turmoil in Central India, consequent on the Pindaree and Mahratta wars, the Bengal monopoly was not subjected to much competition from native states; yet when, in consequence of perfect peace, it became practicable, not only to raise opium with success throughout Malwah for home consumption, but to realise great profits by the transmission of the surplus to Kurrachee in Scinde, and from thence to the Portuguese settlements for final shipment to China, various measures were suggested to recover the diminished opium profits of the Company.

To prohibit the culture of the poppy in all districts, except those where the Company's monopoly was fully established, seemed the most effectual remedy, but the enforcement of such an enactment was impossible; hence a virtual monopoly could only be secured by coming into the market as purchasers, and thus buying so largely as to leave none in the hands of native dealers, save that which was necessary for home consumption. But, as might easily have been foreseen, the effect of this absurd arrangement was only to raise the price and increase the demand, while enlarging the area of cultivation; so the next device was to give the rulers of native states an interest in the repression of the opium traffic. With this view, the Company succeeded in binding most of them by treaty to restrict the culture of the poppy, in consideration of an annual sum paid them; which only led to opium smugglers moving about in well-armed bands, till the opium treaties became such a fertile source of disquietude as to make the British supremacy detested on one hand, while, on the other, they failed to accomplish the intended object. Holkar, and most of the lesser Rajahs of Malwah, tempted by the annual subsidy, entered into these treaties; but Scindia, and the Rajahs of Jeypore and Jodpore, flatly declined to do so. Thus there were vast tracts of country where the opium plant was freely cultivated, and where dealers in it could traffic without interruption; and the futility of all restriction is evinced by the fact that, while the export of opium from the Portuguese settlement of Damaun did not exceed 600 chests in 1821, in 1828 it exceeded 4,000.

Lord Amherst had early seen the expedience of rescinding treaties which proved only inoperative and oppressive. Mr. Bayley, during his brief tenure of office, proposed their abandonment, and to this option Lord William Bentinck gave effect after h ; arrival. To provide for the anticipated defalcation of revenue, it was proposed to return to the old negative plan of buying up the surplus produce; but a far wiser one was suggested by the able Sir John Malcolm, when Governor of Bombay, and it was finally adopted by Lord William in Council, in July, 1830. "The transit of Malwah opium to Kurrachee, through a country, great part of which is absolutely a desert, was at once circuitous and expensive, whereas the transit to Bombay was short and easy. Founded on this difference, the new plan simply was to leave the culture of the poppy in Malwah free from all restrictions, except those which the native princes might be pleased to impose for their own benefit, and allow the opium to be transmitted for sale or export to Bombay, subject only to a payment per chest calculated not to exceed the additional expense which must have been incurred before it could have been conveyed to Kurrachee, and finally shipped at Damaun. This plan, which, if such a traffic is to be carried on at all, is the least objectionable that could be devised, is still in force."

In 1831 the opium passes gave a revenue of only £16,642; the following year it rose to £125,230, and it has been increasing every year since in the same proportion.

In one matter of proposed military reform the Governor-General caused unintended discontent about the end of his administration. By a general order he abolished flogging in the native army, though, in this matter, his powers did not extend to the royal troops; but this, however, he did not do until on the eve of leaving India. Doubts were entertained, even by those who were no advocates of this brutal and degrading punishment (which was first introduced into the British armies by William of Orange), and who reprobated the excess to which it was carried in those days, whether the entire mass of the Indian army, European as well as native, was not seriously injured by this regulation and distinction. For confinement, it has been said, the sepoys cared little, or for any other punishment which was substituted for the lash, in a land where cruelty and torture had long been a science; but the British soldier felt himself doubly degraded when he saw that, while he was amenable to such an expiation, the black soldier was sacred from it; and the frequent acts of insubordination that were shown in subsequent years, even before the great revolt of 1857, were not without creating a painful alarm in Britain, as well as in India; and these were attributed in good part to this one-sided reform of Lord William Bentinck.

In 1827, before Lord Amherst quitted India, nearly all the civil suits instituted throughout the Bengal provinces were decided by native judges. In consequence of this, Lord William Bentinck

extended the experiment which he has generally received the credit of having originated. By law, all British subjects were competent to serve on juries in India; custom had pronounced, however, that half-bloods were not British subjects, and law sanctioned the anomalous decision. It was for Lord Amherst to redress this grievance; and in 1826 it was decreed that "all good and sufficient residents" were competent to serve as jurors, with the restriction that Christian jurors alone could try Christians. The object of Lord William Bentinck was not so much to increase the number of native judges as to enlarge their jurisdiction, and improve their position by the augmentation of their salaries, thus adding to their respectability and affording some guarantee for their integrity.

In October, 1828, the conduct of Maun Sing Rao Patunker, whom we have mentioned before, called for the services of Scindia's Reformed Contingent. This restless individual was no sooner expelled from one place than he established himself in another; and now, instead of proceeding, as had been stipulated, to the Deccan, he had taken possession of Oojein, and set the Government at defiance. The contingent was ordered to assemble there, with the Gwalior detachment, the whole being under the command of Captain Stubbs, with some field and battering-guns. Maun Sing Rao was to be allowed a reasonable time to accept the terms offered to him, after which Captain Stubbs was to drive him out of Oojein. On the 20th of October he took up a position against that place, while posting parties about it to repress the plunderings of Patunker, which were carried on in a very atrocious manner, and the fighting began on the 28th by the latter attacking some of these parties, who repulsed him. On the following day, Captain Stubbs gained possession of several large houses and a gateway that led to Patunker's position or residence, which was captured. On the 2nd of November, Captain Stubbs pushed forward his batteries, and hemmed Patunker so closely in Scindia's palace, that he was compelled to abandon it in the evening, and encamp on the opposite side of the river. In achieving this, the losses of Stubbs were 159 men. Patunker had pillaged the people of Oojein to the extent of one lac and 20,000 rupees, which he was now compelled to refund, and to surrender his fort of Powahghur; after which, Captain Stubbs, who received a gratuity of 25,000 rupees, marched his troops back to Gwalior and their former stations.*

The year 1829 saw Lord William Bentinck actively employed in visiting the eastern provinces of Bengal, and those along the eastern shore of the bay. This resulted in the abrogation of the separate government of Prince of Wales' Island, which, with its dependencies, was annexed to the government of Bengal. In this year he invited native gentlemen of all degrees to meet him, and make known their ideas on the condition of India; and this invitation was also extended to all European residents. He invited the suggestions of all who had any ideas to urge for the promotion of native industry, for the improvement of commerce by land and water, for the amendment of defects in existing establishments, the encouragement of education and diffusion of knowledge; in short, for the advancement of the general prosperity of the British empire in India.

CHAPTER VIII.

ABOLITION OF SUTTEE.—SUPPRESSION OF THE THUGS AND DACOITS.—THE OVERLAND ROUTE ESTABLISHED.

THE Court of Directors had long been anxious for the abolition of suttee—that revolting custom, practised by widows, of burning themselves alive with the bodies of their deceased husbands; and in 1824 they had declared their conviction of the practicability of putting down the barbarous superstition, "or at least of the safety with which it might be prohibited;" and to the firmness and humanity of Lord William Bentinck—in spite of the timidity and religious indifference of those around him—this great reform must be attributed; yet one of the sources of the dreadful revolt of 1857 is to be found in the resentment which the abolition of the ancient custom wakened in the mind of heathen India, which never forgave this interposition on the side of humanity; and the Brahmin women, in whose interest it was made, never pardoned it.

They still believe that their condition is less

* "Services, &c., of Scindia's Contingent," 1839.

honourable since the abolition of suttee, and they have inculcated hostility and bitterness in consequence to their sons. When the laws of Menou were framed, this custom was unknown; for by them, it is expressly stated, the king is to be the guardian of all widows and unmarried women. Hence the suttee, though a very prevalent practice, was never universal, and the victim generally acted of her own free will, and often in opposition to the wishes of her relatives. But this was not always the case, especially among families of rank and great Brahmins, who were sometimes desirous of enhancing the solemnity of funeral rites by the fires of a suttee. This horrible rite, called so from *Sati*, the Sanscrit word for good, is described by the Greek writers, in the days of Alexander the Great, as an ancient custom in their time; and Diodorus Siculus relates an instance of one which occurred in the army of Eumenes, 300 years before the Christian era, and ascribes the zeal for this kind of immolation to the infamy which attached to those widows who refused to conform to the custom of burning themselves with the bodies of their dead husbands.

The Emperor Ackbar made a law to protect women from a fate so horrible, and personally saved the life of one lady, by riding some hundred miles to arrest the sacrifice. She was the daughter-in-law of the Rajah of Jodpore, who demanded of the reluctant widow this awful proof of her affection for his son; but the opportune arrival of Ackbar prevented the fire being kindled, to the joy and gratitude of the widow, and the disappointment of the rajah and the priests, who deemed that he had baffled an act of merit and holiness.

It is stated that, in the year 1817, no less than 705 widows underwent self-immolation in the Bengal Presidency alone. In 1821, during the administration of Hastings, a bold blow was struck at suttee, by arresting and trying for murder, before a British court of justice, a man who had assisted at one. The most minute account of a suttee is that given by the Dutch admiral Stavorinus, on the banks of the Ganges, in 1768. "What surprised me most," he says, "was the tranquillity of the woman, and the joy expressed by her relations and the spectators. The wretched victim, who beheld these preparations making for her cruel death, seemed to be less affected by it than we Europeans who were present."* Colonel Wilks, and some others, though humane men, have treated the suppression of widow-burning as a direct interference with Hindoo religious liberty; and even Bishop Heber seems to have felt something of this.

* "Voyage to the East Indies."

Opinion, at first, was much divided on the subject, and the utmost length to which our highest authorities in India were disposed to go, was to make some experiment in the conquered and ceded provinces, where the practice was still rare, and, in the meantime, not to interfere with Bengal, where hundreds perished in the funeral pyres annually. Lord Amherst, while asserting that only a dread of evils infinitely greater should make us tolerate the barbarity for a single day, could only "recommend our trusting to the progress now making in the diffusion of knowledge among the natives for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition."

His adherence to these views deprived him of the honour won by Lord William Bentinck, who, despising the alarm and clamour of those who upheld this abomination as meritorious and holy, had a regulation passed in Council on the 4th December, 1829, in which it was expressly declared that, after its promulgation, "all persons convicted of aiding and abetting in the sacrifice of a Hindoo widow, by burning or burying her alive, whether the sacrifice be voluntary on her part or not, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide, and shall be liable to punishment by fine or imprisonment, at the discretion of the Court of Circuit, according to the nature and circumstances of the case, and the degree of guilt established against the offender; nor shall it be held to be any plea in justification, that he or she was desired by the party sacrificed to assist in putting her to death."

None of the evils dreaded followed the proclamation of the new law, which, when the temper and nature of the Hindoos are considered, ought ever to be deemed an act of the highest moral courage. Even Sir Charles Metcalfe openly expressed his apprehensions of inflaming the fanaticism and passions of the multitude; and though the forebodings of all were gloomy, the opposition of the Hindoos only took the form of petitions, which were poured in upon the Governor-General and, as he proved inflexible, the petitioners carried their complaints before the Privy Council. "Here the singular spectacle was presented of Hindoo natives appearing as appellants in support of an abominable superstition, while the Court of Directors appeared as respondents. After a full discussion, the Privy Council set the question as to the legality of the abolition of suttee at rest by dismissing the appeal. Humanity thus gained a decided victory over blind superstition, and a lesson was furnished which, if succeeding Indian administrations had duly profited by it, would have been followed by many similar triumphs."

The abolition of female infanticide—a later reform,

to be treated of in its place—caused an equally great opposition to European rule on the part of the women of heathen India. The removal, by murder, of a portion of the females of a family, left a larger marriage-portion to the survivors than can now be afforded. Hence the women, forgetting that they might have perished but for the abolition of the atrocious custom, regard the British as having, by an intrusive philanthropy, deprived them of fortune, and impaired the social condition of the Hindoo people.

It was during the administration of Lord William Bentinck that Thuggee and Dacoitee were suppressed by the strong arm of British law; and in treating of the first of these, we open a page in the history of the world fearful beyond all the ordinary records of crime; but the doings and characteristics of this dreadful community will be best illustrated by a few authentic anecdotes concerning them.

The date of the rise of this secret society of stranglers cannot be assigned with accuracy. Originally they were Hindoos, and of one caste, by whom Mohammedans were first admitted as proselytes, after which, restrictions were removed in succession, till all castes, even the lowest Chandala, was admissible as a Thug. They traced their origin back to the time when gods dwelt on earth, and adduced the sculptures in the rock-hewn temples of Ellora—believed by them to have been the work of demons who knew the secrets of all the trades on earth—as evidences of their antiquity. There, they said, all the dread secrets of Thuggee are depicted; the inveigler sitting on the same mat with the unconscious traveller, worming out his secrets and winning his confidence—stranglers and their victim; then the body being dragged to the grave which the sexton Thug is digging with the holy pick-axe. These wretches believed that they pleased and propitiated heaven by the murder of their fellow-creatures and the appropriation of their goods. Their existence was quite unknown to our Government in the first years of the present century; but between 1826 and 1835, no less than 1,562 of them were apprehended and executed in different parts of British India. Many became approvers, and by their aid our officers were enabled to seize or break up the various bands.*

The legend of Thuggee is as follows:—In remote ages, a gigantic demon infested the world, devouring mankind. The goddess Kali, to rescue the entire human race from destruction, attacked the demon and cut him down; but from the blood that dropped there arose other demons, whereupon the goddess created two men, whom she provided with handkerchiefs, and taught to strangle the brood of demons without shedding a drop of their blood. This being achieved, she then bade them to strangle men as they had strangled the demons. Hence the order of Thugs, who were at first aided by Kali in person, as she undertook to remove the bodies of the victims if her operations were not observed. A novice, however, on looking back, saw her devouring one of the corpses, which so displeased her, that, henceforth, they were left to dispose of the victims themselves.

So totally ignorant were our authorities of the existence of the Thugs, that when—soon after the storming of Seringapatam—a whole band were captured near Bangalore, they were punished as Dacoits, and no suspicion arose that they were anything else. The profession was hereditary, though strangers were from time to time initiated with great caution. After the process, in which *goor*, or coarse sugar, was used as a kind of sacrament—an embodiment of Kali herself—the beginner was allowed to try his "'prentice hand" on the throat of some sleeping traveller. "Let any one taste that sugar!" exclaimed one, when about to die, "and he will be a Thug, though he know all the trades and have all the wealth in the land!" "My father made me taste that fatal *goor*," said another, "when I was yet a mere boy, and were I to live a thousand years, I should never be able to follow any other trade." A *roomal*, or handkerchief, properly noosed, was received with reverence by the assassin from the hands of the *guree*, or priest, who was entitled to the coin found in the pockets of the first victim, and a feast of comfits followed.

The implement of interment, a pick-axe, was an object of profound veneration among the Thugs; it was fabricated with care, and consecrated with many ceremonies. Assassinations were carried on thus:—They waited at the caravanserais, or lingered about the roads in quest of travellers. Emissaries were employed to collect information of their movements; children, and even handsome women, were initiated into their horrid practices, the object being to gain the confidence of the unwary to join their party, and then a favourable opportunity was taken to murder them. On a sudden, a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban, was thrown round the neck of the unsuspecting stranger, and tightened till he was suffocated. Every one of his companions would be murdered in the same way, and the bodies, after being plundered, were carefully buried. Possessing the most ample means for gaining extensive information, they contrived to murder, in general, only those who were not likely to be inquired for or soon missed, and whose disappearance might

* "Illustration of the Hist. and Practice of the Thugs," 1838.

be accounted for by voluntary flight. Thus, a poor soldier was a safe victim, as absence from his regiment would be attributed to desertion. A servant intrusted with money was another, the conclusion being, when no trace was found of him, that he had betrayed his trust and run away.

After death was complete, the sacred pick-axe was called into play. A hole, about three feet deep, received the unfortunate, who was then buried with his face downwards, his corpse being first mangled, to expedite decomposition and prevent its inflation, which, by causing fissures in the earth, might attract wild animals and reveal the body. If haste or alarm did not permit interment, it was flung into the nearest well or tank. An effusion of blood was avoided, and an impenetrable veil of darkness was thrown over all their atrocities.*

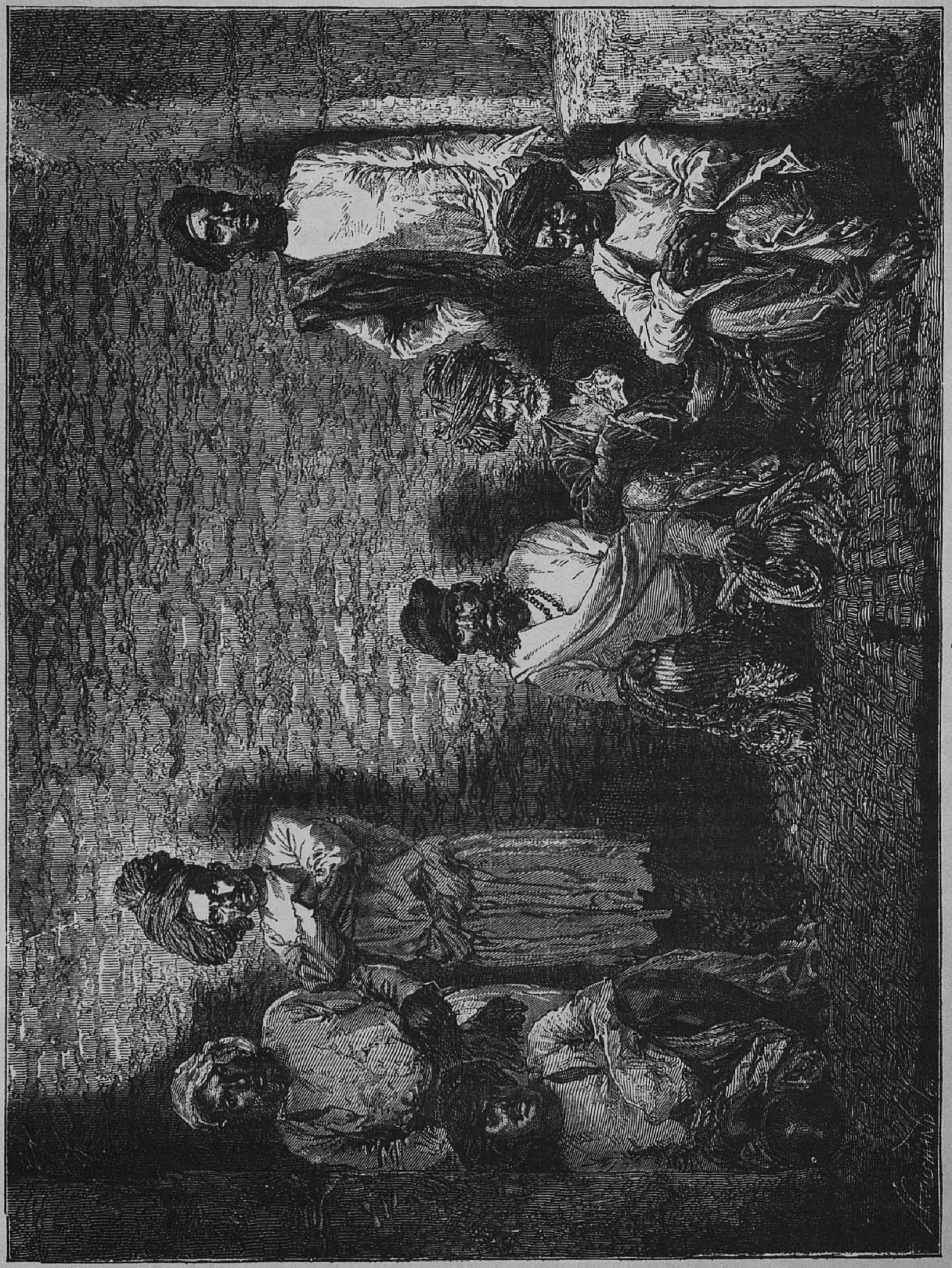
During the attack every possible precaution was taken to guard against surprise; scouts were placed in every direction, and should any one approach without being previously seen, the nearest of these would throw himself on the ground in a pretended fit, and thus attract attention till the body was concealed. If this failed, it was covered with a cloth, and the murderers feigned to be lamenting the death of a friend. They have been known to travel for days with the person they purposed to murder, till a sufficiently favourable opportunity occurred. If the booty obtained was not equal to their expectations, they often vented their rage in shamefully outraging the corpse. In some districts, where wells are numerous in the fields, the discovery of bodies—such as when, in 1810, thirty were found thus—led to the detection of several bands of Thugs, who never scrupled in the end to cut down or stab any one who escaped—which was but seldom—the grasp of the stranglers.

Though murder was the creed of these wretches, indiscriminate slaughter had some curious restrictions, and they deemed it unlucky to kill certain classes and castes; washerwomen and poets, oil vendors, musicians, smiths, carpenters, and Ganges water-carriers, were among the protected classes; and, as a rule, the Thugs never took the life of a woman, even with the temptation of great booty; and then a Mussulman was procured to commit the deed. One, who turned informer, tells thus the tale of temptation resisted by the aid of beauty:—"My cousin and I were with a gang of 150 Thugs, on an expedition through Rajpootana, thirteen years ago, when we met with a handmaid of the Peishwa Bajee Rao, on her way from Poonah to Cawnpore. We intended to kill her and her followers, but we found her very beautiful; and after having her and her party three days within our grasp, and knowing that they had with them property to the value of a lac and a half of rupees, we let them all go. We had talked with her, and felt love towards her, for she was very beautiful." The booty gained was sometimes considerable, for cases are recorded in which sometimes twenty thousand rupees were taken by the extermination of a whole caravan of merchants. No estimate can be formed of victims who, during successive ages, fell by the hands of these secret murderers. We have said that, between the years 1826 and 1835, 1,562 Thugs were discovered and tried. "Taking the average time during which each of these Thugs had been employed in murdering to have been twenty years, and supposing that each man of a gang killed one victim a year, which is far below the truth, probably, the conclusion we must arrive at is that 1,000 to 1,500 people annually lost their lives by Thuggee."

Besides those who murdered on the roads or in Thug villages, where all the inhabitants were children of Kali, there was a separate branch of the same dreadful order, who plied their avocation on the principal rivers. They assumed the garb of boatmen, and had always the cleanest and most inviting passenger-barges at the principal ghauts. Some of the gang, well dressed, and passing for respectable travellers, took to the adjacent roads, and drew customers to their confederates' boats, pretending to be going up or down the river, and begging those whom they met to join them in a boat and share the expense. Then the traveller might put off in a boat apparently well filled with passengers, every man of whom was a Thug!

When the boat had proceeded some distance, they would fall upon him, strangle him, break the spine to guard against resuscitation, and, after stripping the body, throw it into the water, and continue their course to the next ghaut as if nothing had happened. A cow was always a protection to a traveller, but this superstitious impediment was sometimes removed by artifice. A party of Thugs projected the murder of fourteen persons, some of whom were women; but the victims had with them a cow. They were persuaded to sell it to the Thugs, who piously presented it to a Brahmin, and within a few hours after, the whole party were strangled in quick succession. All these operations were facilitated by the adoption of words and signs, secret as those of Masonry, and yet peculiarly their own. In Western India the subordinate chiefs and officials not only connived at these crimes, but shared in

* "Illustration of the Hist. and Practice of the Thugs."



THUGS IN THE JAIL OF AURUNGABAD.

the spoils; and even native bankers in Bombay and elsewhere did not scruple to make advances on the security of the pillage which they knew could be obtained only by murder, and some merchants regularly paid their visits to Thug villages, when the gangs engaged on distant expeditions were expected to return. The occupation of the Thug came to him, generally, by descent; and hence the domestic hearth of each was a school for murder. Yet, according to Dr. Spry, the eminent Scottish phrenologist, who examined many of their skulls, the alleged organ of destructiveness was not a predominant one among them.

To Captain Sleeman was assigned the task of punishing and suppressing these gangs as fast as they could be discovered. That officer organised a body of sepoys, as a detective police, at Saugor, the head-quarters of the commission. Arrests were then made; others were invited to turn approvers; link after link was added to the chain of evidence. The whole of the ghastly network was exposed, and amid the gangs the work of retributive death went on unsparingly; and in many instances they hanged themselves.* And now, happily, Thuggee, as an organised fraternity of assassins, no longer exists in British India.

Dacoitee, another form of crime that somewhat resembled it, and only less atrocious as simple robbery alone was contemplated, was, about the same time, nearly suppressed. The Dacoits formed an organised fraternity, and belonged to certain castes who deemed pillage their hereditary privilege and destiny, and to this they trained their children. When, after a number of imaginary religious observances, they deemed the omens were propitious, they set forth in gangs, variously disguised. Their principal weapon was a spear, the head of which they carried about them concealed, while they used the shaft as an ordinary walking-staff. Their object of attack was less travellers than some rich mansion, or perhaps a whole village, where, by previous inquiry, it was known that a rich booty might be won.

On arriving near it, they separated for a time to lull all suspicions; but night beheld them all together at some appointed rendezvous, from whence they would suddenly rush forth, with spears glittering and torches blazing. So well were their measures concerted that resistance was seldom possible, and thus the work of plunder went on with speed and without interruption. If any luckless victim attempted concealment, he only drew torture on himself. These midnight raids, committed as it were in defiance of the Government, could not remain unknown; but from the corruption of the native officials, who shared in the spoil, conviction could seldom be obtained, till, under the pressure of British rule, Dacoitee was compelled to succumb at last. Though it was understood to be sparing of bloodshed, it was at one time carried on with dreadful barbarity; and after tortures of the most excruciating kind had been employed, the victims were often hewn to fragments, and these were hung as bloody trophies on the nearest trees.

"Whether from natural temper or habit, cruelty in its most savage form does not seem to be viewed by the Hindoo with any great degree of abhorrence," says a writer. "When he cannot be charged as an actual participator in the crime, he speaks of it in a way which shows that he is neither indignant against him who commits it, nor feels much pity for him who suffers by it. The doctrine of fate, carried to its absurdest extreme, destroys all moral distinctions, and reconciles him to every abomination as soon as he gives it the name of destiny. With this for an excuse, the Dacoit robbed and the Thug murdered without any feeling of compunction. Human life, too, was regarded with comparative indifference, and the loss of it, therefore, did not seem an evil of any great magnitude. If extinguished by natural causes, there was little occasion for survivors to lament it; if taken away by violence, it was viewed as an expiation which some god had appointed; and thus the crime of murder was palliated by the imagination of some other crime of which it was presumed to be the just punishment. Suicide was, in the same way, not only justified, but deemed meritorious; and the wife who lost her husband was deluded into the belief that she could not survive him without dishonour."

In addition to suppressing these dreadful crimes against society—Suttee, Thuggee, and Dacoitee—Lord William Bentinck was a great friend to the diffusion of knowledge among the Hindoos, and under his auspices many schools were instituted in various parts of India, where the pupils were provided with translations of British works on history, geography, mechanics, and branches of useful knowledge; but in the year 1835 it was resolved that the English language should be the medium of instruction throughout the country; and since that time it has been studied at the more remote courts of Hindostan, and English tutors have been engaged to educate the sons of some of the rajahs. Runjeet Sing consented to the establishment of an English school in his

* Spry's "Modern India."

capital, Lahore, and many of the princes of Rajpootana followed his example.

One of the great events of the Bentinck administration was the successful application of steam to the voyage between Europe and India, and the subsequent establishment of the regular route by Egypt. A vessel called the *Enterprise*, under steam and canvas, had made the first trial voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, but not satisfactorily. She left Falmouth on the 16th of August, 1825, and did not reach Diamond Harbour, in the Hooghley, till the 7th of December. A route by the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf was then attempted, after which it was ascertained that the ancient line across the Isthmus of Suez, from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, was entitled to the preference; and an old work, written by Colonel James Capper, H.E.I.C.S.,* tells us that it was the most frequented route to India in ancient times; but after the discovery of the way round the Cape, was neglected by most European nations. The first steam voyage by this line was made by the *Hugh Lindsay*, which left Bombay on the 20th of March, 1830, and arrived at Suez on the 22nd of April, an interval of thirty-two days. In her next voyage she reduced the period to twenty-two days; and in 1836, the Government of Bombay congratulated the Court of Directors on the arrival of despatches from London in sixty-four days; and since then, as is universally known, the distance has been performed in less than half of that time.

CHAPTER IX.

COLLISION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SUPREME COURT AT BOMBAY.—THE FANATICS OF SEYD AHMED.—INSURRECTION AMONG THE KOLES, ETC.

MANY of the improvements which had been so wisely introduced into the public departments of Bengal had been imitated at Bombay, the chief merit of which was due to Mountstuart Elphinstone; but it was singular that, under the able government of Sir John Malcolm, an attempt had been made to retrograde rather than advance. The blame of this lay neither with him nor his council, but with the judges of the Supreme Court, who entertained extravagant views of their jurisdiction, and sought to stretch it, as had been done at Calcutta in the days of Sir Elijah Impey.

At Bombay the law of England was then administered by a single judge, called a recorder, who performed his duties efficiently enough; but, as the supreme courts of the two other presidencies had each three judges, it was thought, for the sake of uniformity—other reason there was none—that Bombay should have an equal number. Hence, in 1823, the recorder's court was abolished, and a supreme one formed, to consist of a chief justice and two puisne justices. The jurisdiction possessed by this new court was precisely the same as that of the other two, and its powers were expressly restricted to British subjects in Bombay and its dependencies, or to natives who were in the service of the Company, or others who had agreed in writing to refer their disputes to this tribunal. But now Sir Edward West, lately recorder, appointed chief justice, early manifested a resolution to make the most of his promotion, and with the concurrence of his colleagues, who were animated by the same ambition, advanced claims to a jurisdiction which Sir John Malcolm had to resist.

While admitting that their powers over the natives were limited by the Crown, they managed to discover flaws that gave them more extensive influence, particularly in one clause, by which they were to "have such jurisdiction and authority as our justices of the Court of King's Bench have, and lawfully exercise, within that part of Great Britain called England, as far as circumstances will admit." This they interpreted, or stretched, as meaning a jurisdiction over all the king's subjects, native or British, without distinction, and without reference to territorial limitation; and cases to test the validity of this occurred ere long.

A young Mahratta of distinction, named Moro Ragonath, had been left under the guardianship of his grand-uncle, Pandurang Ramchunder, who resided at Poonah, and was a kinsman of Bajee Rao, the late Peishwa. Moro was married, and the relatives of his wife, for reasons of their

* "Observations on the Passage to India," 1784.

own, were anxious to keep possession of his person; he, being but a youth, presented a petition to the new Supreme Court, setting forth that his life was in peril, and praying for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The three judges at this time were Sir Edward West, Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, and Sir John Peter Grant, and they issued a writ to bring up Moro Ragonath from Poonah to Bombay; but, singularly enough, the first-named judge died on the 18th of August, 1828, the second on the 13th of the following October, and Sir John Peter Grant occupied the bench alone.

As the last who had taken his seat upon it, he might have pleaded the novelty of his position for avoiding a collision with those in power; but so far from complying with a request from the governor to delay, Grant (a Scottish advocate, and somewhat obstinate man) denounced this request as an interference with the course of justice, and actually made it the chief ground of a petition to the Crown, praying the king "to give such commands concerning the same as to your Majesty's royal wisdom shall seem meet, for the due vindication and protection of the dignity and lawful authority of your Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay."

The government had already declined to execute the writ of *habeas corpus*, on the ground that neither the grand-uncle nor the nephew were amenable to the Bombay Court, and had subsequently intimated their resolution not to permit writs of that nature to be issued in such instances, adding this: "The grounds upon which we act have exclusive reference to considerations of civil government and of state policy; but as our resolution cannot be altered until we receive the commands of those high authorities to which we are subject, we inform you of them; and we do most anxiously hope that the considerations we have stated may lead you to limit yourselves to those protests and appeals against our conduct, in the cases specified, that you may consider it your duty to make; as any other conduct must, for reasons already stated, prove deeply injurious to the public interests, and can, under the resolution taken and avowed by government, produce no result favourable to the immediate or the future establishment of the extended jurisdiction you have claimed."

So far from appeasing Sir John Peter Grant, this letter would seem simply to have exasperated him; and being now left to his own judgment, he adopted the extraordinary course of closing the court, on the plea that it was useless to keep it open while he was powerless to enforce his decisions. On this, the governor immediately issued a proclamation, announcing his resolution to protect the property and persons of the inhabitants of Bombay, and summoning all classes to assist him in alleviating the evils consequent to the act of Sir John Peter Grant. The latter now shrunk from the effects of his own impetuosity, and reopened the court, after keeping it closed from the 21st of April to the 17th of June, 1829. After an appeal had been made to the Privy Council, it was authoritatively and finally determined that the Supreme Court of Bombay had entirely mistaken the limits of its jurisdiction, "and with equal rashness and ignorance endeavoured to substitute mere tyranny for law."

About this time the government of Lord William Bentinck was troubled by the proceedings of a fanatical sect near Calcutta. It chanced that a Mohammedan, named Seyd Ahmed, formerly a sowar, or trooper, in the service of Ameer Khan, assumed the character of a religious reformer, and avowed his resolution to purge the religion of the Prophet from all the errors that had been engrafted on it by the followers of Ali. He gained many adherents, though a very illiterate man, and soon became strong enough in the Punjaub to excite the alarm of the Sikhs. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and on returning to the upper provinces by the way of Calcutta, proclaimed a holy war, and so many Mohammedans flocked to his standard from Delhi, Lucknow, and elsewhere, that he speedily found himself at the head of 40,000 men; but Runjeet Sing, at the head of his Sikhs, overthrew and slew him in battle in 1831. But the sect he had formed took deep root; and having lost none of its fanaticism by his death, soon rendered itself obnoxious to Mussulmans and Hindoos alike, stigmatising them both as impure. Fierce quarrels were provoked, and bloodshed ensued; and at a place called Baraset, near Calcutta, a colony of the sect fell into deadly feud with the rest of the inhabitants, and an open rupture took place.

In the quarrel the zemindars had taken part against these followers of Seyd Ahmed, and were charged before our magistrates with partiality; but too impatient to wait for justice being done, under the leadership of a fanatic, named Titoo Miya, they commenced a war against the Hindoos. Having polluted a temple by smearing it with the blood of the sacred cow, they proceeded to commit what were deemed more dreadful enormities, by maltreating the Brahmins, and forcing morsels of beef down their throats. After this they became bolder than ever; villages were pillaged and burned down, and all who resisted were mercilessly put to death, till two battalions of sepoys and some light

cavalry came up with them on a plain near the Hooghley.

There they had set up a stockade, behind which, after being driven from the field, they retired, and fought with desperate courage, till about 100 of them were shot down and 250 taken prisoners. The rest fled; and though they made several attempts to rally, they were too thoroughly intimidated to hazard a new conflict. To this day, however, the fanatics of Seyd Ahmed are numerous, among even the more educated Mohammedans in India; and would, had they the power, propagate their creed by force of arms.

In the end of the same year, 1829, serious disturbances occurred in Assam and those districts which had been recently conquered from the Burmese. A body of mountaineers, named the Singphos, having crossed the hills on the north-east, entered Assam early in 1830, to the number of 3,000, and before they could be checked, committed great outrages. According to Captain Neufville,* these Singphos are divided into twelve classes, which are named under their respective chiefs. They are a warlike people of Indo-China, occupying a tract of country 2,800 square miles in extent. Their religion appears to be a mixture of all the various idolatries and superstitions of the natives with whom they have intercourse. They have no fixed principles common to the whole tribe. Their ostensible worship is that of Gaudama, whose temples and priests are to be found in all their villages. They have nothing approaching to what we call government, each chief being independent. They are people of a tawny complexion, with a cunning expression of countenance, long lean bodies and short legs, and in disposition are cruel, implacable, and treacherous, practising polygamy without restraint.

On bursting into Assam, their chief objects seemed to be the acquisition of plunder and Assamese slaves, but when once stoutly encountered they were incapable of offering much resistance, being the merest savages and very rudely armed; their presence, however, gave encouragement to other disaffected tribes, and an attempt was made to surprise our station at Rungpore, an extensive fortress, the ancient capital of Assam, situated on an island in the Dikhs. The bridge by which it is approached, and which was built ages ago, is a monument of the skill of the artificers who constructed it. The attempt did not succeed; but the frequent repetition of incursions at last induced government to attempt a more effectual remedy, by reinstating an ex-rajah in part of his territory, on condition of his keeping peace in the district and paying us tribute.

Still further to the south, among the Kasya Hills, a revolt, accompanied by elements of dreadful outrage, developed itself. Nungklow, a place situated midway between Assam and Sylhet, had been obtained by the Company through an amicable treaty with Tirat Sing, who was said to be chief of the Kasyas. The intention was to convert it into a sanatory station, for which its climate and elevation—fully 5,000 feet above the level of the sea—seemed to adapt it well; and with this view, and to open up a communication between Sylhet and Assam, a series of roads were commenced across the mountains. The inhabitants, who began to have fears for their independence, resented these operations, and alleged that Tirat Sing, who was only one of many chiefs, had disposed of their common territory without authority to do so. The mountaineers resolved to regain by force the district we had acquired, and accordingly, in April, 1829, a large body of them, led by Tirat Sing (who acted, perhaps, under compulsion) and other chiefs, suddenly appeared in arms before Nungklow.

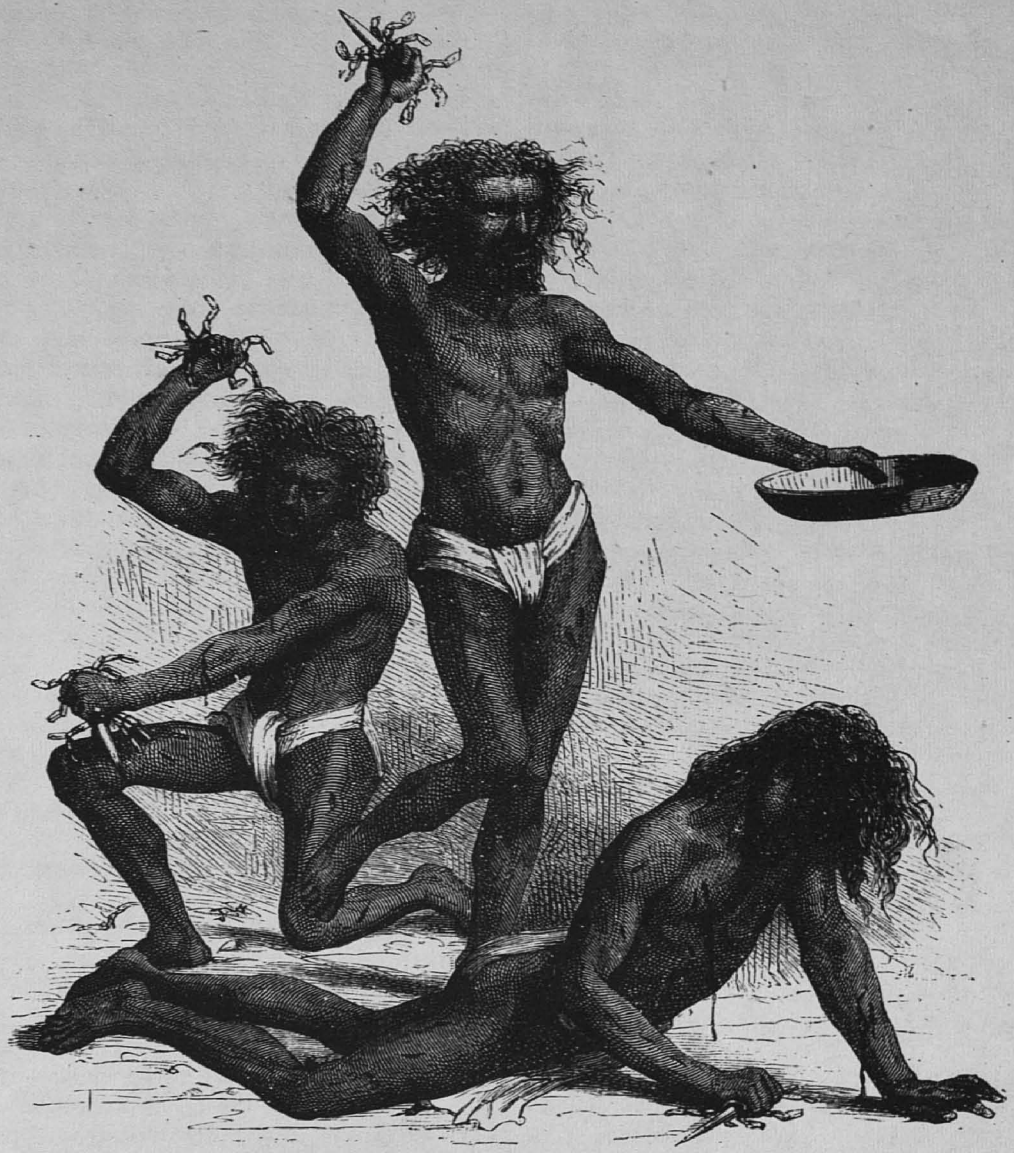
Lieutenants Beddington and Burlton, with a Mr. Bowman and four sepoys, who were the only persons of the Company's service there, having been invited to a conference, the first-named officer went without suspicion, but was barbarously murdered the moment he arrived; his companions, after gallantly defending themselves in a house they occupied, shared his fate, with the exception of one sepoy who effected his escape. There now ensued a desultory warfare, which lasted, with but little interruption, till the end of 1832, when the chiefs submitted, and Tirat Sing was sent as a prisoner of state to Dacca. In Gentiah and Cachar some of the native rulers attempted to revolt, but were more completely crushed; and in the Tenasserim provinces, some of the ousted Burmese governors, incited by the slenderness of the forces placed there for their protection, conspired to seize Tavoy and other towns, and were at first successful.

At Tavoy, a town celebrated for the manufacture of Burmese musical instruments, Mung-da, its former governor, appeared suddenly, at the head of 500 men, and driving out a detachment of the Madras Infantry, obtained possession of the town. At Mergue, possession was gained more easily, as an officer there, with fifty men, gave way without opposition. Reinforcements soon came, and all the places were re-taken; but tranquillity was doubtful, as the Governor of Martaban was known to be

* "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvi.

at the bottom of these movements, and would, no doubt, have renewed them, had he not been murdered for some reason, by order of the Viceroy of Rangoon.

arms, and were with difficulty prevented from marching on the capital, which stands on the east bank of the Mahanuddy, and contains a fort and several Hindoo temples. Their weapons consisted

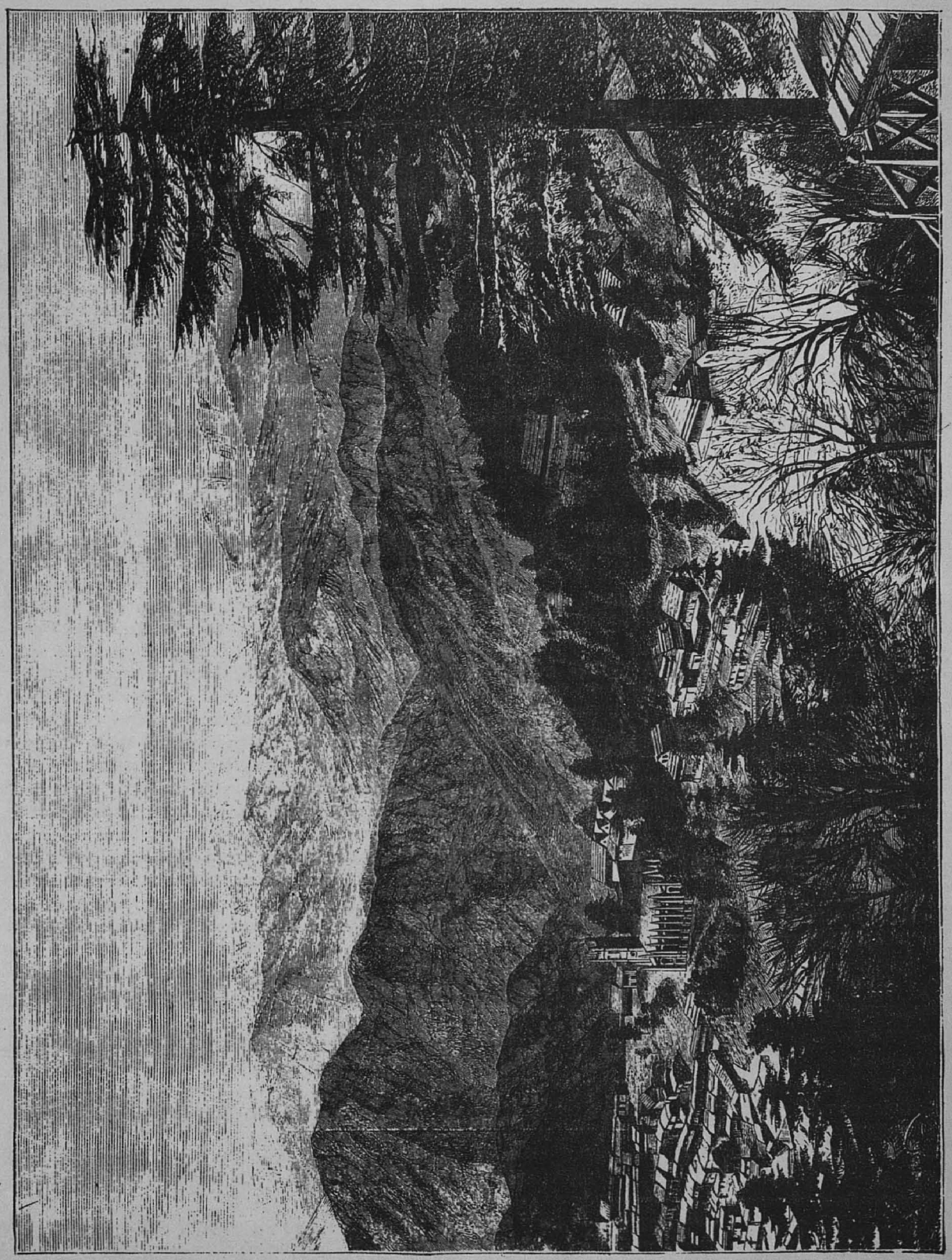


FAKIRS WOUNDING THEMSELVES.

The next source of annoyance was an insurrection among the Koles. Towards the end of 1829, the people of that tribe inhabiting the district of Sumbulpore, in the Gundwana—a place, though swampy, yet rich in rice, cotton, diamonds, and gold-dust—being dissatisfied with their ranee, who had rendered herself unpopular by dismissing from office all the relatives of her late husband and conferring their places upon her own kindred, rose in

of bows, arrows, and battle-axes, with spears and swords, and a few matchlocks. In this petty campaign, Wheeler, afterwards a famous general in the catastrophe of the great Mutiny, served as a captain with the 34th B. N. Infantry.

Peace was, however, restored by the interference of the British agent and the deposition of the ranee, who had been so devoid of prudence; but this was barely achieved when a revolt, of a much



VIEW OF SIMLA, WESTERN HIMALAYAS.

more formidable character, broke out among several small tributaries of the Company, occupying a wild district lying between the sources of the Nerbudda on the west, and the tracts of Burdwan and Midnapore on the east, usually known collectively as Chota Nagpore. Its aboriginal inhabitants consisted chiefly of wild Koles and Dangas, mere savages, whose subsistence was the chase, though, in some of the lower districts, agriculture was practised by a few of the native inhabitants, but more generally by some new settlers, brought by the zemindars of Bengal and Behar. Naturally enough, the latter were viewed with jealousy by the Koles, many of whom had been dispossessed of the soil to make way for them; and the more regular form of government which the Company was introducing was viewed with equal mistrust by the chiefs, who found their old wild freedom of action impaired thereby; thus, a universal revolt of all classes took place, and on the emigrants fell the first brunt of its fury. A thousand of them were barbarously murdered, their goods were pillaged, their villages burned, and fields laid waste.

The insurgents were in arms in thousands before any strong measures were taken to crush them; and this was the more regretted, because they were ultimately put down with ease.

In Madras there were also serious disturbances. It had been considered questionable policy in the Marquis of Wellesley re-establishing the ancient kingdom of Mysore; but the evils apprehended took no solid form while the administration was conducted by Purnea, under whom the country attained undoubted prosperity; but on his retirement in 1811, a change took place, and the rajah, determined to be his own master, conferred the office of dewan on Linga Raj, a creature of his own, but destitute of either influence or talent. Large sums from the revenue were now bestowed on the Brahmins, who took every advantage of his superstitious veneration for them; and, otherwise, the treasures which the thrift of Purnea had accumulated, were squandered on worthless parasites. Foreseeing the consequences of this, the Madras Council repeatedly remonstrated with the rajah; and to enforce reform, Sir Thomas Munro paid him a visit in 1825. Great promises were made, but the moment he took his departure, the misgovernment became worse than ever.

The collectors, persisting in their over-exactions, were resisted, and sometimes murdered by the infuriated ryots; a spirit of insurrection was thus spreading fast, and this, while the rajah looked helplessly on, threatened to carry mischief into British territory.

Revolt took an organised form in the district of Bednore, on the east side of the Western Ghauts, where Ram Rao, one of the rajah's creatures, had been guilty of the greatest oppression. By 1830 the rising was general, and after various attempts at accommodation had failed, an appeal to the musket became necessary. The Mysore troops were marched to Bednore in force, accompanied by three battalions of Madras Infantry and two companies of H.M. 62nd Regiment, with a squadron of native cavalry.

The ryots seemed well-disposed to return to their homes, on the promise of having their grievances redressed; but a new element of strife appeared in the form of a rival rajah, who, though a pretender, declared himself to be the lineal descendant of the ancient princes of Bednore. Encouraged thus, the revolt became so formidable, that Colonel Evans, the officer in command of the troops sent for its suppression, was compelled to fall back on Sheemoga. He advanced again, with better success; and after large arrears of revenue had been remitted, and other necessary concessions made, peace was fully restored. But such had been the extent of the danger, that it was necessary to take precautions for the future; and under a clause of the treaty of 1799, which empowered the Company in certain emergencies to assume the government, the luckless rajah was deprived of all political power, and converted into a mere pensioner; while the administration of Mysore was placed completely under a British Commission and four assistants.

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CHAPTER X.

THE REVOLUTION IN COORG.—BURNES' EMBASSY TO CABUL.—LORD BENTINCK'S MEASURES IN REGARD TO THE NATIVE STATES.

THE Rajah of Coorg at this time, Vira Sing Rajendra by name, was a somewhat degenerate descendant of that prince who had so heroically maintained his independence against Hyder and Tippoo. By some, Vira Rajendra has justly been called a mere barbarian; yet a writer from Bangalore, in 1815, tells us that he was extremely fond of the English, was hospitable, that he had brought the manufacture of swords and fire-arms to the greatest perfection, and that a "Joe Manton," made by him at Coorg, equalled in perfection anything turned out by the celebrated gunsmith of that name.* He was accustomed to give way to fits of blind fury; thus, often the officers of his army and the members of his court were ordered off for summary execution. Even his own kindred were not spared; and out of one pit, in a jungle (when, at a subsequent period, his atrocities were inquired into), there were dug the bodies of seventeen of his victims, among whom were his own aunt, the child of his sister, and the brother of her husband.

To this cruelty he added other passions equally detestable; and his sister, Dewah Amajee, escaping with difficulty from his brutality, took refuge with her husband in British territory. Prior to all this he had been augmenting his troops, and manifesting such decided hostility to the Company, that, on the latter protecting the two fugitives, he threw off all restraint, and bluntly refused to listen to any proposal for the peaceful adjustment of certain misunderstandings produced by his misconduct, unless these two unhappy creatures were surrendered, that he might put them to death. As this terrible demand could not be complied with, in the April of 1834 Lord William Bentinck issued a proclamation, declaring that the conduct of the Rajah of Coorg had rendered him alike unworthy of our friendship and protection; that he had received and encouraged our enemies; assumed an attitude of hostility; addressed to the Council at Fort St. George and the Governor-General letters replete with insult and invective; for which, and for many other reasons, he was no longer to be considered Rajah of Coorg; and that the army which was about to march against him "would respect the property and persons of all who were peaceably disposed; and such a system of government would be established as might seem best calculated to secure the happiness of the people."

* *Scots Mag.*, 1816.

The whole plan of the intended campaign was framed by Major Steele, who had been Quarter-master-General of the Madras troops in Ava, and it was most judicious. The main body was to attack in two columns, one led by Brigadier Lindsay, the other under Colonel Stuart; Colonel Foulis was to attack from the westward, Colonel Waugh from the north, and Colonel Jackson was to make a reconnaissance from the north-west. The head-quarters assembled at Periapatam, and the rapidity of their movements was such that the rajah sent flags of truce to all the columns, and thought of nothing but giving in.*

The obstacles presented by the nature of the country were more formidable than the weapons of the enemy, and in more than one instance, where proper advantage was taken of them, the invaders were not only unable to advance, but were compelled to fall back; and this was more particularly the case with the divisions advancing from the north and west. In one of these affairs, a brave and noble old officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Mill, of H.M. 55th Foot, was slain; and a mistake was made by attacking in front a stockade at Bukh, which was ultimately carried by a more powerful assaulting force, under Major Bird, of the 31st Native Light Infantry, but not without loss. An officer who was present thus details the attack:—

"Heriot, about this time, received his first wound: being shot through the right leg, he fell, and was carried to the rear by his own men on their shoulders, when he received a ball through his left arm, which was laying across his breast. Colonel Mill was, towards the termination of the combat, shot through his lungs, the ball passing clean through his body. He sunk his head on his chest, called for two or three of his officers by name, spoke to them, and died. Young Babington, of the 31st Light Infantry, who during the day had displayed the highest zeal and intrepidity, was shot near the barrier-gate by a jingall ball entering his breast and passing through his body. He fell, mortally wounded, near to his commanding officer, Major Bird, with whom he held some conversation, grasped his hand, and panting for breath, said,

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, 1834.

'Farewell; I am dying!' He expired in a few minutes."

By this time there was a roar of musketry all round the stockade, which was a magnificently-constructed work of great strength, having a deep ditch and powerful barrier-gate. "How the major himself escaped," continues the narrative, "is almost miraculous, exposed as he was to the whole brunt of this murderous fire. Surrounded by the dying and the dead, he had for nearly four hours escaped unhurt; at length he received a severe blow on the forehead, which knocked him over—happily, it was a spent ball, and occasioned him no material injury. Lieutenant Robertson, who commanded the grenadiers of the 55th, received a charge of small pieces of iron in his right hip. Captain Warren, of the 55th, was wounded in the leg; ball extracted. The unexampled loss of H.M. 55th was distressing: thirty-one killed and sixty-eight wounded, out of 250 who were engaged. The loss of our own corps, the (31st) Light Infantry, was also considerable."*

On the 6th of April, Brigadier Lindsay's column took possession of the town and fortress of Mercara, with the palace of the rajah, who in four days surrendered unconditionally, and, after a short imprisonment, received better terms than he merited, and was sent to Benares, in possession of an ample pension. Linga, the dewan, was found in a jungle, hanging by the neck from a tree. In establishing the future government, the heads of villages were assembled at Mercara, and invited by Brigadier Lindsay to give free utterance to their wishes; though there could have been little sincerity in this apparently frank proceeding, as the complete annexation of Coorg had been previously determined on. The formal assent of the village chiefs was easily won, and Coorg has ever since remained an integral portion of the British Empire, conformably to a minute drawn up at Bangalore.

Prior to these events, Lord William Bentinck made a tour of the upper provinces. Leaving Simla in October, 1831, he entered the territories of the protected Sikhs, and halted at Raopur, on the banks of the Sutlej, where that river quits the mountains and takes its winding way through the plains of Hindostan. There he was met by Maharajah Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, as he was named, who made professions of the greatest friendship, "having then a fresh and lively recollection of the great English dray-horses and other presents which Lieutenant Burnes had carried to him a short time before" from his Majesty King William IV.

* *E.I.U.S. Journal*, 1834.

The Governor-General had with him, in addition to his body guard, two squadrons of H.M. 16th Lancers, under Major Cureton, two of Skinner's Horse, H.M. 31st Foot, and two battalions of sepoys. In Runjeet's camp were 16,000 of his best soldiers; and he presented ours with 11,000 rupees.* The adventurous Scotsman, Burnes, during a recent stay at Simla, and this ill-omened meeting, contributed not a little to the frightful events in Afghanistan, with which his name will ever be associated. He had ascended the Indus from its mouth, between Cutch and Scinde, as far as Lahore, and though he had ascertained that, for the extent of 1,000 miles from the sea to Runjeet's capital there might be uninterrupted navigation, and that, by the agency of steam, that noble river might become commercially most valuable—if the fierce Ameers of Scinde, who held its banks, and held them in anarchy, could be reclaimed; and if the countries to which the Indus gave access could become the abodes of peaceful and industrious races, whose wants could be supplied by the markets of European commerce. Lieutenant Burnes, however, being somewhat vain of the unusual voyage he had performed, supposed that by merely dispatching a few steam-vessels, or forming a treaty or so with some of the warlike but poor barbarians who dwelt upon the banks, a profitable trade would soon follow; and that rather than lose the chance of this, the Company ought to incur any risk. The ardent mind of this young officer was filled with brilliant visions of the large additions that would be made to our influence, wealth, and geographical knowledge; and, judging from the remarks in the preface to his travels,† these hopes seem to have soared far beyond the waters of the Indus and those of the Punjaub, among the savage passes and pastoral hills of the fierce Afghans and savage Khyberees, even to the wilds and deserts that lie between India and the Caspian Sea; and he records that his schemes were warmly encouraged by Lord William Bentinck.

Influenced thus, Burnes, with a small party, descended the Sutlej, and crossed the ancient Hyphasis, near the spot where Alexander the Macedonian halted, and where Lord Lake encamped, and then by Peshawur and the pass of Luta-Bund, he proceeded to the mountain city of Cabul, in the great Balahissar of which, Dost Mohammed Khan reigned without a competitor—the same Dost whom it was afterwards the destiny of Burnes to depose. He received him with great hospitality; and it was during his stay in Cabul,

* "Hist. Rec. 16th Lancers."

† "Travels in Bokhara," 3 vols., Lieut. Alex. Burnes.

and his travels in the adjacent country, that he contracted his rather unsound plans for the management of the fiery clans of Afghanistan. By giant mountain ranges, over broad rivers, and through wild deserts, by Balkh, among the Turcomans, by Bokhara, or Usbekistan, Kurshee, Shurrukhs, and Astrabad, the persevering Scot proceeded, till he reached Teheran, the capital of Persia; and as he and his little party had succeeded—by means of the friendly assistance of the chiefs of the different nations through which they passed, and by joining various caravans—in crossing the waste deserts of Tartary, he, perhaps, not unnaturally concluded, that the combined Russian and Persian armies might overcome these difficulties with greater ease, and by the mountain passes of Afghanistan reach the plains of British India.

In consequence of all this, Lord William Bentinck sent Colonel Pottinger to effect a treaty with the Ameers of Scinde. These men were little better than the chiefs of the Pindarees had been. They gladly accepted the presents and promises given them, and concluded with the colonel a treaty, by which the Indus was to be open to our trading-vessels if trade could be found, for certainly none existed then. Thus we were brought into direct communication with the lawless and rapacious Ameers of Scinde; the consequence was only to rouse the jealousy and alarm of Runjeet Sing, of Lahore.

In regard to some of the native states, confusion began to be developed, for the avowed British system of non-interference, while professed in theory, was frequently relinquished in practice. The course thus pursued by us was neither steady nor consistent; and with good reason, native princes complained that, on one hand, they were not permitted to manage their own affairs, and on the other, were never furnished with the means of reform when necessary; hence the condition of certain Mohammedan, Mahratta, and Rajpoot states became somewhat restless and unsettled. To take them *seriatim*, we shall begin with the dissatisfaction of the King of Delhi.

There, the representative of the Great Mogul still endeavoured to display a shadowy kind of royalty, and to complain in bitterness of heart concerning the encroachments that were yearly made upon it. While, on one hand, taking ground on the subject of regal rank, on the other, he had to sue as a petitioner on the bounty of the Company for an increased allowance. The rentals of certain lands had been assigned to him; and as the value of those estates increased by improvement, he naturally enough supposed that his income would be increased in proportion. The Company would willingly, perhaps, have given him the surplus, but wished him to receive his allowance, not as a royal right, but as the fee to a pensioner. Smarting under this new humiliation, he resolved to ignore the Governor-General; and appealing to the authorities at home, sent to Britain Rammohun Roy, a celebrated Brahmin of the highest caste, who had, however, lost it by throwing aside the superstitions of Hindooism, and in 1814 had endeavoured to extend among his people the knowledge of one true God; but by accepting that form of Christianity known as Unitarianism, he was never successful as a religious teacher. His appointment as envoy of the King of Delhi was kept in profound secrecy from the knowledge of Lord William Bentinck and his Council; hence, on his arrival in London in 1831, on presenting his letters of authority, they were declared insufficient to justify his recognition as the envoy of the Mogul's heir. From the new and enlarged views he was supposed to have adopted, he received much attention from some parties; but he never returned to India, as he died of fever at Bristol in 1833.

The King of Delhi did not advance his interests in any way by this secret move, but gave deep umbrage to Lord William Bentinck, who, when making a tour through the upper provinces, made the king fully aware of this, by declining all interchange of compliments or visits. And now his capital became the arena of a shocking crime. The Nabob of Ferozepore, Ahmed Buksh Khan, on his death, left the succession to his eldest son, Shumsud-deen-Khan, setting apart the district of Loharoo for two younger sons. The eldest objected to this curtailment of his inheritance, and the Governor-General rather unwisely forgot the usual policy so far as to decide that he should have Loharoo when allotting pensions to his brothers. Aware that this decision was opposed to the system of non-interference, Mr. Fraser, our commissioner at Delhi, had it postponed—a measure which so greatly enraged Shumsud-deen-Khan, that he had that unfortunate gentleman shot dead in the streets of Delhi.

The assassin and the nabob were both brought to trial: the guilt of both was fully proved, and both were executed as common malefactors; but so deep was the disaffection to British rule, that they were viewed as martyrs by the whole Mohammedan population.

Meanwhile, the complaints of misgovernment in Oude were becoming louder than ever. In the reign of the last nabob, Ghazee-ud-deen Hyder, the favourite dewan had been Aga Mir; but the

influence he possessed over the former procured him the secret hatred of the heir-apparent; and the nabob foreseeing the ruin that, in the event of his own death, would overtake the favourite minister, endeavoured to effect a conciliation between him and his son, by inducing the Governor-General to guarantee the former safety in his person and property. By the opportune offer of a loan of a million sterling to the Company in perpetuity, at five per cent. interest, the desired guarantee was obtained; and, at the same time, the nabob arranged that the interest should be paid to his dependents, among whom Aga Mir was regularly to draw one-half of the whole, or £25,000 yearly.

When the nabob died, his son, Nasir-ud-Deen, seemed to have forgotton his hate for Aga Mir, whom he continued in office and treated with kindness; but this was all dissimulation, as his cherished enmity was keener than ever. Aware that the policy of non-interference had been again inaugurated, he despised the guaranteed safety, and suddenly throwing off the mask, dismissed Aga Mir, and accused him of defrauding the treasury. No doubt the ex-minister would have forfeited his life to Nasir-ud-Deen; but the latter had the mortification to see him placed safely beyond his reach, by being conducted, in October, 1830, under a British escort, to Cawnpore. The nabob now resolved to be—that for which his ignorance and dissolute habits quite unfitted him—his own minister; and soon the power of the state passed into the hands of worthless and vicious men whom the Resident was instructed not to recognise, till a reputable dewan was appointed; and the nabob, ere long, foreseeing the danger of venturing on a struggle with the Company, recalled the Hakim, Mehedi Ali Khan, whom Aga Mir had originally replaced. Sums squandered on favourites were now reduced, corrupt practices were reformed, and instead of being farmed to rapacious extortionists, the revenue was levied by paid collectors. Yet, so thoroughly was Lord William Bentinck imbued with a fear that the ruin of Oude would come in the hands of such a prince, that in April, 1831, during his tour, he visited him at Lucknow, "and plainly intimated to him, both orally and in writing, that if he did not immediately begin to govern on better principles, the course which had been adopted in the cases of the Carnatic and Tanjore would be followed in regard to Oude, and it would be necessary for him to exchange his position of king for that of pensioner;" and nothing could prevent this threat from being carried out but an immediate compliance with the reforms his lordship demanded.

Many obstacles had to be surmounted; and after his threats, the Governor-General gave Hakim Mehedi no assistance to carry out his requisitions; so the dewan, finding it impossible to uphold his position, retired into private life again, and left Nasir-ud-Deen entirely in the hands of worthless favourites of both sexes, under whose influence the career of misgovernment went so rapidly on, that five inmates of the harem alone drew, for jaghires assigned to them, £192,000 per annum.



PORTRAIT OF DOST MOHAMMED.

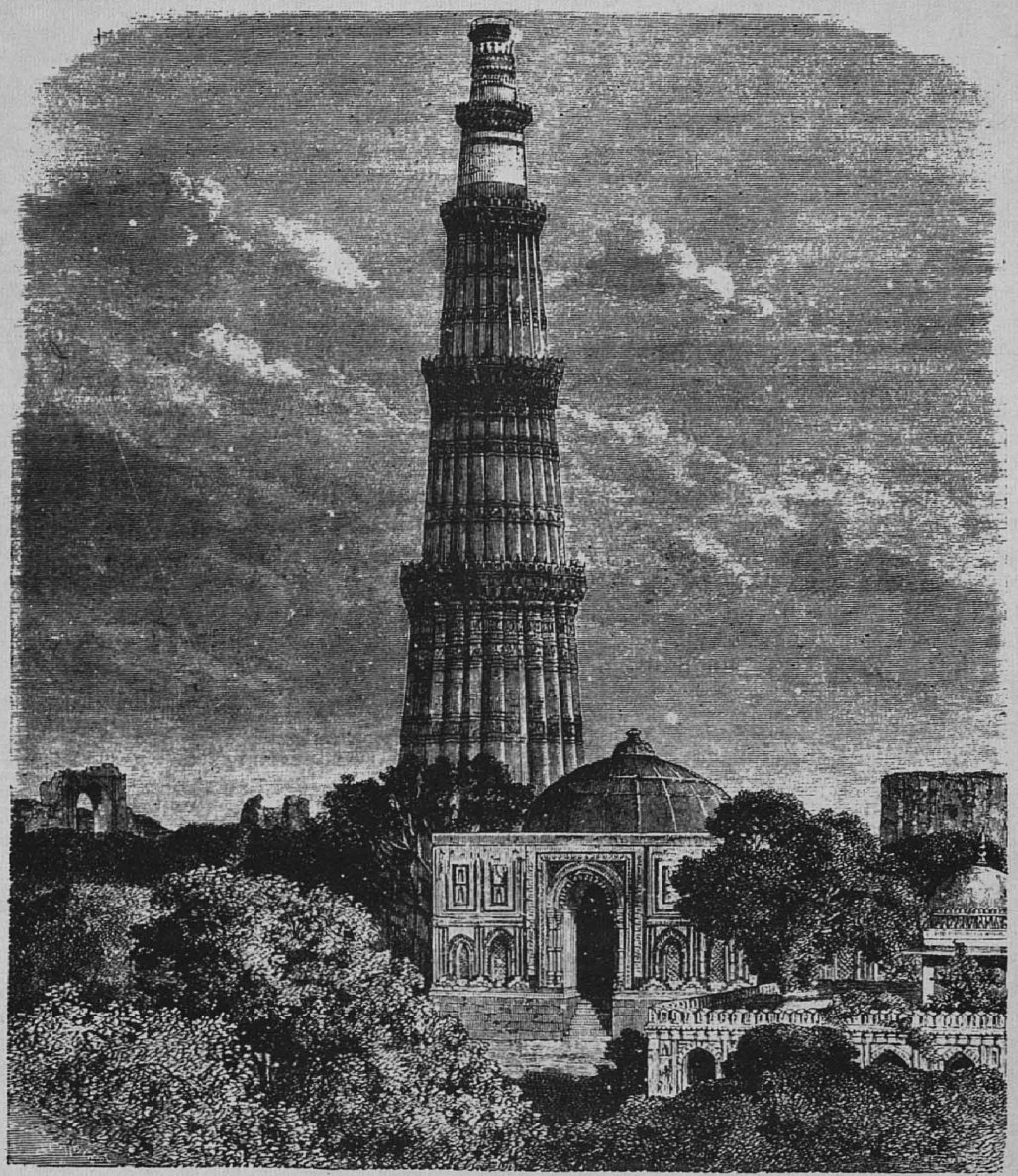
In the dominions of the Nizam, where Nazim-ud-Dowlah had succeeded on the death of his father, prodigal expenditure and tyrannical extortion went hand in hand, as in Oude, and the old affair of William Palmer and Co. added to the monetary troubles of the state; while in another part of India, in the territories of the Guicowar, matters wore an aspect far from pleasing.

When Sevajee Rao succeeded his imbecile predecessor, great hopes were entertained of him, as he had always, as regent, co-operated with our Resident; but now, his increase of power was not accompanied by increase of prosperity, and he began to disregard certain obligations, of which, with his own consent, the British Government had become the guarantees. He refused to pay his debts when he dared not plead poverty, and only sought to gratify a passion for hoarding, and in five years had deposited in his coffers a surplus revenue of £600,000, which, by express stipulation, belonged to his creditors; till at last the interference and restraint of the Company became absolutely necessary for the government of his affairs.

Holkar's dominions, in 1833, became the bitter scene of a disputed succession, on the death of Mulhar Rao, and a civil war seemed imminent, till Haree Holkar was placed on the musnud, under a guard of our troops, though destitute of any qualification for the position thus assigned him; and this he evinced by placing himself entirely in the hands of a worthless and incompetent minister, named Revajee Phausia, who soon involved the country in such disorder and distress, as to make

Lord Bentinck seriously in doubt whether to undertake the administration, and depose Haree Holkar with a pension.

There were also troubles in Scinde, where, after the death of Dowlut Rao Scindia (to whom we have had so often to refer), in March, 1827, effect was given to his desire, that his favourite wife, Baiza Bai, should adopt as his successor a little boy, named Janakajee, under whom she was to govern as regent; but as her ambition was to govern for life, after some matrimonial intrigues had failed, she resolved to have the boy set aside, and made him a prisoner in his own palace. Escaping, he took refuge with our Resident, to whom he declared that his life was in danger; and during a visit he paid to Gwalior, Lord William Bentinck was importuned by both parties to aid them; but, acting for the nonce on the neutral system, he left them to settle their disputes as they pleased.



VIEW OF THE TOWER OF KOUTUB, IN THE PLAIN OF DELHI.

On the 10th of July, 1833, some of the disciplined battalions of Gwalior espoused the cause of Janakajee, beset the palace, freed him, and put the regent to flight, after which she retired on a liberal pension to a jaghire in the south of India;

but the government did not improve under the rule of Janakajee; and during all this time a feverish excitement was kept up in some of the Rajpoot States, and particularly in Kotah, by new successions and the inconsistencies produced by the profession of British non-interference, and the frequently-recurring necessity for acting in direct violation of it. A steady course of action was thus but seldom pursued or depended upon.

The state of Boondee (or Bundi), a principality in Rajasthan, and possessing a magnificent capital with many stately buildings, was seriously disturbed about 1830. Ram Sing, the rajah, was a minor, and his mother, the ranee, desirous of retaining her powers as regent, kept him in profound ignorance and encouraged him in gross vice, to the end that, while thus unfit to govern, he might have no wish to do so. Though young, Ram Sing was married to a daughter of the Rajah of Jodpore, and this singular mother made it part of her policy to estrange him from his wife, which she found the less difficulty in doing that she was ten years his senior. The princess, fully aware of her position, resented this state of affairs, and sought the aid of her father, who represented the case to our Resident, and urged his interference on behalf of the young ranee; but, acting to the letter of his instructions, that official declined to do so. On this, the old rajah took the matter into his own hands, and sent a deputation, accompanied by 300 soldiers, to Boondee, to demand back the princess, and escort her to her former home at Jodpore; and now ensued a tragedy of the usual Indian kind.

The troops pitched their tents outside the town while the deputation rode into it, and sent a message to the durbar. Their pretended object was to ask when it would be convenient to receive them, but a murder was their intention; for the messenger, without waiting for an answer, plunged his sword into the heart of Deva Krishan Rao, the chief minister of Boondee; and for this outrage, the whole deputation would have been slaughtered on the spot but for the intervention of Mr. Trevelyan, our Kotah Resident, who protected them all, save three, who were put to death. Although there was no doubt that Maun Sing, the Rajah of Jodpore, was the instigator of this assassination, he denied it, and avowed his intention of avenging the slaughter of his three men at Boondee.

In the olden time, the feud thus raised would have led to a bitter war, which might have spread like a flame over all Rajasthan; but the Governor-General interfered with promptitude and decision, and, after some stormy correspondence, a mutual oblivion of injuries was agreed to. Our relations with the Jodpore rajah, about the epoch of these events, were far from friendly, and at one time seemed likely to lead to blows. Inspired by superstitious veneration for certain religious mendicants, known as the Yogis-fakirs, he made them his spiritual guides, allotted them the fifth of his revenue, and intrusted them with the whole power of the state; and believing that at their hands he enjoyed a supernatural protection from earthly evil, when remonstrated with, he replied by sullen and defiant answers. He insultingly declined to visit the Governor-General when the latter visited Ajmere, in 1831; and it was known that he was in league with robber tribes in the desert of Parkur, a district consisting of sandy plains and porphyritic hills, that lie between the Runn of Cutch and the Thurr, or Indian desert, and that, on one occasion, when they had been dispersed, he gave shelter to one of their leaders. So many complaints were made against him, that by the end of the monsoon, in 1834, a force was assembled at Ajmere, under Brigadier Stevenson, to move against him; but it only ended in what was then known as "the Jodpore countermarch," as Maun Sing made every concession that was required of him.

On the 31st of May in the preceding year, the Indian service suffered a severe loss by the death, in London, of the great and brilliant Sir John Malcolm. Monuments were raised to him and his brother, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, and also to them in their native village of Langholm, in Dumfriesshire, that to the former being an obelisk a hundred feet in height.

The elements of discord now burst loose in the state of Jeypore, in Rajasthan, giving rise to complications which culminated in atrocity. The mother of the young rajah, acting under the influence of a man named Jota Ram, endeavoured to lengthen her regency, but was strenuously opposed by the *thackoors*, as the leading chiefs are named; and the contending parties appealed to Lord William Bentinck, each hoping to obtain his decision against the other. The ambitious ranee died early in 1834, thus ending her claims for the regency, and the rajah was approaching his majority. Nevertheless, Jota Ram continued to maintain his authority, and more bitter than ever became the strife, till the British troops began to assemble at Ajmere. This was Brigadier Stevenson's force, which was ostensibly to operate against Maun Sing, but could easily do so at the same time against Jeypore, when the factions deemed it prudent to suspend their contentions for a time.

Submission in Jodpore having rendered an advance in that direction unnecessary, it was resolved on to employ a portion of the forces in an expedition against the robber hordes of the Shekhawatee country, which lies between Jeypore and Bicaneer, whose chiefs were independent and utterly lawless. Without sparing the territories of Britain or others, these chiefs had carried on their depredations on every hand, and it was strongly suspected that Jota Ram shared in the pillage; but on hearing of the projected expedition, under Brigadier Stevenson, he expostulated against it as unnecessary; and after it had taken place, and the Shekhawatee country had been placed under British rule, he protested against that measure, as a violation of the rights of Jeypore.

Under Brigadier Stevenson, C.B., the troops which assembled at Ajmere consisted of H.M. 11th Light Dragoons, and five regiments of native cavalry; H.M. Cameronian Regiment, and eleven battalions of native infantry; with a field and siege-train, consisting of thirty-six pieces of cannon. The cavalry formed two brigades, and the infantry four. H.M. 26th (Cameronians) had made a considerable movement *en avant*, but returned instantly upon the summons of the brigadier. The corps stayed a few days at Delhi when on its march to the westward. The effect of its presence in the city is thus described by the Delhi journalist:—

"His Majesty's 26th Regiment, the Cameronians afforded a fine spectacle to the natives of Delhi on Monday morning. Having landed at the ghat below Dariogunge, they entered the city at the Delhi gate, moved down in close column to the imperial palace, and after passing in front of it, ascended through the dense crowd of spectators up the street of Chandni Chowk to their encamping ground before the Lahore gate, with colours displayed and bagpipes playing. The novel sight of nearly 700 Europeans under arms, and their stirring music, had a grand effect on the people. As the Cameronians were passing, we fell in with a group of learned Moulvees, who were led, either from reading or conversing on the subject, to ask our editorial wisdom why the men, being Scots, or as our friends said, *Escot ka log*, did not wear the checked mantle (or plaid), and march with naked limbs? Our fellow-citizens had been misinformed, we suspect, in regard to this gallant and distinguished corps. It never consisted of Highlanders, nor had any connection with Lochiel of poetical fame, or the clan Cameron. The regiment, we understand, was originally formed of a religious and warlike sect in the western counties of the lowlands of Scotland in the persecuting days of Charles II. They took their name from their leader, Richard Cameron, one of the many ministers of religion who, in that reign, died in arms for the civil and religious liberties of their country."

The Shekhawatee campaign, as it was named, consisted more of arduous marching than fighting, and it was said in India that the troops returned from it covered with scars, "but from the brambles only." At one place on the Kallianoo river, the whole country was found to be under water by the bursting of a canal, the tree-tops alone being visible. The first stage in Shekhawatee proper brought the troops to the summer residence of Seekur Raja, a fort situated on a steep rock, 900 feet in height. The heat was intense; and, at some places, the pressure around the wells or tanks was so great, that men were thrust in and drowned. The fort of Taieen, with four bastions, each thirty feet in height, was taken by mining; and in it was discovered an ancient armoury, the doorway of which had been bricked up. By the 20th of December the force reached the town of Pahtun, a miserable collection of houses. Its fort, only strong by position, was on a hill, 1,000 feet in height. About midway up was the chief palace of the rajah, whose revenue was 45,000 rupees, with a tribute of 12,000 to Jeypore.* Hence the violation of rights alleged by Jota Ram.

Shortly after this, the Rajah of Jeypore died, and it was confidently suspected that Jota Ram, and a female named Rupa, who was his accomplice, had murdered the prince, in order to prolong their power as custodians of his infant son. But in this they were baffled. Major Alves, who had accompanied the troops in the Shekhawatee campaign, and was our commissioner at Jeypore, undertook the guardianship, and formed a new administration, from which Jota Ram and his female friend were excluded: the former being removed to Dersar, thirty miles from the capital, and the latter to a house within it, with a guard of sepoys to prevent her from being torn in pieces by the people; and, to preserve unity of detail, we shall give the story of what followed, though it goes beyond the close of Lord William Bentinck's tenure of office.

It chanced that, on the 4th of June, 1835, Major Alves, after having an interview with the ranee and her thackoors, was quitting the palace, accompanied by Mr. Blake, his assistant, Lieutenant Ludlow, and Captain Macnaghten, when he was wounded by a man who rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Though severe, the wound was not mortal, and the major was conveyed to the residency, while the would-be assassin was made a prisoner in the palace. Out of this building Mr. Blake came, holding in

* *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1835.

his hand the blood-stained sword with which the wound had been given. He had no sooner got into the howdah of his elephant than a fierce attack was made upon him by the assembled populace, and seeing escape impossible, he took shelter in a temple, the door of which was shut, but with the assistance of his mahout (or driver) and a chuprasi, he gained access by a window, and, by two other persons who were within, he was secreted in a small apartment, where—with what feelings may be imagined—he heard the yells and outcries of those who were thirsting for his blood.

They soon forced their way in, barbarously murdered him, and threw his body into the street. Investigation traced out Jota Ram as the instigator of this atrocity. All who had been accessory to the outrage were seized and executed. Sentence of death was also recorded against Jota Ram and his brother, but it was commuted to imprisonment for life within the British territory.

In the month of March, 1835, prior to these events, Lord William Bentinck, whose health had been failing, resigned the office of Governor-General, and quitted Calcutta for Europe. He did not long survive his return from India, as he died in 1839, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

CHAPTER XI.

ALTERATION OF THE CHARTER.—EXTINCTION OF THE COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

THOSE who were best acquainted with Indian affairs foresaw, pretty generally, that even at the time it was passed, the Act of 1813, which made the first great inroad into the exclusive commercial monopoly of the East India Company, would effect far more extensive changes than had yet been made in their charter. The clamourers for free trade had never been silent from that period down to 1833, and there had been a succession of regulations and enactments all subversive of the ancient privileges.

Parliament appointed committees in 1820, to inquire into the foreign trade of the nation, and to consult on the means of its extension; and in both Houses, and in the country generally, a strong sense prevailed that the monopoly of the China trade, so long enjoyed by the Company, was injurious to the interests of commerce in general; though many who had this idea felt how difficult it might be for any body of men, less experienced and organised, to trade, without quarrelling, with a people so strange as the Chinese.

Mr. Canning, when President of the Board of Control, in 1820, had urged upon the Directors the expedience of establishing an *entrepôt* in the Eastern Archipelago, where our ships might take in tea for Europe, and he recommended the allotment of a portion of their tonnage to China for the free use of the public; but the Court of Directors alleged, that without a monopoly of the China trade, they could neither maintain their power in India nor pay their dividends in Britain, and declined to make any change, expressing, at the same time, a wish that the Act of 1813 should remain intact.

In July, 1821, the committee of the House of Commons stated that they could not concur in the apprehensions excited by this partial relaxation of the Company's Chinese monopoly, while, at the same time, acknowledging that it was of the utmost importance to its prosperity. But so loud were the demands for free trade and political economy, that ere the year was out, British ships were permitted to carry on trade to every port within the limits of the charter, and with all ports belonging to countries in amity with Britain; while the Company also found itself compelled to relinquish the restriction of shipping engaged in the India trade. Though newspapers, magazines, reviews, and pamphlets, kept up an incessant war on the subject, no legislative alterations were made from that time down to 1827. In May that year, shortly after Mr. Canning became Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Whitmore moved in the Commons for a select committee to inquire into the Indian trade, and he did not hesitate to urge the entire dissolution of the Chinese monopoly at all hazards.

Mr. Canning was a friend of free trade, and a large proportion of his supporters shared his opinions and enmity to monopolies of all kinds; while the unfortunate Mr. Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary, was then the oracle of the political economists. Nevertheless, Mr. Whitmore's motion was opposed, on the ground that the time was drawing near for a re-consideration of the Company's

charter and entire system of trade. In the month of August Mr. Canning died, and the Goderich Ministry fell to pieces soon after. Mr. Huskisson resigned, and the Duke of Wellington became Premier in January, 1828. In the May of the year following, the former presented a powerful petition from the merchants of Liverpool, praying for the abolition of all restrictions on free trade with India and China, and then, in February, 1830, Lord Ellenborough moved for a select committee in the House of Lords to inquire into the state of the East India Company's affairs, and of the trade between Great Britain and the East generally. His lordship said, "that the Company had afforded all the aid in their power to increase the facilities given to the external and internal trade of India; that the most important questions for Parliament now to decide were:—1. Whether it would be possible to conduct the government of India, directly or indirectly, without the assistance of the Company? 2. Whether the assistance of the Company should be afforded in the manner in which it had hitherto been, or in some other way?"

Acting in conjunction, on the same day, Mr. Secretary Peel moved in the Commons for a committee on the same subject, stating "that he proposed its appointment with the plain and honest view of having a full and unreserved investigation of the affairs of the Company, and not for the purpose of ratifying any charter or engagement previously existing between the Government and the Company."

The reports of both committees proved unfavourable to the latter, whose evidence was fully taken.

On the 23rd of July, 1830, Parliament was prorogued, and dissolved on the following day. The new Parliament assembled on the 26th of October, and on the 22nd of November, Earl Grey was made First Lord of the Treasury; while, as head of the Board of Control, Lord Ellenborough was succeeded by Charles Grant (afterwards Lord Glenelg), whose younger brother, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Grant, was then Governor of Bombay. This gentleman (the son of a Director), and most of his family, had been closely connected with the Company, and to the Indian service owed alike their fortune and prosperity; but these considerations did not prevent him from acting in unison with his colleagues. Accordingly, on the 4th of February, 1831, Charles Grant moved for the re-appointment of the committee on Indian affairs; but it had scarcely met ere Parliament was again dissolved. On the assembling of the new one, on the 16th of June, he lost no time in moving again for the committee, and the motion was readily carried.

The Ministry complained, while the debate was in progress, that no petition had come from the Company for a renewal of their charter; but the Directors would seem to have thought it their most prudent course, ere doing so, to leave those whom they deemed enemies of the Company to make out their case against it. Meanwhile, the tables of the House of Commons were literally piled up with petitions from merchants and corporations against any renewal of the charter on its former terms, while some went further; and Mr. Langton, of Liverpool, boldly impugned the veracity of the Company's accounts, but he failed to make good his statements. "This was, in fact, the only remaining point," says Mr. Peter Auber, "and had it proved vulnerable, the public might have proposed their own terms, and have placed the Company at the entire mercy of Parliament, without any apparent plea of justice to rest upon in support of the interests of the proprietors."*

On the 27th of January, 1832, Charles Grant, still President of the Board of Control, moved for the re-appointment of the Select Committee, whose labours, when laid before Parliament in August, covered 14,000 closely-printed folio pages, and their reports were every way to the honour of the Company.

"It was admitted," says a writer, "that the whol system, which had united commerce with government, and allowed of the trade monopoly, had not been unattended with advantages; that without that system our vast empire in the East could not have been created—could never have been enlarged—as it had been during seasons of depression and disgrace, and bad or weak government at home; that the finances of India had derived advantage from their existing connections with the commerce of the Company, through the direct application of surplus commercial profits, and by the rates of exchange at which the Board of Control decided that the territorial advances from commerce in Britain should be repaid to commerce in India. But our empire in the East was formed, and seemed to be so firmly established, as to defy every attack; and our free traders and political economists again, forgetting that we must have the one to secure the other—that, without our sovereignty, the wealth and resources of India would be absolved in a maelstrom of anarchy—were incessantly declaring that free trade with India and China was worth more than our entire empire."

Unable longer to stand aloof in negociating the matter of their charter with the Government, the

* "Rise and Prog. of the British Power in India."

Directors sent their chairman and deputy-chairman to confer with Earl Grey and Mr. Grant on the subject. A long correspondence followed their interview; the great change proposed by the Ministry was, that the Company should cease to trade, and devote its energies to the duty of governing, in conjunction with the Board of Control, our vast empire in the East; while, with respect to the competence of India to meet all demands on her finances, Mr. Grant maintained that no rational doubt could exist, as her revenue had been steadily progressing for the previous twenty years, and had now reached the amount of £22,000,000 sterling yearly, and promised still to increase. She had a territory of mighty extent, a rich and fertile soil, suited to every kind of natural produce, and a vast population, who were patient, laborious, industrious, and capable of improvement. All these, Grant urged, were more than sufficient pledges that, under wise guardianship, our Eastern exchequer would be always adequate to meet any current expenditure.

After considerable demur, the Court of Directors demanded a guarantee, or some collateral security, for the payment of the dividends, and ultimately—should such a contingency arise—for the capital to the proprietors of East India stock. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough had told them, in 1830, that they had full security for both in the commercial assets and in their fixed property in India, which appertained to the Company in its commercial capacity; and now Mr. Grant further assured the Court of Directors that his Majesty's Government was anxious to strengthen the interests of stock-holders by a collateral security, in the form of a sinking fund, made by the investment of a portion of the trading assets in the national stocks; and the sum he proposed as sufficient was £1,200,000.

But the Court demanded that this guarantee fund should not be less than £2,000,000 sterling, and would not give their assent to the ministerial plans without the sanction of the Court of Proprietors; and ultimately, on the 3rd of May, 1833, it was decided, in a General Court, by 447 votes against 52, that, provided the guarantee fund were raised to £2,000,000, and certain other monetary conditions complied with, the plan of the Ministry should be accepted, and the Company cease to be one for trading purposes. "The attendance," says Auber, "in this General Court was thin, if we consider the magnitude of the question."*

On the 27th of May, Mr. Grant announced the satisfaction with which the Ministry of William IV. had learned the result of the appeal to the ballot at the India House, and that the guarantee fund had been increased to the sum desired. The Court of Directors had conceived that Government, through the Board of Control, meant to claim and exercise a veto on the recall of Governors-General, &c., as exercised by the Court; but Mr. Grant announced that it was not the intention of his Majesty's ministers to act upon that suggestion, or to insist upon it.

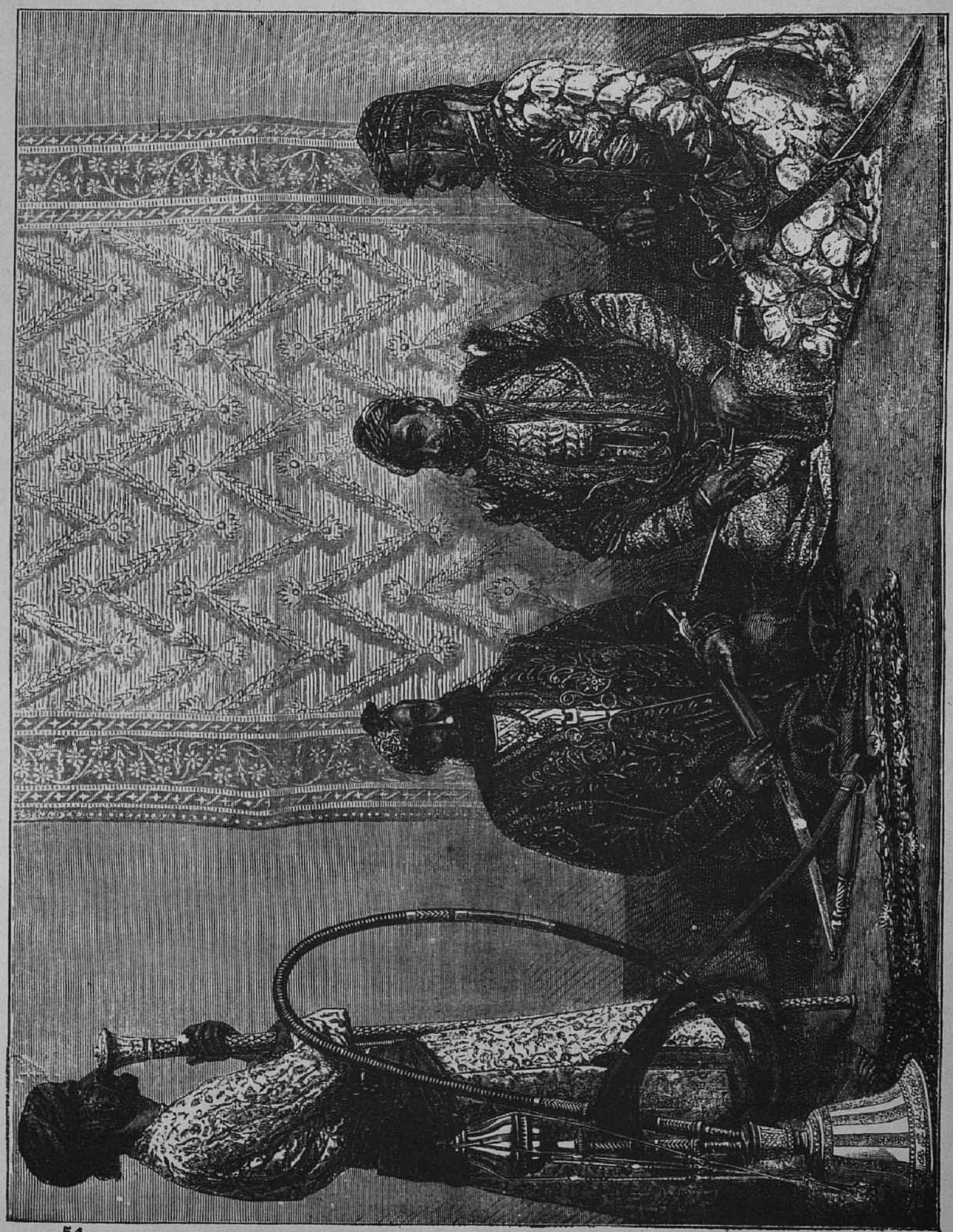
The resolutions were fully adopted by Parliament, when, on the 13th of June, 1833, Mr. Charles Grant, after a long explanatory speech, moved as follows:—"1. That it is expedient that all his Majesty's subjects shall be at liberty to repair to the ports of the empire of China, and to trade in tea and all the other productions of the said empire, subject to such regulations as Parliament shall enact for the protection of the commercial and political interests of this country. 2. That it is expedient that, in case the East India Company should transfer to the Crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, all assets and claims of every description belonging to the said Company, the Crown, on behalf of the Indian territory, shall take on itself all the obligations of the said Company, of whatever description, and that the said Company shall receive from the revenues of the said territory such a sum, and paid in such a manner and under such regulations, as Parliament shall enact. 3. That it is expedient that the government of the British possessions in India be intrusted to the said Company, under such conditions and regulations as Parliament shall enact, for the purpose of extending the commerce of this country, and of securing the good government and promoting the religious and moral improvement of the people of India."

It is remarkable, says Beveridge, that these resolutions, though involving the future government of India, and the consequent condition of its myriads of inhabitants, were passed without discussion, and awakened so little interest that a large majority of the House of Commons did not even deign to be present.*

On the 12th of August the Court of Directors came to the resolution that they must recommend the proprietors to defer to the pleasure expressed by the House of Commons, and to consent to place their right to trade for their own profit in abeyance, in order that they might continue to exercise the government of India for the further term of twenty years, upon the conditions and under the arrangements embodied in the Bill.

* "Rise and Prog. of the British Power in India."

* "Comprehensive History of India," vol. iii.



RAJAHS AND ZEMINDARS OF THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF HINDOSTAN.

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A very slender Court of the Directors assembled on the 16th of August, and resolved that the Bill should be accepted. On the evening of the same day, it was read a third time in the House of Lords, and on the 28th became law, after receiving the royal assent by commission. The Court of Directors, whose number continued at twenty-four, now ceased to be Eastern merchant-princes; their monopoly in the trade with India and China was gone for ever; and they retained their powers of government alone. "The great mansion in Leadenhall Street is no longer a mart or place for buying and selling; hence many of its offices are deserted or closed, and something resembling the tranquillity of the cloisters prevails throughout the edifice; but it is still (or was, till the Mutiny) the spot where the stupendous machinery of the Indian Government is regulated."

While the great Bill was in progress, during the debates on it, many were the just tributes of admiration paid to the past conduct of the Honourable Court, and the great men, the brilliant soldiers, the expert financialists, and the keen diplomatists, whom the Company had trained and developed since those days when the four little ships of Captain Lancaster dropped down the Thames on their adventurous Eastern voyage, in the spring of 1601. Lord Ellenborough, who had devoted much of his time to the study of Indian affairs, applauded warmly the servants of the Company, in war and peace, and doubted whether there was anything in the new system which would produce such men and such deeds; and warmly, too, spoke the great Duke of Wellington, who declared that, from his own residence and experience, he believed that the Government of India was one of the wisest, best, and purest that ever existed.

"I recall to my memory," said he, "the history of British India for the last fifty or sixty years. I remember its days of misfortune and its days of glory, and call to my mind the proud situation in which it now stands. I remember that the Indian Government has conducted the affairs of—I will not pretend to say how many millions of people, for they have been variously calculated at 70, 80, 90, and even 100,000,000, but certainly of an immense population—a population returning an annual revenue of £22,000,000 sterling; and that, notwithstanding all the wars in which that empire has been engaged, its debts amount only to £40,000,000, being not more than two years' revenue. I do not say that such a debt is desirable, but I do contend that it is a delusion on the people of this country to tell them that it is a body unfit for government, and unfit for trade, which has administered the affairs of India with so much success for so many years. . . . . Depend upon it, my lords, that upon the basis of their authority (the Company's) rests the good government of India."

And yet, when speaking of this very time and crisis, what says Lord Macaulay, with honest bitterness of heart?—"The House has neither the time, nor the knowledge, nor the inclination, to attend to an Indian budget, or to the statement of Indian extravagance, or to the discussion of Indian local grievances. A broken head in Coldbath Fields excites greater interest in this House than three pitched battles in India would ever excite. This is not a figure of speech, but a literal description of fact; and were I called upon for proofs, I would refer to a circumstance which must be still in the recollection of the House. When my Right Hon. friend, Mr. Charles Grant, brought forward his important propositions for the future government of India, there were not as many members present, as generally attend upon an ordinary Turnpike Bill."

CHAPTER XII.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.—THE RAJAH OF GOOMSUR.—LORD AUCKLAND GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—LEGAL CHANGES.—DISTURBANCES IN OUDE AND SATTARAH.

On the resignation of Lord William Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe assumed, provisionally, the administration of British India; but his term of office was too short to admit of any important changes. There was one measure which his predecessor had initiated, and which Sir Charles fully carried out, and which was of a nature calculated to influence powerfully, for good or for evil, the future

of India—freedom of the press. It might prove irksome to give the full details of the mode in which he carried out his favourite idea, which met with much advocacy on one hand, and bitter opposition on the other. It does not appear that there was much difference of opinion in the Council on the subject; but there is no doubt that Mr. Macaulay was one of the majority. A public address was presented to Sir Charles, at Calcutta, on the part of a numerous and most influential body of the inhabitants, and the document was highly eulogistic of his views and the practical application of them; but, unfortunately, "the natives who have since used the press have had no sympathy with liberty, civil or religious; and almost the only use made of the freedom conceded has been to give expression to a furious fanaticism and a bitter hostility to the Government. Military revolt and civil insurrection have been more promoted by the native press than by any other means, not excepting even the preaching of the fakirs. The Government has certainly obtained the advantage of knowing, by the columns of the native press, the state of feeling which the more educated classes of the natives have cherished. It is to be feared, however, that very little use has been made of the knowledge thus derived, and the advantage has been counterbalanced by the incitement to sedition which the native newspapers have supplied."*

Towards the close of the year some trouble was given to Sir Charles's government by the hostile attitude assumed by the Rajah of Goomsur, a little district westward of Juggernaut. The whole tract is still covered with dense jungle, and is hot and unhealthy. It first fell under our yoke in 1804. The country is traversed, in its entire length, by the Eastern Ghauts, and may properly be described as consisting of highlands and lowlands; the former occupied by three distinct tribes—the Sourabs, Koles, and Gonds.

The rajah defied the government; thus a force was detailed to act against him, under Lieutenant-Colonels Hodgson and Muriel, consisting of seven companies of the 21st and 49th Native Infantry, a wing of the 8th ditto, and a company of native artillery, under Lieutenant Austin, with four brass 4-pound howitzers.

The main force advanced from Aska on the 3rd of November, under torrents of rain, which did not enhance the comfort of marching through a rice-growing country. The insurgent rajah was supposed to have taken up a position at a place called Callada, with two rivers between him and the troops; but it was not until the 12th, when Hodgson's force was about to encamp at a place called Gilling, that shots were exchanged with the hill-warriors, on which he proclaimed martial law, and offered 5,000 rupees for the apprehension of the rajah. On the 14th the line of march was greatly annoyed by jungle-firing, till the mountain howitzers opened with grape. The Goomsureans proved, however, extremely pugnacious, and continued to fire, at intervals, during the whole of that day and part of the night.

The Black Cavern, a strong barrier-post, expected by the colonel to be fiercely defended, was reached on the following day, and from thence volleys of matchlocks were opened on the column, till the howitzer practice and a musketry fire checked it. "The barrier is on the summit of a hill, or, rather, between two hills, with deep jungle rising from the bottom upwards. The coolies behaved manfully in carrying up the howitzers, which are admirably adapted for jungle work, mounted on beds similar to mortars, and each weighing only 380 pounds—coolies carrying them over passes and through jungle that would be impenetrable to six-pounders. Having fired this place, the camp was pitched in the plain, and again annoyed by the rebel fire."*

Eventually, the rajah had to fly, with all his people who were in arms, to the western extremity of Goomsur, and the insurrection was completely quelled.

In this year (1835) the Indian navy consisted only of four eighteen-gun sloops, two ten-gun brigs, and one twelve-gun ship, to perform the duties of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea stations, and Socotra, besides that of the coasts of Western India. So hard has this duty been of late, says a writer,† that vessels have been kept at these unpleasant and unhealthy stations—the Gulf and Red Sea—for periods of twelve and twenty-one months, because there was no vessel to relieve them, and the consequence was that several officers died, many fell sick, and others had their constitutions ruined.

At this time the total strength of the Bengal army was 7,041 Europeans, and 79,825 natives; and it was in this year that the king's troops adopted the percussion, in lieu of the old flint lock.

In consequence of Sir Charles Metcalfe merely holding the government temporarily till some peer of rank was selected by the British Cabinet, his acts were deprived of much of the authority or weight which otherwise they must have possessed; and it has been said that had this enlightened civilian been permitted to remain, as the Directors and Proprietors alike wished and requested, it

* Nolan.

* *Calcutta Englishman*, 1835.

† *Bengal Hurkaru*, 1835.

had been well for Britain and for India. It was however, become a kind of understood thing that the post of Governor-General there should be held by a peer through the direct nomination of the Crown.

Charles Grant had, notwithstanding this, been proposed by the Ministry, under the mask of advocating general principles; but the Directors, offended that he had not attended so fully as they wished to their suggestions in framing the new charter, were unwilling that he should be put in nomination. He wrote powerfully on the disadvantages of Metcalfe's temporary appointment, and urged the necessity for forthwith appointing some one in regular form. It was offered to Mountstuart Elphinstone, who declined. William, Lord Heytesbury, G.C.B., was then nominated and sworn. He had provided his outfit and passage, and completed all his arrangements; but, ere he sailed, the Peel Ministry, who had endeavoured unsuccessfully to strengthen themselves by a dissolution of Parliament, resigned. Under Lord Melbourne, the Whigs resumed office, and, with singularly bad taste, ungenerously cancelled the commission of Lord Heytesbury.

The office was again vacant, and Charles Grant—now created Lord Glenelg—having become Colonial Secretary, and been succeeded by Sir John Hobhouse as President of the Board of Control, might be considered as out of the field; the appointment was, therefore, conferred on George, Lord Auckland, G.C.B., then in his fifty-first year; why, was not very apparent, as there was nothing in his antecedents to show that he had ever had any interest in India or its affairs; "all that could be said of him was that he was a nobleman of amiable manners and excellent character, free from any overweening confidence in his own judgment, and disposed to listen to advice from those whom he believed competent to give it." Hence it was supposed he would avoid blunders and do nothing rash.

Accompanied by his sisters, he arrived at Calcutta on the 3rd of March, 1836; but there was no doubt that his appointment was deemed a discreditable party nomination. "His lordship," says Edward Thornton, "was the son of one of the most steady adherents of the administration of Mr. Pitt, under which his services were rewarded by a peerage. He acquired distinction as a diplomatist and economical writer. His son forsook the politics of his family, and attached himself to the Whig party."*

All India was tranquil when he entered on the duties of his office; thus, like his predecessor, he had time to devote himself to the work of internal improvement; and there was one clause of the new charter which left him in no doubt as to what should first engage his attention: the formation or creation of "a general system of judicial establishments and police, to which all persons whatsoever, as well Europeans as natives, may be subject."

To aid in the accomplishment of this great work of legal reform, a fourth member was added to the Council, to indicate the particular department in which he was expected to labour; and there was established a law commission, the reports made by which, from time to time, were to furnish the material or the reason for alteration or improvement. Provided thus with the necessary means, Lord Auckland went to work at once. In March, 1836, there was given to the employment of the uncovenanted judges additional extent and importance, by an enactment that "no person whatever shall, by reason of place of birth, or by reason of descent, be incapable of being a *principal sudder ameen*, *sudder ameen*, or *moonsif*, within the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal." Originally, the two latter officials were the only classes of native judges, and had a very limited jurisdiction; but gradually the powers of both were extended, and in 1827 the *sudder ameen* was empowered to try suits to the amount of 1,000 rupees. Yet the legal necessities were but imperfectly met, till Lord William Bentinck, in 1831, instituted the third or higher class—the *principal sudder ameens*—whose jurisdiction ultimately extended to cases involving any amount of property. Under the enactment above given, all barriers to legal promotion, or to the attainment of a judgeship in the three classes, were removed, and no kind of descent, mixed or native, could operate as an exclusion. This led to another change, which encountered much opposition when, on the 9th of May, 1836, even British residents were brought under the jurisdiction of the courts of *Sudder dewanee adawlut*, of the *zillah* and city judges, of the *principal sudder ameens* in the presidency of Fort William; the effect of which enactment was, therefore, to deprive British-born subjects of a privilege, real or supposed, which they previously possessed, and to place them as defenders in the *mofussil* courts, on the same footing as the natives of India.

Unless we except some sharp affairs between H.M. ship *Andromache* and the pirates of the Straits in June, save the contentions excited among British residents by some of these legal reforms, Thornton justly says, that the first year of Lord Auckland's

* "Hist. of the British Empire in India," vol. vi.

"administration of the government of India was completed without the occurrence of any event sufficiently remarkable to require notice, and the first half of the ensuing year passed with equal tranquillity. The calm was then interrupted by some violent proceedings in that perpetual seat of trouble and disquiet, Oude." *

On the night of the 7th July, 1837, Nasir-ud-Deen Hyder, Nabob of Oude, died suddenly, and an attempt to put a spurious successor on his throne had been defeated, but not without bloodshed. He died without children, and though, at one time, he had adopted, or acknowledged two boys to be his, he afterwards formally disavowed them. Being an only son, it became necessary, therefore, to seek for a successor among ascendant branches; but now a fresh difficulty arose. Of the ten sons of Sadut Ali, his father was the eldest; the second of these sons had died, leaving children; but the third son, Nasir-ud-Dowlah, was still alive. According to the British law of inheritance, the succession lay with the heir of the second son; but the Mohammedan law prefers a younger surviving brother to the children of an elder brother, who had died before the succession became vacant.

By this law and rule, the British Resident, Colonel Low, on hearing of the nabob's death, at once prepared to recognise the claim of Nasir-ud-Dowlah. "There was not a moment to be lost. The Padishah Begum, or queen-mother, who had been obliged to quit the palace in consequence of a quarrel with her son, was known to be intriguing for the succession of one of the boys whom he had formally disavowed; and the children of Sadut Ali's second son were disputing the soundness of the interpretation of the Mohammedan law by which they were excluded."

Our force in the city was small; reinforcements could be obtained, but the arrangements for bringing them on were bad. So soon as Colonel Low heard that the nabob's death was certain, he wrote to the general commanding in Oude to have 1,000 men ready to march on Lucknow at a moment's notice. He then hastened to the palace, and finding that Nasir-ud-Deen Hyder had just expired, he posted sentries on the inner gates and sealed up all the royal repositories. By a second request, the brigadier was to push on five companies to the palace in advance, and send on the remainder. Captain Paton, the colonel's first assistant, remained at the palace, and Lieutenant Shakespeare, his second, was sent to the residence of Nasir-ud-Dowlah, to obtain his signature to an obligation, hurriedly prepared for the purpose; and thereafter to escort him to the palace for enthronement on the musnud. The obligation ran in the following terms:—

"Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, the Resident, has apprised me, through Lieutenant Shakespeare, his second assistant, of the death of Nasir-ud-Deen Hyder, King of Oude. The Resident has also communicated to me the substance of the orders of the Government of India, respecting the necessity of new engagements on the part of the Company's government with Oude State; and I hereby declare, in the event of my being placed on the throne, I will agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor-General may dictate."

Nasir-ud-Dowlah was an old man; startled and roused suddenly in the middle of the night, he agreed readily to do whatever he was asked, and after writing a few words in the spirit of the document tendered to him, he affixed his seal thereto, and thus completed its execution. He was in delicate health; but as delay was perilous, he was borne to the palace, and after an interview with Colonel Low, at three in the morning, he was accommodated with a couch, begging that he might have an hour or two of sleep before his installation on the throne; but from that sleep he was fated to be noisily and roughly aroused.

We are not told whether the scene of these events was a palace in the city or that stately one by the Goomtee, nine miles above it, which is built in the European style, and to which the late king was in the habit of making excursions in a small steamer, built for him by a British engineer in 1819, and said to be the first vessel of the kind ever seen on Indian waters.

Colonel Low, while making his arrangements to secure the throne for Nasir-ud-Dowlah, was not forgetful that they had a perilous opponent in the Padishah Begum, and fearing that she might advance against them, sent a messenger to her, to enjoin strict neutrality, and desiring her, on no account to leave her own residence, which was four miles distant from the palace. The colonel's messenger had barely returned with her artful prayer "that she might, for Allah's sake, be permitted to see the body of the late king, as she had not been allowed to see him while living," when the united roar and clamour of thousands of voices shook the air, and a vast multitude of her armed followers were seen rushing towards the palace where one prince lay dead and the other was sleeping.

Captain Paton hurried to secure the outer gate, but found the insurgents before it in dense masses, and furiously demanding admittance, with fierce

* "Hist. of the British Empire in India," vol. vi.

faces and brandished weapons. When refused, they forced the gate by means of an elephant, which threw down one leaf, that nearly crushed Captain Paton in its fall, and at once made themselves masters of the place. The captain was then knocked down and made prisoner. Soon after, the Padishah Begum entered, with her *protégé*, Moona Jaun, and lost not a moment in placing him on the throne. Colonel Low, who had managed to force a passage through the crowd, arrived in time only to see the installation completed. After seeking in vain to show the begum the folly of her desperate proceedings, he was but too glad to effect his escape; while poor old Nasir-ud-Dowlah, who was roughly wakened from his morning slumber by the horrible hubbub around him, found himself on the point of being murdered; but fear of the consequences forced the begum to content herself by only compelling him, amid insult of every kind, to witness his rival seated on the throne. Various royal personages had laid claim to the sovereignty of Oude; but none, save Moona Jaun, had dared to assert it in this manner.

But ere the morning was far advanced the sound of the British drums was heard; our troops arrived, and Colonel Low gave the begum fifteen minutes to make her submission, while the artillery came thundering forward. She sent an evasive answer, to which a few rounds of grape were the response; our soldiers rushed in with the bayonet, and soon had in their hands Moona Jaun and the begum too. Only three sepoys were wounded in assaulting the palace, wherein they killed or wounded forty of the defenders. As soon as it was cleared, the terrified Nasir-ud-Dowlah, whom it was necessary to soothe and encourage, was installed King of Oude under discharges of artillery, while the begum and her *protégé* were dispatched, prisoners of state, to Cawnpore.

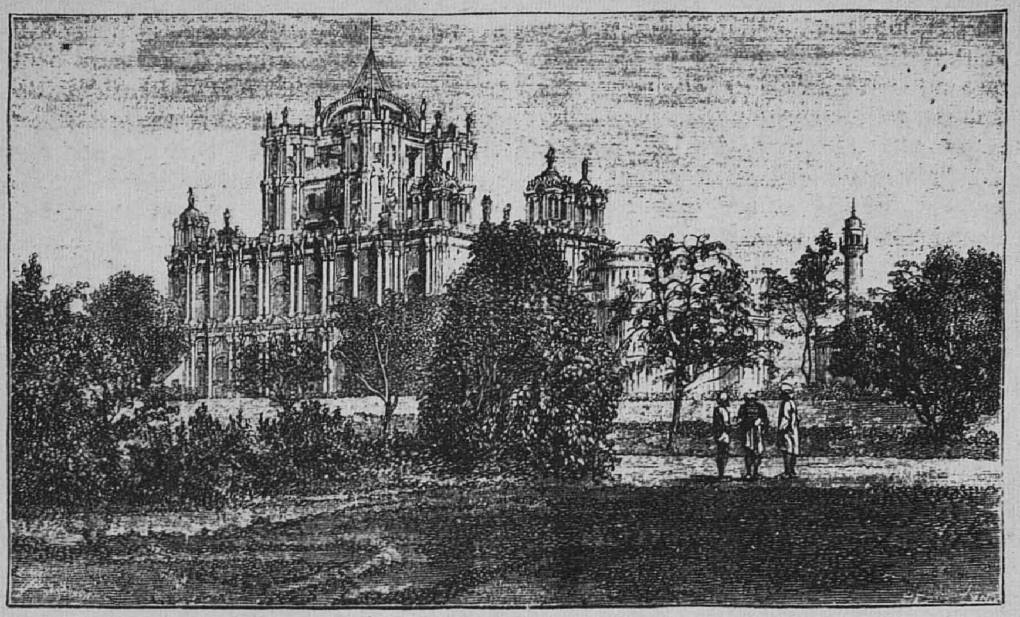
Twelve days after the installation, Lord Auckland wrote a complimentary letter to the new sovereign, in which he said:—"My representative, Colonel Low, who possesses my fullest confidence, has been authorised by me to propose, for the consideration of your Majesty, certain modifications of the treaty subsisting between the East India Company and the Oude State, and I feel assured that you will recognise in these propositions the same moderate views, and the same zeal for the welfare of the prince and people of Oude, as have invariably characterised the British Government in its negociations with its allies."

To the Resident he wrote thus:—"His lordship in Council would not qualify, even by an expression of doubt, the high approbation which he is ready to express of your conduct on this trying occasion. The expediency of obtaining from his Majesty the signature of a previous agreement, binding himself to absolute submissiveness, is the only point on which he feels that difference of opinion may be entertained; and if, on one hand, it may appear to secure the objects of the government, and to be justified by precedent on the other, it seems open to misrepresentation, and, from the reliance which might be placed on the character and position of his Majesty, superfluous."

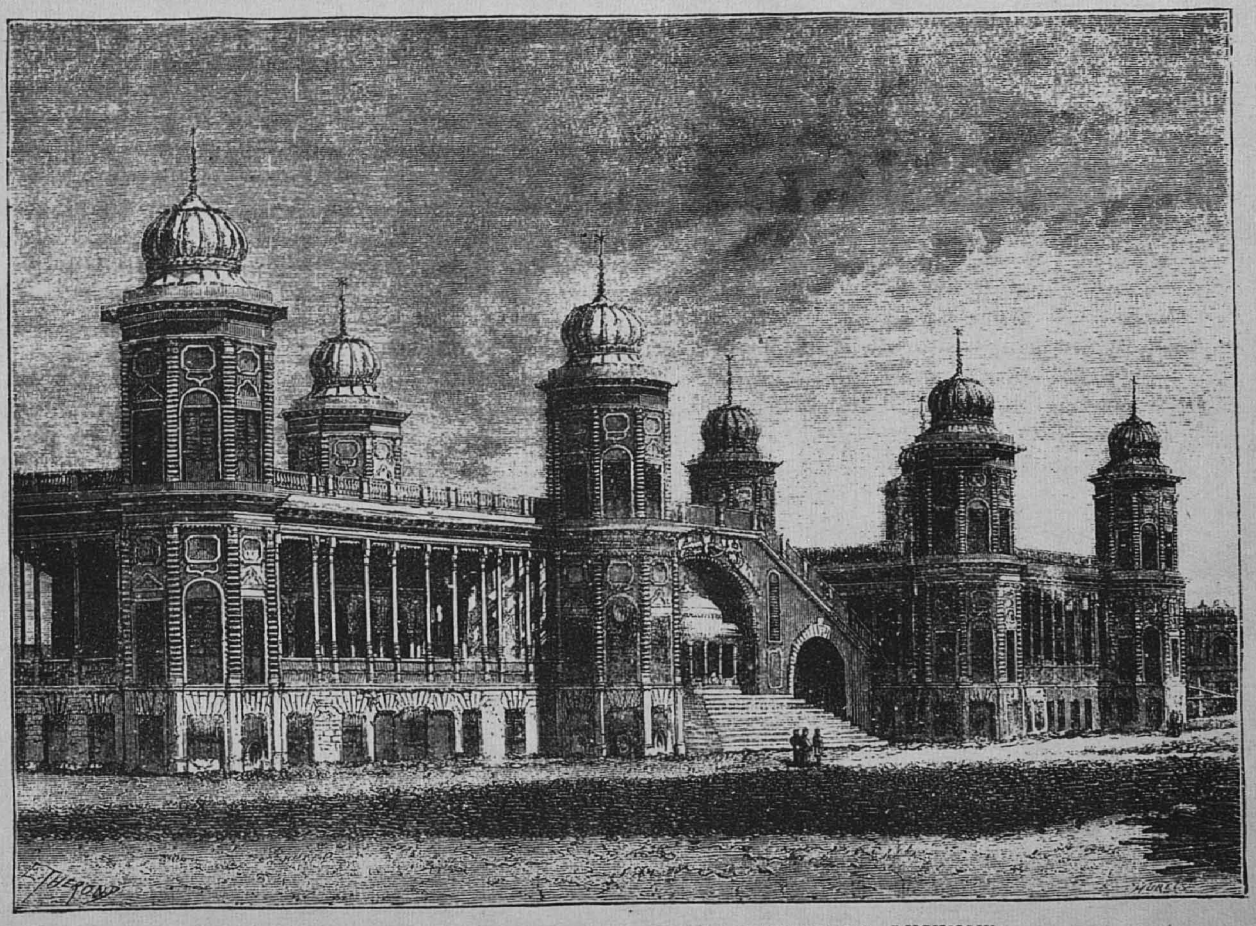
But now, though the Padishah Begum and Moona Jaun had been removed from Lucknow, the question of the Oude succession was not at an end; and Thornton, after detailing the events we have related, tells us of another competitor, who prosecuted his claims in a peculiar manner, and who was named Shum-ud-Dowlah. Acting under European advice, this claimant proceeded to London, and there addressed the Court of Directors. "The folly of undertaking a long voyage to assert a claim known to be absolutely and undoubtedly bad, and with a certainty of its being rejected, need not be dwelt upon. What profit the advisers of the claimant derived from the expedition cannot be known; but they were fully aware that none would accrue to the person on whose behalf they affected to act. Such occurrences are not now, indeed, uncommon in the history of British India, and they will, probably, never cease altogether, until native powers shall acquire sufficient acquaintance with the principles of British policy to prevent their becoming the dupes of unprincipled adventurers."*

The affairs of Oude were barely arranged when our interference in another quarter became imperative. Pertaub Sing, the Rajah of Sattarah, had never displayed much gratitude for the favours conferred upon him, when, under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, he was taken from degradation and thraldom, and restored to the possession of a noble principality. The actual government was not conferred upon him at first, as it was necessary that he should give proofs of his ability to conduct it. The superintendence of his affairs was assigned to Captain Grant, until the country became tranquillised. Many of the hill-forts, which had been what the worst of the English baronial castles had been in the days of the Plantagenets—mere dens of thieves, cut-throats, and abductors—were dismantled and ruined; and in 1821, when Pertaub Sing came of age, he was invested with the administration of his dominions, which, under Grant's care, had become quiet and

* "Hist. Brit. Empire in India."



VIEW OF THE MARTINIÈRE, OR PALACE OF CLAUDE MARTIN, LUCKNOW.



VIEW OF THE PAVILION OF LANKA IN THE KAISERBAGH, LUCKNOW.

even prosperous; but in 1822 his true character began fully to develop itself.

He committed the public affairs to worthless characters; abandoned himself to indolence, vice, and such childish follies, that doubts were entertained of his sanity. He enrolled a company of women, armed them with muskets, and had them taught gunnery with field-guns. Other women were taught to manage elephants, and every cunning fakir who offered to propitiate the gods in his favour had his object, whatever it was, gratified immediately; and he had three sects of Brahmins daily at ceremonies to procure the expulsion of a ghost which, they alleged, haunted his palace.

With all this folly, he had a most inflated idea of his own consequence, and believed that all Lord Hastings had bestowed upon him was but a modicum of what he was entitled to as the lineal descendant of Sevajee, the favourite of the goddess Devi, and founder of the Mahratta empire. Adventurers of all kinds, European as well as native, began to turn these ideas to personal account, and flattered him into the belief that he would yet become the head of those millions who formed the Hindoo population. Hence he began to form intrigues at variance with the position in which he stood with the British Government; but nothing would deter him, so the penalty came at last.

Sir James Rivett Carnac, Bart., then Governor of Bombay, who was leniently disposed, held personal interviews with the rajah, in the hope of inducing him to cease his intrigues and concede; but he signally failed, and the result was announced in a proclamation issued by Colonel Lodwick, our Resident at Sattarah, on the 5th of September, 1839. This document, after detailing all the honours and benefits heaped upon Pertaub Sing, announced that he had, "for years, held clandestine communications, contrary to the stipulations contained in the fifth article of the treaty (by which he was restored); that he has cherished ambitious designs hostile to the British Government; that he has advanced claims and pretensions incompatible with the spirit and letter of the treaty; and that he has conducted himself in a manner subversive of the alliance formed between the two States;" and finally, the document announced that the British Government, having no view of advantage and aggrandisement, "has resolved to invest the brother, and next in succession to the rajah, with the sovereignty of the Sattarah State, under the title of Shreemunt Maharaj Shahee Rajey Caut Turputtee, of Sattarah, and that all persons within his territory are hereby required to render him allegiance."

Much discussion was caused by this in India; but Pertaub Sing was marched off to Benares, where he ended his days, a pensioner of the East India Company. At first, he adopted the same plan that had been pursued by the claimant for the throne of Oude. He hired emissaries in London, and sent thither diplomatic agents to arraign the Directors before the Proprietors, and in the event of that proving fruitless, to arraign the entire Company before Parliament. They denied the existence of all plots and intrigues, and in public assemblies, where the rajah's rights to a vast sovereignty could be safely insisted on, much noisy declamation ensued, and many benevolent persons —chiefly among the Society of Friends—urged the formation of an "Association for the Protection of Aborigines." The result of all this amiable folly was a long-continued agitation in favour of the deposed prince, the issue of which was of no advantage to himself, but during the progress of which, his long-hoarded treasures were dissipated among the legal harpies and knaves whom he employed to advocate his cause in London.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SIKHS.—THE RISE OF RUNJEET SING.—ORIGIN OF THE FATAL AFGHAN WAR.

In the summer of 1837 there was an insurrection among the Moplas in Canara, that wealthy province which extends for 180 miles along the coast of Malabar, and runs from thirty to ninety inland, and which, though it came into our possession on the death of Tippoo and the fall of Seringapatam, was fully disposed to assert its independence, and refused, for a time, to settle with the British collector of the revenue, until decisive measures were adopted to punish the more obstinate and trouble-

some of the Canarese, who are chiefly Hindoos, and whose language, called the Malabar, differs from the Tamul.

The petty revolt of 1837 compelled Captain Le Hardy, the superintendent of Coorg, who had prepared to descend the Bissley Ghaut, with a battalion of infantry and 800 Coorgs, to withdraw to Mercara, and take shelter in the fortress there. On the first intimation of the rebellion, the Coorg chiefs offered fervent professions of loyalty to Britain, and marched to meet the foe in arms; but they wavered, and could not be relied on.* Eventually, the commotion, which might have proved a very troublesome one, was completely suppressed.

At this time, the Nizam's army was restricted to a strength of five regiments of cavalry, four companies of artillery, one of sappers, eight regiments of infantry, and one garrison, and one invalid battalion. The cavalry were armed with sword, spear, and pistols, and clad in green, with red turbans. The infantry conformed in every respect to those of Madras. Many king's and Company's officers were in the force, as all the patronage lay in the hands of the Governor-General.†

In the following year, the Indian Civil Service suffered a severe loss by the death of Sir Charles Grant, the Governor of Bombay, who died on the 9th of July, at Dapooree, and who was author of a "History of the East India Company, from its first foundation to the Passing of the Regulation Act of 1773," and had long borne a distinguished part in letters, politics, and in the affairs of India generally.‡

The north-western frontier of British India was bounded by the territories of the Sikhs—a people who occupied a country equal in size to about half the Spanish peninsula—comprising the greater part of Moultan, a portion of Delhi, and the whole of the Punjaub. The religion of the Sikhs, as distinguished from that of the natives of India generally, originated towards the close of the fifteenth century, with Baba Nanak, who had once been a trader, but who subsequently led a religious life; and their tenets are defined in the Holy Book, the "*Adi Grantha*," or Book of Origins, which was shown to the Prince of Wales at Umritsar, in February, 1876, and which the Indian Government undertook to publish, some time ago, at its own expense, in the form of a translation. It is a quarto volume of 300 pages, and was produced by a firm in Hertford.§

* *Englishman and Calcutta Chron.*, 1837.
† *E. I. U. S. Journal*, 1837.
‡ Anderson's "Scottish Biographical Dictionary," 1842.
§ *Homeward Mail*, Feb., 1876.

Their original seat was the upper part of the Punjaub, the possession of which had often been keenly contested between the Moguls and Afghans: hence the Sikhs were equally disliked by both, and the alternate change of masters brought them no relief. The resolution to extirpate them was often avowed openly; but the Sikhs ever fought with the courage that was born of despair, and amid the confusion that prevailed during the latter years of the Mogul empire, they began to gather strength and to figure as conquerors.

They were a confederacy, under separate chiefs, who, though independent of each other, met as equals when their common interest required it, in a diet at Umritsar (*i.e.*, the Pool of Immortality), in the centre of which is the temple dedicated to the Hindoo saint, Govind Sing, wherein is deposited the holy book already referred to, under a silken canopy. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the confederacy consisted of twelve *misals*, or associations, which extended from the Indus eastward, across the Sutlej, as far as the Jumna. Govind Sing did not fetter his disciples with political systems or codes of municipal law; yet in religious faith and worldly aspirations they are wholly different from other Indians, and they are bound together by a community of inward sentiment and of outward knowledge unknown elsewhere.*

While they felt that union was necessary for their mutual safety, they acted together with the utmost cordiality; but in proportion as external danger diminished, internal dissensions grew, and the feuds, engendered by the desire of individual aggrandisement, produced such confusion that the necessity for some political change became apparent to all. If independence was to be maintained, it could only be done by submitting, voluntarily or under compulsion, to the ascendency of some *misal* more powerful than the rest, and thus, by incorporation with it, form an undivided Sikh kingdom. This came to pass thus:—

Among the twelve associations, the last formed and least important was one named the Sookur-Chukea, whose capital was at Goojeranwala, northward of Lahore. Churut Sing, its founder, was a Jaut, who had thrown off his own faith and become a Sikh convert. Possessing himself of a small mud fort, he started in life as a freebooter, and made it the receptacle of his plunder. His dangerous proximity to Lahore, and the ravages he committed, compelled the Afghan governor of that city to march against him in 1762; but the expedition proved futile, as the other *misals* made common cause with Churut Sing, and the Afghan

* Capt. Cunningham's "Hist. of the Sikhs."

chief was glad to escape by a speedy flight, while abandoning his tents and baggage. Ahmed Shah, the famous King of Afghanistan, by hastening from Cabul, won a pitched battle over the Sikhs whose losses amounted to 12,000 men.

As he had to return to Cabul to meet more pressing dangers, the Sikhs again took the field, at the head of the most powerful army they had ever mustered, and extended their conquests on every side, and Churut Sing was soon recognised as one of their most able leaders. When no longer required for foreign enterprises, he was ready to take part in a domestic strife between the mountain Rajah of Jumoo and his eldest son, Brij-Raj. The rajah wished that a younger son should have the succession; thus the elder, as the most effectual method of preserving his rights, resolved to seize them in his father's lifetime. To aid him, Churut Sing drew his sword, in league with Jye Sing, chief of the Ghunea Misal, and, with 10,500 men, they marched northward to commence the strife.

On the other hand, the Rajah of Jumoo had not been idle. Several hill-chiefs joined him, together with Jhunda Sing, head of the Bhangee Misal, who could bring 10,000 mounted lances into action. This was in 1774. Before any battle took place, Churut Sing was slain by the bursting of his match-lock in a skirmish; on this, the allies of Brij-Raj retired, but not before they had assassinated, in a barbarous manner, Jhunda Sing; and the Bhangee Misal, deprived thus of their leader, abandoned the contest.

Churut was succeeded by his son, Maha Sing, who in after years captured Ramnuggur; after which, many chiefs who were attached to the Bhangee Misal, believing its fortunes on the decline, placed themselves under his banner; thus a new career of conquest began; and he pillaged the Rajah of Jumoo's territory so completely that he swept it of booty to the value of £2,000,000 sterling. By the close of the century Maha Sing's ascendency over the Sikh chiefs had become an established fact; but his ambition was not yet satisfied. He made a groundless pretext that tribute was due to him from Goojerat, the chief of which, Sahib Sing, had married his sister, and marching against him, laid siege to one of his strongest forts, and was pressing it, with every prospect of success, when an illness carried him off in 1792, leaving the succession to his only son, the famous Runjeet Sing, then in his twelfth year.

When an infant, he had been deprived of his left eye by small-pox, and, instead of being trained in boyhood to government, he was left in ignorance. His selfish mother, anxious to keep the regency in her own hands, shared her power and her favours with the chief minister, and, to retain the former, indulged young Runjeet in every form of profligacy; but, on attaining the age of seventeen, he assumed the government, and quietly put both his mother and her minister to death. It was soon after this that Zemaun Shah, the Afghan, made the invasion of the Punjaub which excited such alarm in India. Unable to meet him in the open field, Runjeet was one of the chiefs who consulted their own safety by retiring beyond the Sutlej, but after the retreat of Zemaun Shah, the future career of Runjeet was a brilliant one. He made himself master of the city of Lahore; he seized Kussoor, and made an attempt upon Moultan; in 1807 he crossed the Sutlej, and began to wrest territory from the Sikh chiefs between it and the Jumna, when our interference checked him. He next directed his whole energies towards seizing all the Punjaub, and pushed his arms as far as he could to the north and west. In 1809 he got possession of Kangra, and, marching to the opposite extremity, laid Moultan under tribute. In 1812 he conquered the rajahships of Bhunbar and Rajaori among the northern hills, and, for a lac of rupees, in 1814, he bought the great fortress of Attock, upon the Indus.

In 1819 he conquered Cashmere and Peshawur. In 1834 he entered into a treaty with Shah Sujah, whereby the latter gave up all claim to the latter district and others on the Indus. During all this time he had been rapidly improving the discipline of his army by means of European officers. The downfall of Bonaparte had given peace in Europe, and drove many Frenchmen and Italians, as military adventurers, into the armies of Persia and India. Among these were M. Ventura, one of the aides-de-camp of Murat, and General Allard, who ultimately was accredited the *chargé d'affaires* of the King of France to Runjeet Sing, and from whom he brought presents to the Begum Sumroo, then in her ninety-fifth year. He displayed the most dashing bravery near Attock, where, on one occasion, he forded the Indus, at the head of 3,000 lancers, in close columns of troops, to stem the fearful force of the current, which, however, swept two away; and on reaching the opposite shore, he attacked and routed the Afghans, capturing their camp equipage and guns. Runjeet attempted to follow him with his other cavalry, but so loose was their order, that 700 were swept away and drowned.*

The King of Lahore was in the zenith of his fame and power when Lord Auckland arrived in India, soon after which the latter took into his entire con-

* *Madras Lit. Gazette*, 1835.

fidence Captain Alexander Burnes, and some other stirring young officers of the Indian army, who were burning to distinguish themselves as soldiers and diplomatists: especially at this time, when it was believed that our Eastern empire was threatened alike by Russian intrigues and by Persian and Afghan arms.

The leading and most melancholy feature in the administration of Lord Auckland is the Afghan war, the origin of which began in the summer of 1837, and the closing catastrophe of which occurred in the beginning of 1841; but to form any proper idea of this disastrous affair, it will be necessary to glance briefly at the events which led to it.

The exiled monarch of Cabul, Shah Sujah, while a British pensioner at Loodiana, made a second effort to regain his crown in 1833. After defeating the Ameers of Scinde at Shikarpore, he was defeated in turn by Dost Mohammed, after which he took possession of Peshawur. About this time, a wild robber horde on the right bank of the Indus had made repeated raids into the district of Hazara, which Runjeet Sing had subjugated, and as they were supposed to be instigated by the Ameers, the army of the Punjaub took possession of their forts, and both parties stood ready for a strife which would have ended in the overthrow of the Ameers and the extension of Runjeet's authority throughout the course of the Indus to the sea; and this the Government of India resolved, if possible, to prevent. It was with no small difficulty that Colonel Pottinger prevented the warlike Ameers from rushing to battle; while Captain Wade, our representative at the Court of Lahore, had to impress upon the impatient Runjeet Sing the hazard he would incur if he adopted measures distasteful to Britain. On the other hand, he was importuned by his warlike courtiers and gallant soldiers to risk all, and push on to the sea-shore; "but he shook his venerable beard, and asked where were now the 200,000 Mahratta swords which had once bade defiance to the Company. He bowed to the majesty of British power, and at once relinquished the expedition to Scinde." *

Deeply in the breast of Dost Mohammed of Cabul rankled the loss of Peshawur; and assuming the character of a ghazee, he proclaimed a holy war against the Sikhs as infidels, and then from the snow-clad slopes of the Hindoo Coosh, from the wilds of Turkestan, and the farthest recesses of the Indian mountains, thousands in arms came pouring forth to join the green standard of the Prophet. Even the bold spirit of old Runjeet quailed before this host of bloodthirsty fanatics; and, while constrained to march in defence of Peshawur, he sent Mr. Harland, an American adventurer, on a pretended mission to Dost Mohammed, with secret instructions to sow, if possible, dissension in his camp.

In this he succeeded so far, by exciting the jealousy of the brothers of the Dost at his growing power, that one drew off abruptly, with 10,000 men. On this, the Dost, full of doubt and chagrin, fell back on Cabul. As soon as he heard of Lord Auckland's arrival at Calcutta in 1836, he sent him a complimentary letter, and with reference to his hostile relations with Runjeet Sing, asking his lordship's suggestions for settling "the affairs of the country." Lord Auckland's reply was courteous and friendly; he offered to send an envoy to discuss any questions of trade; but with regard to the Sikh quarrel, he added, that the Government, as a system, did not interfere with independent princes.

The Dost, therefore, early in 1837, applied to the Shah of Persia for aid against the infidel Sikhs; but in his impatience to efface the disgrace that had been put upon him, without waiting for Persian succour, he sent his son, Ackbar Khan, with an army, into Peshawur, where he routed the Sikhs in battle; then reinforcements came pouring in from the Punjaub, and Ackbar was compelled to retreat to Cabul; and it was at this most critical juncture that Captain Alexander Burnes, an enterprising native of Montrose, made his appearance as Lord Auckland's envoy, to discourse concerning trade and manufactures, and at a time when the Russians were making undoubted progress in the East.

"Like the Romans," says Marshman, "they have systematically devoted their energies to the extension of their power and dominions, and for more than a quarter of a century have prosecuted schemes of aggrandisement in Europe and Asia, without intermission or failure. After having succeeded in bringing the Khirgis Cossacks to subordination, they took up their position on the Jaxartes in 1830, and gradually advanced with a steady pace, fixing their grasp on Central Asia more firmly at every step. On that river they erected a chain of forts, extending from its estuary in Lake Ural to Fort Vernoe, 700 miles distant. Meanwhile, the ambitious diplomatists of Russia had been pushing her influence in Persia, and through Persia up to Afghanistan. On the death of the king, Futteh Ali, who had always been favourable to a British alliance, he was succeeded by his grandson, Mohammed Shah, who threw himself into the arms of Russia. Since the first mission of Captain Malcolm, the British Government had expended

* Marshman's "Hist. of India."

more than a crore of rupees in embassies and subsidies to Persia, in order to acquire a predominant influence at the court, which might serve as a bulwark to the empire of India. The Ministry had now the mortification of finding this labour and expenditure thrown away, and the British influence at Teheran completely superseded by that of Russia."

The Persian rulers had long coveted possession of the independent State of Herat, the key of Western Afghanistan, and Mohammed Shah resolved on making an expedition among its mountains and desert tracts. Mr. McNeill, our minister at the Persian Court, asserted that this expedition was more than justified by the atrocities of its ruler; but that, in the then state of political relations between the Persians and Russians, the march of the former into Afghanistan would be tantamount to an advance of the latter to the very threshold of our Indian empire. To dissuade the Shah from this expedition, McNeill used every argument; while the Russian minister, on the other hand, urged him to proceed, and promised him every requisite aid. "The Ministry in London presented a remonstrance on the subject at St. Petersburg, and the emperor replied that Count Simonich, his envoy, had exceeded his instructions, but he was not recalled; and his proceedings were so completely in accordance with the national feeling, that the *Moscow Gazette* threatened that the next treaty with Britain should be dictated in Calcutta!" *

In July, 1837, Mohammed Shah set out, at the head of 50,000 men, with fifty guns, and hoped to take the route that Nadir Shah had taken, even to the gates of Delhi—a movement which created a profound sensation through all Central Asia and in India, where the native princes at once began to speculate on the downfall of British power and the triumph of the Russians over us at the court of Persia. In the Deccan, the people began to bury their money and jewels, and all kinds of alarming rumours and reports were heard on every hand. It was about this time that Lord Auckland visited Simla, when the north-western provinces were desolated by a famine, which swept away 500,000 souls, and, as his camp of 20,000 troops served to aggravate the calamity, he returned to Calcutta. The Cabinet seeing, in every direction, how the restless and ambitious spirit of Russia was directed against the security of our Indian empire, instructed the Governor-General to adopt vigorous measures for its protection, while McNeill, our Persian minister, strongly advised that we should create a barrier in Afghanistan, by subsidising and strengthening Dost Mohammed; but, as every mission in the East is measured in accordance with the value of the gifts it brings—when, amid these fierce commotions, Captain Burnes "opened his treasury, consisting of a pistol and telescope for the Dost, and some pins and needles for the Zenana—he and his embassy sunk at once into contempt."

The brothers of the Dost, who were the rulers of Candahar, were arranging an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Shah, whose ambassadors brought princely robes and presents for the Dost. The latter assured Captain Burnes that the subject nearest his heart was the recovery of Peshawur, and that if he could but hope for solid aid from Britain, he would renounce all intercourse with Persia, and send her envoy back from Candahar; but Lord Auckland had a timid dread of offending the formidable Runjeet Sing, and declined to hear anything about Peshawur. Yet the latter had offered to restore it if the Dost would pay tribute for it; and he was prepared to do so, and hold it as a fief of Lahore; but there can be little doubt that if the Council at Simla had met the question properly, and intrusted the settlement of it to the able Captain Burnes at Cabul, and to Captain Wade at Lahore, the horrors of the Afghan war had never been heard of.

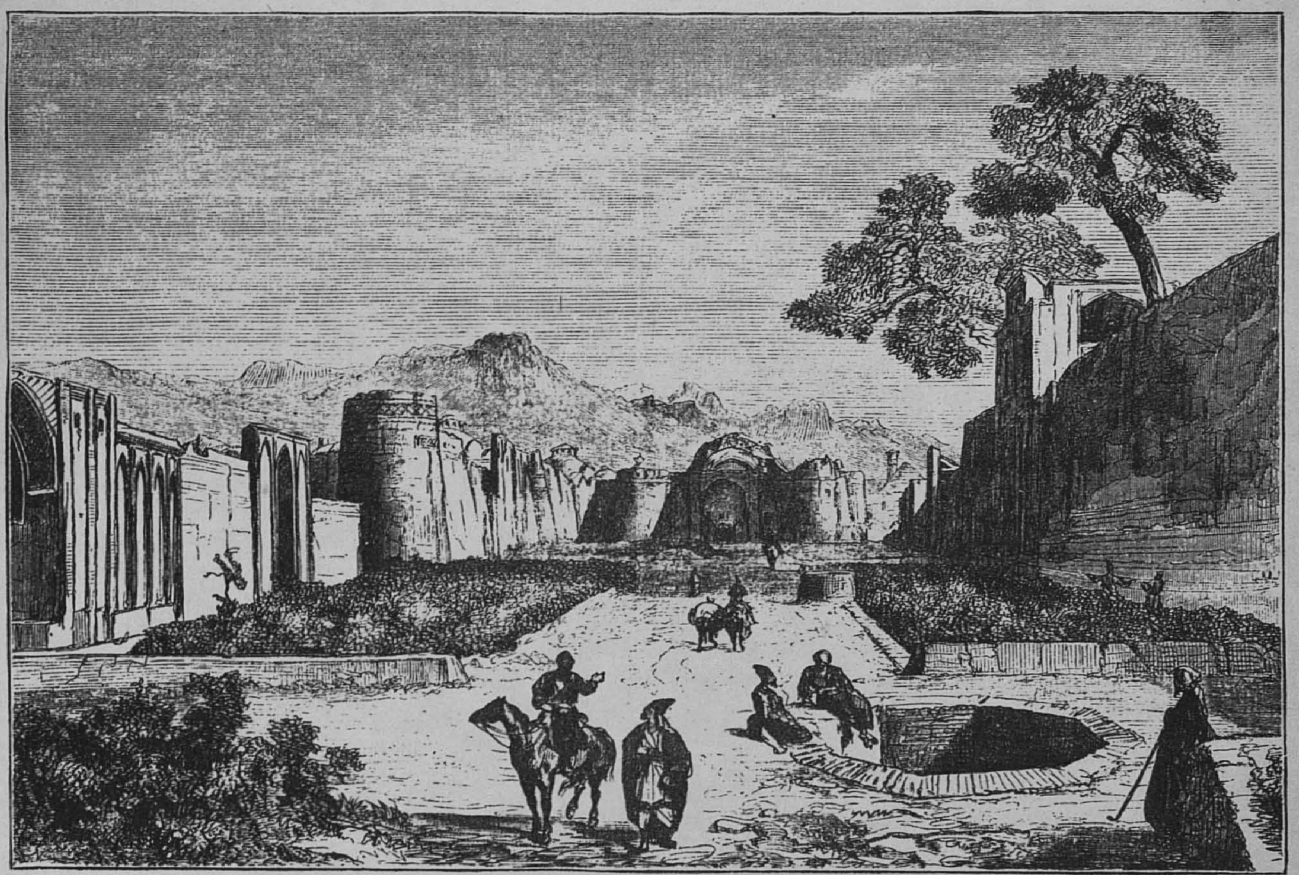
Dost Mohammed, after the receipt of Lord Auckland's unfavourable letter in 1836, sent an envoy to solicit aid against the Sikhs from the Emperor of Russia, who dispatched Captain Vikevitch to Cabul, with rich presents and an autograph letter, concerning the genuineness of which some doubts have been expressed. He entered Cabul on the 19th of December, 1837; and the Dost immediately visited Captain Burnes, and assured him that he desired no connection with any government save ours, and was ready to dismiss the envoy of Russia, without ceremony, if any hope was held out to him by Lord Auckland.

Captain Burnes urged on the latter the necessity for immediate action; but his lordship, still inspired by the morbid fear of offending Runjeet, replied, that the Dost must be content with whatever arrangement the King of Lahore might make, and waive all hope of having Peshawur. Eventually, after much correspondence, the Cabinet at Simla persuaded the Governor-General to write Dost Mohammed a letter that "was not only supercilious, but arrogant; every sentence in it was calculated to kindle a flame in the breast of the Afghan nobility, and the mission of Captain Burnes became hopeless."

Still the Dost did not despair, and wrote again

* Marshman's "Hist. of India."

and again; but Lord Auckland turned a deaf ear to every overture, and continued to require that he should ignore the tempting alliances offered him by Russia and Persia, while he proffered nothing in return to preclude the further encroachments of the Sikhs. It was perfectly well known at Simla that Runjeet Sing had no more idea of marching to Cabul than to Calcutta; but when the last ray of hope from British India vanished, the Russian envoy was conducted through the city to the durbar amid every pomp, and Captain Burnes returned, crest-fallen, to Simla. There he found a strong feeling against the Dost in the advisers of Lord Auckland, who, most absurdly, were exasperated to find that an independent prince, whose mountains were the key and the gate of India, hesitated to accept their vague or negative offers, or the more solid ones of their opponents; and now it was resolved to march across the Indus and depose him, and to reinstate Shah Sujah, the pensioner of Loodiana, on the throne.



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It was at first proposed to supply funds for the maintenance of his troops and officers to discipline them; but it soon became evident that, unless we engaged in the war as principals, and not as allies, the whole affair would end ingloriously. It was, therefore, resolved to send an army into these unexplored regions of Central Asia, where all the commissariat provisions, stores, and other munition of war would have to be taken through the states of doubtful allies, by long and perilous mountain passes, beset by hordes of wild and lawless plunderers, for the purpose of compelling the Persian king to raise the siege of Herat, to drive Dost Mohammed from Cabul, and place Shah Sujah on the throne of Afghanistan.

With the hope of achieving all this, a tripartite treaty was negociated and concluded by Mr. Macnaghten between the Indian Government, Shah Sujah, and the King of Lahore, who engaged to contribute the aid of a body of troops, on the condition that Shah Sujah should recognise his right to all those districts which his sword had won beyond the Indus, and share with him in common

all the treasure he might be able to wrench from the Ameers of Scinde.

It would seem, eventually, that, with the exception of the Ministers at Downing Street and the officials at Simla, this wild, disastrous, and preposterous affair in Afghanistan was universally condemned.*

Mr. Elphinstone stated, that "if 27,000 men could be sent through the Bolan Pass to Candahar, and we could feed them, we might take Cabul and set up Shah Sujah; but it was hopeless to maintain him in a poor, cold, strong, and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Afghans."

Lord Wellesley regarded "this wild expedition, 800 miles from our frontier and resources, into one of the most difficult countries of the world—a land of rocks and deserts, of sands and snow—as an act of infatuation;" and the Duke of Wellington also condemned it. In a manifesto issued from Simla on the 1st of October, 1838, an attempt was made to justify the expedition. This, says Marshman, with truth, is "one of the most remarkable documents in the Company's archives, unique for its unscrupulous misstatements and its audacious assertions. A single instance will suffice to stamp its character: it affirmed that the orders for assembling the army were issued in concurrence with the Supreme Council; whereas the Council, when required to place the proclamation on record, remonstrated on the consummation of a policy of such grave importance without their having had any opportunity of expressing their opinion on it."

To succour the besieged garrison of Herat was said to be the immediate object of the expedition. As the only route by which any army could approach India, the province of Herat had long been an acquisition ardently desired by the kings of Persia, who knew that it was also the key to Afghanistan on the west, as Cabul is on the east. On the 23rd of November, 1837, the Shah sat down before the capital, the walls of which were in ruins; and its long defence of nine months was simply owing to the exertions of one man, and that man was a British officer of the Bombay artillery—Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger.

While making some researches in Central Asia, he had entered the city of Herat disguised as a *Syud*, or descendant of the Prophet, and resolved to take part in the coming struggle. His services were readily accepted by the rulers of Herat, who recognised his genius, and gave him the direction of all the operations. He inspired the garrison with his own invincible courage, and for nine months the efforts of the Persians were baffled, though assisted by a regiment of Russians, called deserters, to save appearances. The 24th of June, 1838, was fixed for a general assault, and the works were attacked, under the personal direction of the Russian minister, Count Simonich, and his engineer officers, at five different points. At four of these the stormers were signally repulsed; but at the fifth a practicable breach was made in the walls, and the courage of the defenders began to fail. Yar Mohammed withdrew from the carnage; but the gallant Pottinger, by main strength of arm, dragged him back to the corpse-encumbered breach, and urged the defence with such irresistible valour and fury, that the Persians, when on the point of gaining Herat, fled, leaving 1,700 killed and wounded behind them.

The siege then became a blockade, during which the Indian Government sent two steamers to occupy the isle of Karrack. Rumour magnified them into a powerful squadron, and consternation was excited in the Persian camp. Mr. McNeill took advantage of this, and sent the unfortunate Colonel Stoddart to the Persians, to assure them that they would bring on the hostility of the British Government, which had already sent a squadron to the Persian Gulf. The Shah, on this message from Mr. McNeill,* broke up his camp and retired, after the loss of half his army and treasure; and so ended an expedition which had excited for many months the whole population of Central Asia; and so the grand projects of Persia and Russia ended in smoke.

Yet the proposed expedition of the British Government was prosecuted with vigour. Of the reasons assigned for it one was, that the treaty with Runjeet Sing and Shah Sujah bound us in honour to proceed with it; yet, in the convention with the former, there was no allusion made to the march of a British army across the Indus, and the exiled monarch of Cabul was most anxious to avoid the unpopularity he was certain to excite if he was restored by the arms of infidels.

* Marshman's "India."

* Mr. McNeill was afterwards celebrated as the Right Hon. Sir John McNeill, Knight of the Bath, and of the Lion and the Sun, and was, long after, one of the Sanitary Commission in the Crimea in 1855. He was the third son of McNeill of Colonsay; and when in Persia, his *attaché*, the youngest son of Sir Walter Scott, died at Teheran, in 1841.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.—COERCION AND UNJUST TREATMENT OF THE AMEERS OF SCINDE.

It was at Ferozèpore that the great force known as the Army of the Indus assembled, in November, 1838, and where there ensued a meeting between the Governor-General and the old Lion of Lahore, then tottering on the verge of the grave, "but still exhibiting in his countenance the calmness of design, while his single eye was lighted up with the fire of enterprise."

Many showy pageants, gay doings, and much of mimic warfare were enacted as the troops from every quarter came pouring into their camps on the north and westward of Ferozepore. These extended over seven days. At dawn on the first day (the 29th of November), the guard of honour, consisting of a squadron of H.M. 16th Lancers, the 4th Cavalry, a camel battery of artillery, H.M. 3rd Buffs, and four battalions of sepoys, with other troops, formed a street for the reception of Runjeet Sing, who had 20,000 men in his camp, from whence he came between two lines of elephants, preceded by his bandsmen, loading the air with indescribable music. He was clothed in a turban, tunic, and trousers, all of red, without a single ornament; but around him were the Sikh chieftains, resplendent in cloth of gold, with every variety of picturesque costume, and armed with spears, shields, sabres, and lighted matchlocks; and he was presented with a portrait of Queen Victoria by General Sir Willoughby Cotton, while the camel battery fired a royal salute. On the second day there was a review, which one who was present has described as being the acme of military splendour. On the fifth day the grand review took place, amid clouds of dust and smoke.

"Crowds of Sikhs," wrote an officer, "invariably accompany Runjeet Sing and his deputations whenever they cross the river, and much amusement is excited by their bearing towards the British officers. There is a strange mixture of frank courtesy, curiosity, and dislike in their demeanour. They enter freely into conversation with those who accost them, and are at all times very communicative. But they cannot abide our beardless chins; they hold in great contempt our short-tailed horses; and our ladies are regarded as unaccountable pieces of humanity. Distrust of the British also seems to characterise most of their proceedings. They light their matches when they approach our Durbar, and wherever the Maharajah moves they cluster round him, as if Lord Auckland would take an early opportunity of seizing his person or cutting his jugular. . . . . Their costume embraces silks of all colours of the rainbow—orange, crimson, and green. The turban, neither too large nor too small, is generally yellow or crimson, surmounted by a small tuft of feathers. I have not seen so much armour as I expected. Excepting the steel and brass casques of the cavalry, and a few coats of mail and cuirass-plates, there is nothing of the olden time to be found in the costume. Dian Sing, the prime minister, is, perhaps, the most attractive man at court, and he merely wears an elegant French cuirass and steel gauntlets." *

On the 10th of December the Bengal column began its march from Ferozepore, 9,500 strong, with 38,000 camp-followers, and 30,000 camels. It is no unusual thing for subalterns to have six of the latter to carry their baggage, says Captain Neill, and when such is the case, and other ranks travel in a proportionate degree of grandeur, it is easy to conceive what an unwieldy mass the baggage of an Indian army becomes, and, as a natural result, how much the duties and anxieties of a rear-guard are increased.†

The force raised for Shah Sujah, and called his army, though commanded by Company's officers, and paid by the Company's treasury, mustered 6,000 men. The Bombay troops, under Sir John Keane, numbered 5,600, and the whole force amounted to 21,000 men. Mr. Macnaghten was the political agent, and was styled the envoy. The direct route to Cabul lay through the Punjaub, but Runjeet Sing, though our ally, declined to grant the army a passage through his dominions, and thus it became necessary to take a circuitous route of 1,000 miles down the Indus, and then across it up to Candahar and Cabul.

The army was formed in two divisions: Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, G.C.B., K.C.H. was to command the first, and Major-General Duncan the second. The divisions comprised respectively the following regiments, brigaded under the officers whose names are given :—

First division of infantry, three brigades. First Brigade: Colonel Sale, C.C., H.M. 13th Light Infantry, 16th and 48th Native Infantry. Second

* "Army of the Indus;" *E. I. U.S. Journal*, 1839.

† "Four Years' Service with H.M. 40th Reg."

Brigade: Colonel Nott, 32nd, 42nd, and 43rd Native Infantry. Third Brigade, Colonel Dennis, H.M. 3rd Buffs, 2nd and 27th Native Infantry, and one company of sappers.

Second division of infantry:—Fourth Brigade: Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, Bengal Europeans, 35th and 37th Native Infantry. Fifth Brigade: Lieutenant-Colonel Worsley, 5th, 28th, and 53rd Native Infantry, with one company of sappers.

The cavalry brigade, under Colonel Arnold of H.M. 16th Lancers, consisted of that regiment and two of native horse. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham commanded the artillery, which consisted of two brigades of horse, and three companies of foot artillery.

The Bombay force, under Sir John Keane, consisted of two brigades, under Colonels Wiltshire and Gordon. With the former were H.M. 2nd and 17th Regiments, with the 19th Native Infantry; and with the latter were three battalions of sepoys. The cavalry with this column consisted of two squadrons of H.M. 4th Light Dragoons, and the 1st Light Cavalry. Both corps had bodies of irregular horse.

The plan of the campaign had arranged that, while the Bombay column, proceeding by sea to the mouth of the Indus, should then disembark and operate upwards towards Bukkur, and from thence pass over the level plains of Beloochistan and the Bolan Pass upon Candahar, the Bengal force should concentrate at some convenient point near the frontier of the Punjaub, from whence it might move upon Peshawur, and, penetrating the hills of the Khyberees, proceed by Jelalabad and the valley of Tizeen to Cabul. Both columns were led to expect great difficulties; it was known that the roads were little better than foot-tracks; that the tribes inhabiting the mountains were fierce and hostile; but, the friendship of Runjeet Sing being secured, and that of the Ameers of Scinde taken for granted, the possibility of a repulse or disaster was never for a moment contemplated.*

On the 27th of December, 1838, the army arrived at Bhawulpore, on the confines of the great Indian desert, the inhabitants of which are Jauts, wild Beloochees, and Afghans. The weather was cold, but clear and healthy, the country open as yet, and the supplies abundant. "These were the halcyon days of the movements of this force," says Sir Henry Havelock, who was then a captain in the Bengal force, which he describes as being animated by high military ardour. This was sorely tested by the constant desertions among the camp-followers, who carried off the hired camels and left the officers without the means of transport. For much of this, it has been said, themselves alone were to blame, as most of them had too many camels, too much baggage, and tents that were too large. The consequence was that even in the most pleasant and convenient parts of the route, forage became so scarce that the condition of the animals was greatly impaired, and their deaths became of almost hourly occurrence. Many traders who had hired out their camels took the alarm, and as the most effectual means of avoiding danger, resolved not to face it. Their vicinity to the Great Desert rendered desertion easy, and the utmost vigilance of the cavalry patrols failed to prevent it. Hence, before six days' marches were accomplished, much of the private baggage, the bedding and camp equipage, had been stolen, lost, or abandoned.

Our faithful ally, the Khan of Bhawulpore, did all in his power on this occasion to provide for the comfort of our troops; but his means were very inadequate to his wishes, "and some complaints were made against him unreasonably, for not obviating or mitigating evils which, under the circumstances, were absolutely inevitable." Shah Sujah's contingent kept three days' march ahead of our advanced guard.

On the 1st of January the army marched again, and prepared to enter the territories of the Ameers of Scinde. Great was the alarm of the latter, and deep their anxiety to avoid the fulfilment of any treaty with us. Long, and by various methods did they endeavour to protract the surrender of Bukkur, a stronghold upon a rock in the middle of the Indus, which, as forming a convenient place of arms, the general commanding was directed to occupy. But they yielded at length, and, with country boats, and planks mostly sawn from the date-trees that grew near, the mighty Indus was bridged.

The tides in this river present many peculiarities. They ebb and flow with great violence, particularly near the sea, where the country is frequently covered with water so deep that, should a vessel cast anchor in some places, she would run the risk of being left high and dry when the tide—at times nine feet in height—subsided. Hence the low lands at the mouth of the Indus present a most dreary appearance. Not a single tree is to be seen in the desert waste, overgrown with brushwood and jungle.*

When the invading army fixed upon Bukkur as the point at which the great river of Scinde was to be crossed, the Ameers were not consulted, neither

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

* *United Service Magazine*, 1856.

was their consent obtained. But Sir Alexander Burnes knew the tone to adopt with them, and they were simply told that "the Scindian who hoped to stop the approach of the British army might as well seek to dam up the Indus at Bukkur." The Ameers, as we have said, gave way, but stipulated that the forts on either bank of the river were to remain untouched. This was agreed to; but the great fort of Bukkur, on its rocky island in the Indus, guarding numerous tombs and shrines—the Mansurah of Arabian geographers,*—was it included in this stipulation? Distinctly it was not, though the object of Sir Alexander was to obtain, for the British, the use of it during the war; and Meer Roostum, the chief Ameer, finding resistance futile, allowed the cession to be added to the treaty in a separate article, concealing that unpalatable fact, in the meantime, from the other Ameers. When it was sent to him for ratification the aspect of the added article, to which he had always avowed repugnance, filled him with fresh disquietude.

"Bukkur," he exclaimed, "is the heart of my country. My honour is centred in keeping it; my family and children will have no confidence in me if it is given up."

He then offered another fort in its stead, or to give security that the British treasure and munition of war would be protected. These offers were declined; so the old man had to give his signature while other Ameers looked darkly and grimly on. "What more can I do now," he asked, in bitter irony, "to prove the sincerity of my friendship for your British Government?" "Give us orders for supplies, and place all the country, so far as you can, at our command!" replied the resolute Burnes. "After such a transaction," says Beveridge, "both parties must have been aware that, though the name of friendship might be used, nothing but hostility could be meant, and that the rulers of Scinde would to a certainty avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity of revenge."

Notwithstanding their religious prejudices, the sepoys in force crossed the Indus without hesitation, and planted the British flag upon its right bank; but then the most serious disasters of the army began, and the difficulties of the Bombay column were great.

Continuing their route south-westward, these troops arrived, on the 14th of January, at Subzulcote, at no great distance from the left bank of the river, and the first place that lies immediately beyond the frontier of Scinde. Then tidings came which caused an alteration in the preconcerted plan of operations. Sir John Keane, who had reached the coast of Scinde with his troops in the end of November, 1838, was not permitted to land without opposition, and with the utmost toil and trouble, made his way to Tatta, a town about four miles in circumference, situated on a sandy and barren delta of the Indus, but which, however, produces rice and salt; and there he was obliged to halt. He was without proper means of transport, and the Ameers, on whose friendly aid he had been compelled to calculate, were intent only on obstructing him by all the means in their power. A limited supply of commissariat aid from Cutch enabled him to push on to the left bank of the river Jurruck, twenty miles south-westward of Hyderabad, and there he was obliged to halt again.

The Ameers of Hyderabad had given no consent to his passage through their country; this was an event that might well have been looked for, but no provision had been made for it, and all that could be done now was to remedy the blunder. By this time the Bengal column, as related, was at Bukkur, and Shah Sujah, with his own troops, had already crossed the Indus and joined Mr. Macnaghten and his suite at Shikarpore. Both the exiled prince and the envoy were bent on reaching the scene of active operations; but Sir Henry Fane, who—with the intention of sailing down the river, and taking ship for Europe, being in ill-health—was still accompanying the army as commander-in-chief, was of opinion that, to influence the Ameers, and give strength to Sir John Keane, the greater portion of the army, instead of crossing the river, should march down towards Hyderabad under Sir Willoughby Cotton.

This change was at once put in execution, and its propriety was soon confirmed by the urgent application of Sir John Keane for some horse artillery, cavalry, and a brigade of infantry. This march down the river's bank was hailed with joy by the troops, who considered that the siege and capture of Hyderabad would be a glorious preface to the campaign, while the enormous treasures which were said to be stored up there would give something more substantial than glory. But the reader must not confound Hyderabad of the Ameers with the city of the same name in Golconda. It is situated on a rock washed by a branch of the Indus, defended by walls and towers, and its inhabitants—about 5,000 in number—are famous for the manufacture of matchlocks, swords, shields, cottons, and ornamental silks. This downward movement, of which Mr. Macnaghten did not approve, brought the main business of the cam-

* Masson.

paign to a stand-still; but eventually the Ameers of Hyderabad were thoroughly intimidated by the military demonstration, and yielded as their brothers had done elsewhere: a result which seems to have disappointed the troops, who were anxious to storm the city, in which were gold and jewels to the value of eight millions sterling. "In a moment all our visions of glory and booty were dispelled," says Havelock, then a captain in the 13th Regiment; "it was announced to us that the Ameers were at length brought to a sense of their impending danger, and compelled to comprehend that as a few days would, according to every calculation of human prudence, deprive them at once of their independence, their capital, and the accumulated treasures of years, they had acceded to all the conditions of the treaty laid before them by Colonel Pottinger. . . . . Vainly repining, therefore, at the change in events which had given this small sum (ten lacs) to the state, instead of eight crores to the army, its officers and men, with light purses and heavy hearts, turned their backs upon Hyderabad, from which they had hoped never to recede until they had made its treasures their own, and put to a stern proof that Beloochee valour which had so loudly vaunted its power to arrest their further progress, and fix on the bank of the Indus the war which they had set out to carry into the heart of Afghanistan."*

The pressure put on the luckless Ameers must have been somewhat severe. The suspicion they had of what they openly called our "grasping policy," seemed confirmed now, when it was proposed that they should agree to receive a permanent subsidiary force, while a fourth article to the tripartite treaty was added in the following terms:—

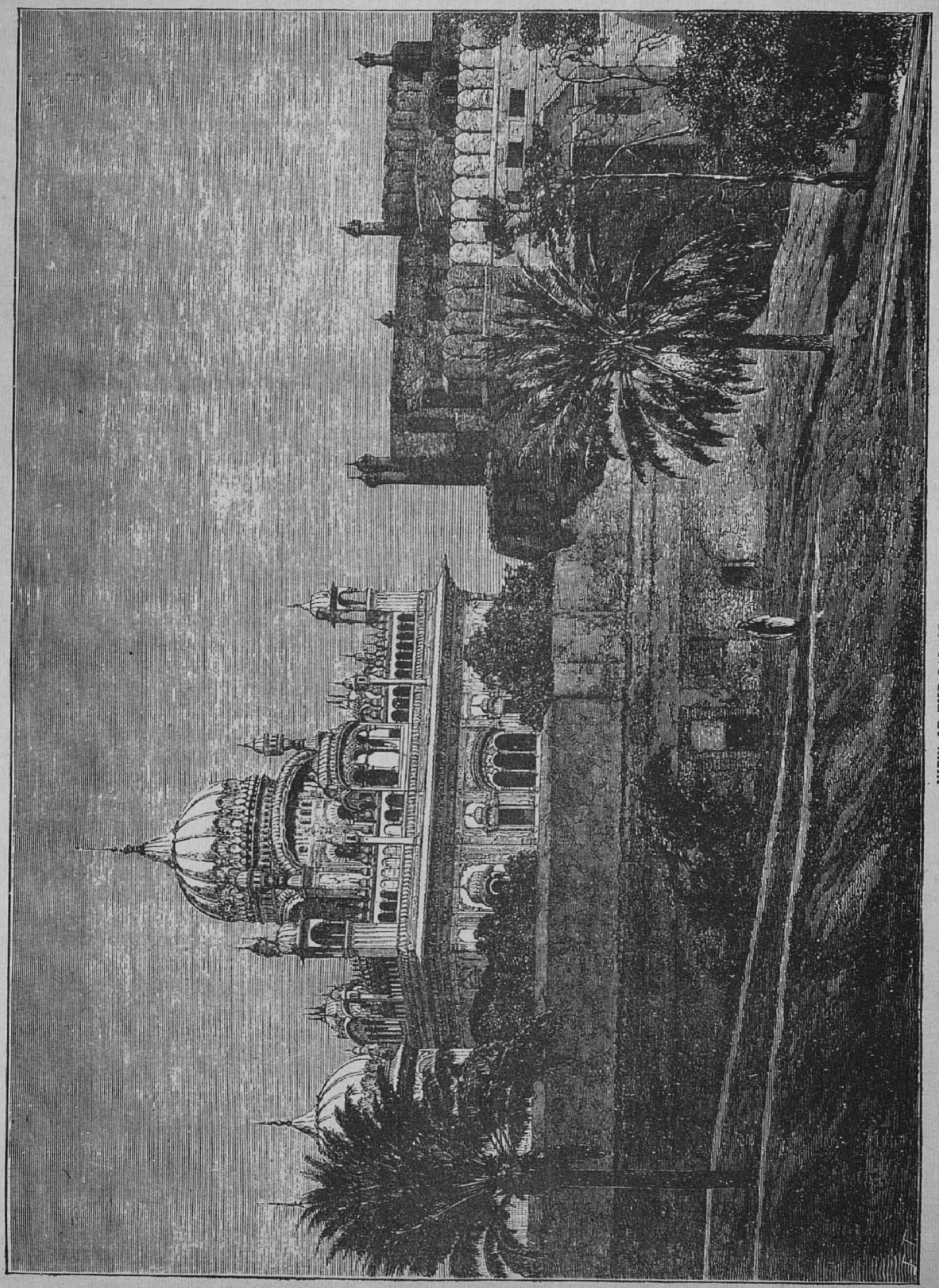
"Regarding Shikarpore, and the territory of Scinde lying on the right bank of the Indus, the shah will agree to abide by whatever may be settled as right and proper, in conformity with the happy relations subsisting between the British Government and the Maharajah (Runjeet Sing), through Captain Wade." This treaty was concluded on the 26th of June, 1838, and on that day month, the political secretary of the Government sent a long letter to our Resident, enclosing a copy of the treaty and other documents, from which he was to make the Ameers understand British intentions and motives, and telling him that the Governor-General had not made up his mind as to the amount which the Ameers might be fairly called upon to pay, but that the minimum would be about twenty lacs of rupees, or £200,000. His lordship added, that he would endeavour to prevail on Shah Sujah to reduce his claim on the Ameers to a reasonable amount, securing them the undisturbed possession of the territories they then held, with an immunity from all future claims on account of the pecuniary sacrifices.

This was simply extortion, in return for which, however, by the 16th article of the tripartite treaty, Shah Sujah agreed "to relinquish for himself and his heirs and successors, all claims of supremacy and arrears of tribute over the country now held by the Ameers of Scinde, on condition of payment to him, by the Ameers, of such a sum as may be determined under the mediation of the British Government, fifteen lacs of rupees of such payment being made over by him to Maharajah Runjeet Sing."

Thus the wily old Lion of Lahore contrived to secure the chief share of the money about to be so wantonly extorted by our mediation and revival of a long obsolete claim; but the rage of the warlike Ameers on hearing of the scheme for fleecing them, threatened seriously to upset all the plans of the Governor-General, and eventually the storm was arrested by a treaty with them early in the following year, and the advantages of it are thus summed up by Lord Auckland in a letter to the Secret Committee:—

"The main provisions of the proposed engagements are, that the confederacy of the Ameers is virtually dissolved, each chief being held in his own possessions, and bound to refer his differences with the other chiefs to our arbitration; that Scinde is placed formally under British protection, and brought within the circle of our Indian relations; that a British force is to be fixed in Lower Scinde, at Tatta, or such other point westward of the Indus, as the British Government may determine, a sum of three lacs of rupees per annum, in aid of the cost of this force, being paid in equal proportions by the three Ameers, Meer Noor Mohammed Khan, Meer Nusseer Mohammed Khan, and Mea Meer Mohammed Khan, and that the navigation of the Indus, from the sea to the most northern part of the Scinde territory, is rendered free of all toll. These objects are of high undoubted value, and especially so when acquired without bloodshed, as the first advance to that consolidation of our influence, and extension of the general benefits of commerce throughout Afghanistan, which form the great end of our designs. It cannot be doubted that the complete submission of the Ameers will go far towards diffusing in all quarters an impression of the futility of resistance to our arms. The

* "Narrative of the Campaign in Afghanistan." By Captain H. Havelock.



VIEW OF THE PALACE OF LAHORE.

command of the navigation of the Indus, up to the neighbourhood of the junction of the five rivers, will, by means of steam-vessels, add incalculably to the value of our frontier, and the free transit of its waters, at a time when a considerable demand for merchandise of many kinds will be created by the mere onward movement of our forces, will give a spur to enterprise by this route, from which it may be hoped that permanent advantages will be derived."

The treaty referred to was signed by the Ameers on the 5th of February, 1839, and, as there was no longer any occasion for lingering about Hyderabad, the troops got once more into motion, for an advance to the front.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BOLAN PASS.—THE MARCH TO CANDAHAR.—THE STORMING OF GHUZNEE.—CAPTURE OF CABUL AND RESTORATION OF THE SHAH.

ACCORDINGLY, the Bengal army having crossed the Indus at Bukkur, reached Shikarpore, a town of Scinde, encircled by an ancient wall, nearly 4,000 yards in circuit, and having narrow streets that are poor and mean, with a bazaar roofed by palm-leaves. This was on the 20th of February, and on the same day the Bombay column continuing its progress along the right bank of the Indus, arrived at the town and fortress of Sehwan on the right bank of the Arrul. The inhabitants of the former derive their chief support from the pilgrims who come from afar to the shrine of Lal-Shah-Baz, but their houses, though several storeys high, are entirely built of sun-baked mud. On the following day, Sir Henry Fane, who had now quitted the army and was hastening down the Indus to embark for home, arrived with his fleet of boats at the junction of the Arrul with that river, and after bidding farewell to Sir John—a veteran of the wars in Egypt, the West Indies, and the Peninsula—he continued his voyage. At Shikarpore, the plan of giving the lead to Shah Sujah's contingent was abandoned, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, leaving in his rear the 2nd Brigade under Colonel Nott, marched with his other two on the 23rd, after a three days' halt in the direction of Dadur, a walled town of Beloochistan, at the entrance of the famous Bolan Pass. The marches were always commenced in the night, by the light of torches, and continued till day-dawn.*

The country through which the route lay became almost a desert, 140 miles in length, and the effect of excessive fatigue and of bad forage grew more and more manifest. There was little water and not a blade of grass. The soil, if such it could be called, was merely hard sand, thickly impregnated with sun-dried salt, which crackled beneath the hoofs of the sinking horses, and where a few stunted thorny shrubs alone gave evidence of vegetable life. The camels died by hundreds, says Marshman, and the mortality among the draught cattle, on which the subsistence of the army depended, was portentous. Amid this sterile waste, the flint stones lamed the poor patient camels; fatigue and want of pasture disabled the artillery horses; the mountain paths were strewed with tents, equipages, and stores of every kind, and the rivulet which flowed at the bottom of the ravine they were entering, was tainted with the carcases of animals.*

"From Rojhan," wrote Havelock, "to the town and mud forts of Burshaw, extends an unbroken level of twenty-seven miles of sandy desert, in which there is not merely neither well, stream, nor puddle, but not a tree, and scarcely a bush, or herb, or a blade of grass." Delay in such a place was impossible, and the army toiled on as well as it could to Burshaw, where many wells had been dug, and brackish water was supplied, but scantily. On the 6th of March the head-quarters were fixed at Bhaj, where water was found in abundance, with grain for immediate requirements, and then the army pushed on to where the desert of Cutch-Gundava terminates, annoyed daily the while by armed marauders on both flanks. Three months had now elapsed since the tents had been struck at Ferozepore.

While the column of Bengal had been advancing thus, Sir John Keane was pushing up the western bank of the Indus, suffering but little, as a fleet of laden boats kept pace with him. On the 4th of

* "Rec. 16th Lancers," p. 104.

* "Hist. of India," 1873.

March he reached Lackhana, while his boats sailed on to Roree, and, as a portion of the Bengal force was still quartered there, Sir John, with formality, assumed the entire command of the army of the Indus.

At Roree the Indus is 1,000 yards broad; its banks were clothed with groves of date-trees, that covered the hills, and the level plains were green with corn and tamarisk-bushes.*

On the 14th of March the leading column, consisting of the Horse Artillery, the 2nd Cavalry, H.M.'s 13th (styled Prince Albert's Own) Light Infantry, with the 48th B.N.I., started from Dadur, and pushed on to penetrate into the Bolan Pass, which gives the only practicable entrance into Afghanistan from the south-east. It is a succession of savage gorges and ravines, fifty-five miles in length, winding between masses of mountains that tower up to nearly 6,000 feet in height, between Dadur, in Cutch-Gundava, and the town of Shaml, in Beloochistan. These were then capped with snow.† The former place is situated on the most northern branch of a stream which issues from the pass. Along its bank the foot-track winds, after passing some ancient shrines and ruined tombs, and, at about five miles from the town, the pass begins. At ten miles' distance, precipitous rocks, of appalling height, that nearly meet overhead and exclude the light, enclose a small oval valley, the hard surface of which is covered with stones and gravel, and which, after heavy rains, is converted into a deep lake, where the steepness of the surrounding precipices "would preclude the possibility of escape to an army caught in the torrent."‡

Nor is this the only peril to be risked in these dreadful gorges. The wild mountaineers, concealing themselves within the dark caves of the rocks on each side, lay in wait for spoil, and on every available opportunity rushed forth to make a prey of any weary or footsore straggler, who was easily disposed of in the channel below. Such was the perilous place through which the British had now to penetrate. To conciliate, money had been liberally distributed among the rapacious mountaineers, on whose pacific professions, however, no reliance could be placed; but without encountering any hostile force, the army, which had entered the Bolan Pass on the 16th of March, emerged from it finally on the 24th, and entered the vast green valley of Shaml.

On the 19th, it encamped in the neighbourhood of Quettah, in Beloochistan, where the vegetation showed many of the plants and trees peculiar to the north of Europe. It was a dependency of Mehrab Khan, the Belooch ruler of Khelat, whose alleged failure to fulfil the conditions of a treaty made between him and Sir Alexander Burnes, brought down—at a future time—our vengeance on him, and cost him his life; but had he been so treacherous as it was alleged, he might have cut up our troops when entangled in the Bolan Pass. Sir Willoughby Cotton's orders were to halt at Quettah, which proved a peril and difficulty, for on leaving Dadur he had but one month's food. "Half that period had already elapsed, and the calculation now was, that were the march continued, and unopposed, only a few days' supplies would remain in store when Candahar should be reached. How much then must the threatened starvation be increased by the halt which had been ordered?" Hence a diminution of the daily consumption became imperative; and from the 28th of March the loaf of the European was diminished in weight: the native troops received only a half, instead of a whole *seer* (*i.e.*, 2 lb. weight) of prepared flour, and the wretched camp-followers received but a quarter of a seer.*

The energetic Burnes had just concluded a treaty with the Khan of Khelat, who, in return for the guarantee of his independence by the Governor-General, promised to yield a nominal allegiance to Shah Sujah, and that which was of much more importance, a supply of grain with many camels. At the same time, by his remarks, he showed an acute foreknowledge of all that was ultimately to ensue.

"The shah," said he, "ought to have trusted to the Afghans to restore him, whereas he is filling the land with Hindostanees, an insult which his own people will never forgive him. This will never do. You British may keep him by main force for a time on the throne, but as soon as you leave the kingdom, your Shah Sujah will be driven beyond its frontier."

Sir John Keane, aware of the imperative necessity for advancing, came on with an escort, and on the 6th April established his head-quarters at Quettah, and it was generally believed in the army that when it entered the Kojuk Pass advantage would be taken by the natives of its formidable character, and there were difficulties in getting through it irrespective of Dacoits and other predatory hordes. Two divisions of the army of the Indus, the Bengal and the Bombay, were placed respectively under the command of Sir W. Cotton and General (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wiltshire.

* "Hist. Rec. 16th Lancers."
† "Hist. Rec. 4th Light Dragoons."
‡ Outram.

* Havelock's "Narrative."

The latter appointment excited the dissatisfaction of General Nott, who was a senior officer, and deemed it a slight to the service; but Wiltshire was an officer of vast experience, who had first drawn his sword with H.M.'s 38th in 1800, and had served in nearly every war since that time: but "the commander-in-chief adhered to his arrangement, and Nott, after he had even gone the length of tendering his resignation, quitted the divisional command which he had held under Sir W. Cotton, to resume the command of the 2nd Bengal Brigade, with the additional mortification of knowing that it was to be left in garrison at Quettah, and consequently precluded from an active share in the coming struggle."

On the 7th April, the day after Sir John Keane's arrival, the army set forth for the scenes of its peril and glory; for it was now generally known, or reported, that the chiefs of Candahar were at last mustering for battle, and the terrible Kojuk Pass was named as the scene of it—all false alarm. However, one chief, Hadji Khan Kakur, at the head of a hundred lances, entered the British camp on the 20th of April, and gave his allegiance to the shah. This movement proved only to be one of many treacheries of which he had been guilty; but his present apparent defection, which had been bought by the bribe of 10,000 rupees, spread terror and doubt among the Barukzye chiefs, who knew not who might prove traitor next, and prepared for flight instead of fighting. On this being known, Sir John Keane placed Shah Sujah, who had been lagging in the rear, in front, with his own contingent, at the head of which he entered Candahar on the 25th of April, not only without opposition, but even with signs of welcome, bought, it was alleged, by gold, lavishly bestowed from the treasury at Calcutta.

The march to Candahar was long remembered with horror by those who had to perform it. In traversing the Kojuk Pass—in some parts of which the cliffs overhead met and reclined against each other—the battery and field guns were dragged up and lowered down its tremendous precipices by the European soldiers, while parched with thirst, and consumed by incessant fatigue;* and the march beyond it is thus described by Havelock:—"All ranks have been taught to understand to-day how little prized when plentiful, how outrageously demanded when scarce, is that bounteous provision for the wants of God's creatures—water! Weary of the delays which had kept us so long at Dundi Goolau, we moved forward on the 21st (April, 1839) into the plains which we had surveyed from the summit of the Kojuk Pass, recognising all the distinctive peaks of the scattered hills which we had observed from that commanding height. We saw them now magnified as we approached them, and casting a dark shade over the plains which they overhung. Anxious looks were from time to time cast towards those grim eminences, and their bases were carefully searched for any small stream which might supply the urgent wants of a thirsting force. It was not very pleasant to discover that this day, too, we must depend for a supply on the stream of a small and imperfect *kahreez*. Its water was brackish, and flowed scantily and sluggishly. Thousands of brass *lotas* and leathern buckets were soon dipped into the little channel, and though proper regulations were promptly established, one half the force had not been watered before scarcity commenced. Soon diluted mud alone could be obtained, and whole regiments, under a burning sun, with parched lips, sighed for night to cool them, and then for morning that they might move on to a happier spot. The troops were buoyed up towards evening with fallacious hopes of the waters of a spring, actually discovered in the hills, being brought down to their relief into the plain; but up to the hour of early march no stream had begun to flow into the dry bed of the nullah, on which so many were gazing in hope." On the following day he tells us that the army, unable to find water, was compelled to advance without it.

"Forward the brigade moved, to finish the second day's march of ten miles: their horses dropping from drought and exhaustion, as they toiled on, and leaving in the mountain passes traces of this day's sufferings and perseverance. When the cavalry had thus got over five miles—in the course of which British dragoons and native troopers were seen eagerly sharing their chargers' muddy and fœtid water, drawn from puddles at the side of the road, the very sight of which would, in Hindostan, have equally sickened all to whom it was offered—they struck into a by-road on their left, and, winding their way by a narrow path through an opening in the undulating eminences, found themselves towards evening on the banks of a beautiful stream. The rush of unbridled indulgence of the troops and their horses into its waters, after all the privations of the morning, may fairly be described as uncontrollable. What moderation was to be expected from man or beast, breaking forth from the results of two days' unwilling abstinence?"*

At last, on the 26th, they saw before them

* Captain H. Havelock's "Narrative."

the ancient capital of the Dooranee empire, a welcome sight—Candahar—according to Elphinstone, a city of 100,000 souls, girt by walls, ditches, and ramparts, with all its canals and water-courses, its minarets, mosques, and domes, and, over all, the gilded cupola that covers the great tomb of Ahmed Shah, wherein the Dooranee lords who retire from the world, spend the last years of their lives in prayer and penance.*

By the 4th of May, the whole army of the Indus, save those troops left rearward in garrison at Bukkur, Shikarpore, and three other places, was encamped under the walls of Candahar, where the toils of the perilous march through the passes were replaced by a pleasant round of ceremonies and parades, kept up for the purpose of enabling Shah Sujah "to feel himself a king," as it was said.

The tents of the troops were pitched among grassy meadows, and fields covered with waving crops of wheat, barley, and lucerne; provisions and forage came regularly, and, though the men and horses recovered strength, a damp prevailed there which induced fever and dysentery. The 16th Lancers alone had eighty men in hospital, and the great heat in the tents, together with a saline impregnation of the water, augmented the number of sick.†

No military operations took place till the 12th of May, when it was deemed necessary to look after the fugitive Barukzye chiefs. Accordingly, Brigadier Sale was dispatched in pursuit of them, at the head of a strong division composed mainly of the shah's contingent, and some Europeans, who followed them as far as the river of Afghanistan, named Helmand by Masson, and the Hirmund by Elphinstone, after which the chiefs succeeded in escaping into Persia. On the 28th Sale returned from his fruitless expedition, and on the same day an example was given of the lawless state of the country and the bloodthirstiness of its people. "In the environs of Candahar was a remarkable mount, forming one side of a pass; by skirting it, access was gained into a picturesque valley, planted with pine trees, and watered by the Ughandaub river. The officers formed parties of pleasure to visit this beautiful spot; their tents were pitched on the margin of the stream, and after amusing themselves with angling, they partook of an evening repast. On the 28th of May, one or two social fishing parties had been formed in the valley, and Lieutenants Inverarity and Wilmer, of the 16th Lancers, remained on the bank of the river until sunset. They sent their servants, tents, and horses towards the camp, and followed leisurely and unarmed. The moon shone brightly, and Lieutenant Inverarity was walking a little in front of his companion, unconscious of danger, when he was suddenly attacked by a band of armed men. On Lieutenant Wilmer coming up, he was surrounded by about a dozen assassins, but he defended himself with his walking-stick for some time, and then, taking to flight, reached a camp of the shah's infantry, with a single wound on the face. An armed party returned with him, and found Lieutenant Inverarity alive, but he died soon afterwards." *

He was dreadfully mangled, and when the shah was informed of the atrocity, he simply said to the British officers about him, "Oh, gentlemen! you must be cautious here; remember, you are not in Hindostan."

During the halt at Candahar, Afghan horses were procured to remount the cavalry, the Bengal brigade of which had 701 dismounted men, whose chargers had perished.

On the 27th of June—the same day on which the old King of Lahore breathed his last—the army marched from Candahar. Dost Mohammed was in no wise overawed by its advance, and it was believed that a bloody contest alone would secure the conquest of Cabul. A garrison was left in Candahar, and another in Girishk, a fort beyond the Helmand. The guns and mortars of the siege-train, after all the toil and difficulty of dragging them through the Bolan and Kojuk Passes, were now left behind. As there had been no occasion to use them hitherto, it was unwisely supposed they might be dispensed with: a somewhat singular idea, when the strong fortress of Ghuznee—deemed of course impregnable by the Afghans—was in front, and yet to be captured, as it stood in the direct line of march to Cabul.

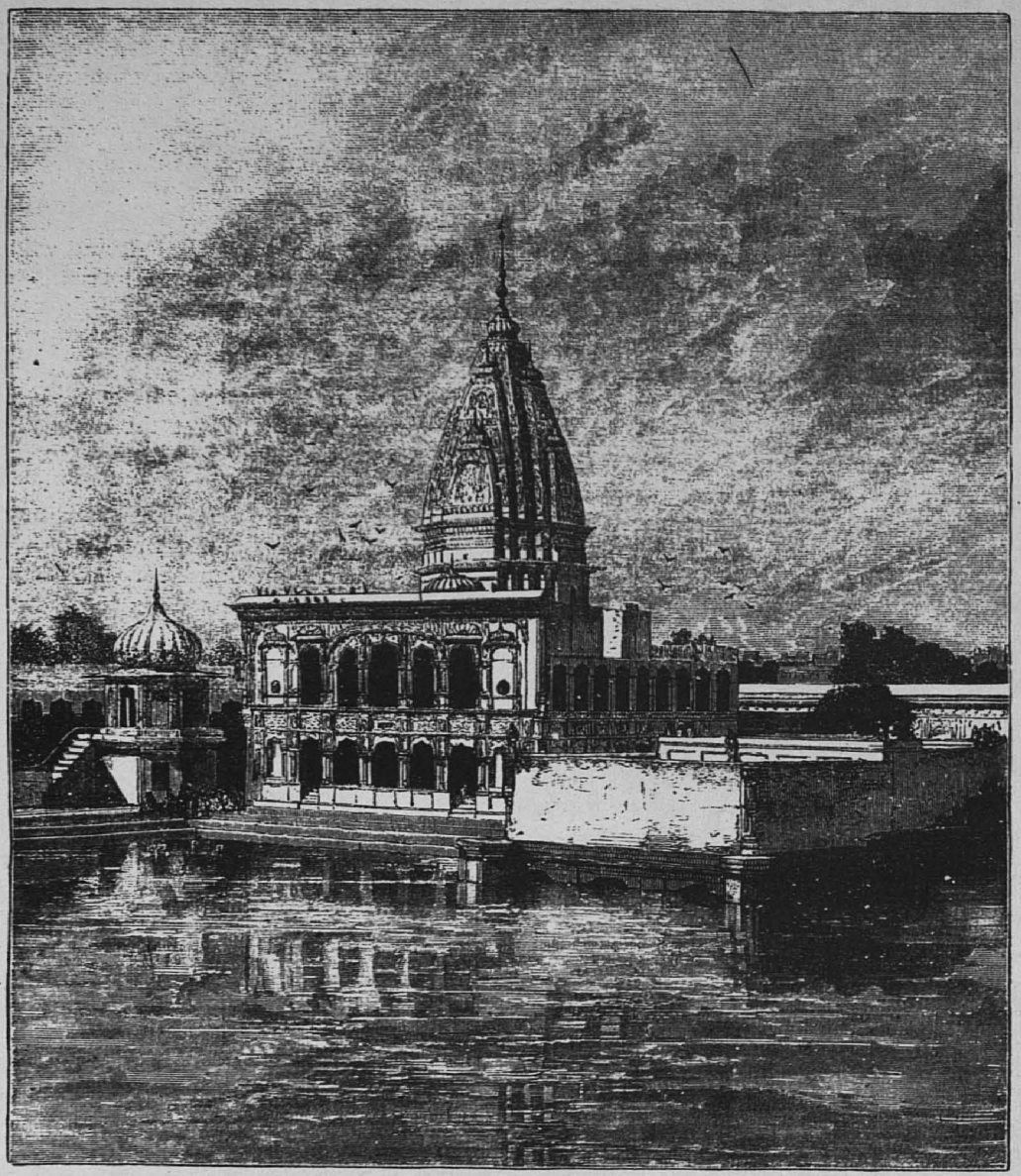
On the 21st of July the troops were before it. This fortified city—formerly the capital of an empire that extended from the Tiber to the Ganges, and from the Jaxartes to the Gulf of Persia—stands on a scarped rock 280 feet above a level plain, and is washed by a large stream. It is encircled by two stone walls thirty feet in height, flanked by strong towers. High over these, on the north, towers its citadel. The land it overlooks is richly cultivated, but its streets are dark and narrow. Three miles from the city stands the tomb of the Sultan Mahmood, the sandal-wood doors of which were brought by him as a trophy from the famous temple of Somnath in Goojerat. An idea prevailed that it

* Elphinstone, Conolly, &c.

† "Hist. Records, 16th Lancers."

* Ibid.

could be easily taken, as no defence would be made; but "we were very much surprised," says one who was well qualified to form an opinion, Captain Thomson, chief engineer of the army of the Indus, "to find a high rampart in good repair, built on a scarped mound about thirty feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a *fausse braye* and wet ditch. The irregular figure of the *enceinte* gave a good flanking fire, whilst the height of the citadel covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills to the north, rendering it nugatory. In addition to this, the towers at the angles had been enlarged; screen walls had been built before the gates; the ditch cleared out and filled with water (stated to be unfordable); and an outwork built on the right bank of the river, so as to command the bed of it."



TOMB OF RUNJEET SING, LAHORE.

The investing forces met with an unexpected advantage, which facilitated the capture. A nephew of Dost Mohammed deserted to them and afforded much valuable information. The gates were all found, according to the engineer's report, to be

secured by strong masonry, save the Cabul Gate, yet Major Hough, who was with the army, states that none of them were built up, and all were equally accessible.* Be that as it may, the engineers reported that as we had no battering train, the most feasible mode of attack was to blow open the gate with powder, and charge through the smoke, fire, and débris, into the heart of the place.

The garrison was 3,500 strong, having been largely reinforced from Cabul, by Hyder Khan, the killedar, and the Ghiljies, through whose rugged territory, studded with mountain forts, a retreat must have been conducted, had the attack failed. So far from cordially welcoming the shah, like most of their countrymen, they were quite disposed to take the first opportunity of showing how he and his allies were detested by them. On Sir John Keane resolving to burst open the gate, no time was lost in making the necessary preparations. At this crisis, the troops were without proper rations; they had undergone excessive toil, and the weather as usual, at that time of the year, in the hilly districts of Afghanistan, was cold, especially at night. The hungry and harassed soldiers had not been three hours encamped, when a change of ground was ordered, with reference to the intended attack, and to be able to face Dost Mohammed Khan, who was supposed to be pushing on from Cabul in person. "The movement was a delicate one," says Outram, "being a march in two columns, by wo different routes; for it involved a night march for the rear and much of the baggage, if not for the troops, as we were not to move till four in the afternoon, and the route for both columns could not well be known." Not a moment was to be lost in taking up the new formation.

A force under a son of the Ameer of Cabul had marched down to raise the siege, and was now not far off. The forces of the Ghiljies, Abdulruhman, and Gool Mohammed were in the field, and at no great distance. A body of armed fanatics who were banded for a religious war, hovered on the heights eastward of Ghuznee. "Reflections on these circumstances, and on our want of a battering train," says Hervelock, "the glimmering of lights on the hostile battlements and in the plains, with the chill of the night air, effectually chased away slumber until day broke on the 22nd."*



ON THE RIVER SWAT, A TRIBUTARY OF THE CABUL.

As the dawn came in, the sick were still pursuing the toilsome march, and parties were sent out to urge them on. Many of the camp-followers lost their way and were seen no more. One writer affirms—but it seems an exaggeration—that of 100,000 persons of this description which left the Indus with the grand army, all, save 20,000, perished by the sword, famine, or cold.†

In a dash made that night by the brilliant Outram, among a band of hill fanatics, at the head of some of the shah's contingent, he captured the holy green banner, and brought many prisoners into the royal presence. Then a startling event

* "Narrative of the Afghan Campaign."

* "Narrative," vol. ii.

† "The Three Presidencies."

occurred. They cursed Shah Sujah to his face, and stabbed some of his officers; on this, he ordered sixty of them to be instantly executed, though Buist says that the number was thirty-eight.

The general orders of the evening of the 22nd July contained instructions for the attack:—

"At 12 p.m., the artillery will commence moving towards the fort, and the batteries will follow each other in succession at the discretion of the brigadier commanding. The guns must be placed in the most favourable positions, with the right above the village on the hill north-east of the fortress, and their left among the gardens on the Cabul road. They must all be in position before day-light. . . .

"The storming party will be under the command of Brigadier Sale, C.B., and will be composed as follows—viz., the advance, to consist of the light companies of H.M. 2nd and 17th Regiments, and of the 47th (Lancashire) Regiment, with a flank company of the 13th Light Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie, C.B.

"The main column will consist of H.M. 2nd Regiment; of the 47th Regiment, with the remainder of H.M. 13th Light Infantry formed as skirmishers on the flanks; the latter will push into the fort with the rear of the main column; H.M. 17th Regiment will be formed in support, and will follow the storming party into the works; the whole must quit their respective encampments in columns of companies at quarter distance, right in front, so as to ensure their arrival at the place appointed for the *rendezvous* by 2 o'clock, a.m.; at half-past 12 o'clock, the companies of the 13th Light Infantry, intended to act as skirmishers, will move up to cover in front of the gateway, and be ready to keep down any fire on the party of engineers who proceed to blow it open; this last party will move up to the gateway before daybreak, followed slowly by the assaulting column. On the chief engineer finding the opening practicable, he will have the advance sounded, for the column to push on; when the head of the column has passed the gateway, a signal must be made for the artillery to turn their fire from the walls of the town on the citadel; at 12 o'clock p.m., three companies of native infantry (48th) will quit the camp, move round the gardens on the south of the town, where they will establish themselves, and about 3 p.m., open a fire upon the place for the purpose of distracting the attention of the garrison."

The infantry of the division, not required for active duty, were to form a reserve; so, to the Europeans was assigned the honour of assaulting Ghuznee, and such was their ardour, that when the hospital tents of the 17th Regiment were visited by the surgeon, he found them empty, the whole of the sick had left their beds to join their comrades in the attack.*

Stormy weather which prevailed throughout the night rendered all our movements inaudible. Ghuznee, amid the darkness, seemed to sleep in peace, and not a light ere long gleamed from amid the gloom that shrouded it, but after the attack commenced, such was the bellowing of the mountain wind, that when the three detached companies under Captain Hay opened fire, the sound of their musketry was unheard, though the red flashes were seen.

The explosion party on whom everything depended, consisted of Captain Peat of the Bombay, and Lieutenants Durand and Maclean of the Bengal army, with three sergeants and eighteen sappers, carrying 300 lbs. of powder in twelve bags, with a hose of seventy feet in length. Headed by Durand, the adventurous little band moved steadily, but stealthily on. The bags were placed, the hose laid, the train fired, and in two minutes the party had rushed to cover.†

Effectually the explosion did its work. A glare burst for an instant on the night, accompanied by a thundering crash; and with loud cheers, the stormers, led by Dennie, dashed on, while at the same moment, a brilliant blue light cast its ghastly glare from above the gate, at the approach of the engineers, which had not been unheard by the enemy, who were crowding to discover the cause, when the whole party were buried amid the ruins of the fallen gate and archway. Above even the roar of the musketry the British bugle rang out sharply the advance, and all poured on to the assault, which was nearly failing, through a momentary misconception of Brigadier Sale, that the avenue was blocked up. He actually ordered a retreat to be sounded, but it was unheard amid the tempest and the din of the musketry. Sale, one of the bravest among many brave men, now pushed on to succour Dennie, and a deadly struggle took place amid the shattered ruins of the gate, and there the brigadier had a narrow escape from the Afghans.

"One of their number," says his brother-officer Havelock, "rushing over the falling timbers, brought down Brigadier Sale, by a cut in the face with his sharp *shansheer* (sabre). The Afghan repeated his blow as his opponent was falling, but the pommel, not the edge of his sword, this time took effect, though with stunning violence. He lost his footing, however, in the effort, and

* Dr. Kennedy's "Campaign of the Army of the Indus."
† Thornton's "British India."

Briton and Afghan rolled together among the fractured timbers. Thus situated, the first care of the brigadier was to master the weapon of his adversary. He snatched at it, but one of his fingers met the edge of the trenchant blade. He quickly withdrew his wounded hand, and adroitly replaced it over that of his adversary, so as to keep fast the hilt of his *shansheer*. But he had an active and powerful opponent, and was himself faint from loss of blood. Captain Kershaw, of the 13th, A.D.C. to Brigadier Baumgardt, happened in the mêlée to approach the scene of conflict; the wounded leader recognised him and called to him for aid. Kershaw passed his drawn sabre through the body of the Afghan, but still the desperado continued to struggle with frantic violence. At length, in the fierce grapple, the brigadier for a moment got uppermost. Still retaining the weapon of his enemy in his left hand, he dealt him with his right, a cut from his own sabre, which cleft his skull from the crown to the eyebrows. The Mohammedan shouted, '*Ne Ullah*' (O God!) and never moved or spoke again." *

On regaining his feet, Brigadier Sale put himself once more at the head of the stormers, who were still fighting, and had yet to force their onward way. But ere long, the walls were everywhere won, although there was still much destructive street firing, and close conflicts between groups of Afghans and British soldiers. Sir John Keane, on perceiving the entrance fully achieved, ordered the cannonade to be turned upon the citadel, against which Sale now advanced at the head of his own regiment, the splendid 13th Light Infantry.

Meanwhile, Colonel Croker with the supports, came on, but slowly, as the débris of the gateway and the fallen masonry, together with the conveyance out of the wounded, greatly obstructed his advance, and enabled the Afghans in some numbers to regain the walls, and finding places of concealment, to pick off our men at their leisure. Hence it was not until the last of the supports passed fairly in, that all anxiety was over, and Mohammed Hyder Khan, paralysed by the suddenness of the whole attack, abandoned all resistance in despair, and H.M. 13th and 17th Regiments planted their colours on the citadel. These, as they floated out on the morning breeze, were greeted with loud and prolonged cheers by the whole army, and Azful Khan, a son of the ruler of Cabul, who, at the head of 5,000 horse, was hovering in sight of the place, when he saw the four standards floating on the embattled summit, turned and fled, pursued by our cavalry.

* "Narrative of the War in Afghanistan."

Once more the ramparts were swept, and a body of Afghans, uniting, made a gallant charge, sword in hand, to cut a passage to the gate. The way along which they rushed, with frantic and fanatic cries, was encumbered by groups of weary soldiers, by wounded in dhoolies, and riderless horses careering wildly about; and as the fugitives pressed onward, they cut and slashed at everything, even at the unfortunate horses, in the blindness of their fury, but their chief object was to destroy the maimed and the helpless. Our soldiers, filled with rage, now manned the narrow way, and the Afghans were shot or bayoneted to a man. Not one reached the shattered gate alive. In other quarters, houses had to be stormed, room by room, and the defenders bayoneted, ere Sir John Keane entered the city, escorting Shah Sujah to the fortress we had won for him.

In the defence, 500 Afghans perished, but many more in their furious attempts to escape. Our loss was 120, but not one officer was killed. 1,600 prisoners were taken, among them the governor, Hyder Khan (a brother of Dost Mohammed), whose sword was sold for £400, and presented to the commander-in-chief.* The place was found to be provided with immense stores of grain and flour, which, with the horses, money, and arms taken, formed together a valuable booty.

Most honourable to the British army was the capture of this great fortress, alike for the valour and moderation displayed. Its fall excited consternation among the followers of Dost Mohammed, and Azful Khan, on seeing its capture, fled with such speed, that he left all his elephants and camp equipage behind him. His father was full of rage, and for a time refused to see him, but vowed he would struggle to the last. The mountain chiefs, however, from the moment tidings reached them, gave up his cause as hopeless; and one after another, as the army resumed its march, they hastened to offer their submission, till at last Shah Sujah seemed to have solid ground for boasting that he had not deceived his allies in the statements he had made, touching the enthusiasm with which his people would welcome his return.

The desperation of the Dost's position was apparent now to all. Early in the contest, supposing that the chief attack would be made in concert with the Sikhs by the Khyber Pass, he had dispatched his favourite son, Ackbar Khan, to that point, with the main body of his army, and was obliged to recall him in hot haste, when he became aware of the real quarter from which the greatest peril was to come.

* Letter of Lord Keane, *U.S. Mag.*

Left thus unguarded, the formidable Khyber Pass was easily traversed by that column of the army led by Colonel (afterwards Sir Claude Martin) Wade, and nominally commanded by the shah's son, Prince Timour, storming *en route* the fort of Ali Musjid, with the loss of 110 men. Hence, as Cabul was about to be attacked from two points, resistance seemed vain, and nothing remained but to negociate, and the brother of the Dost, named Jubbar Khan, sanctioned by a council of war, was sent to the British camp to arrange about terms. For himself, provided he were guaranteed in the hereditary office of weezeer, or prime minister, he offered to acknowledge Shah Sujah as his monarch, but instead of accepting his proposal, nothing was given to him but the option of accepting an honourable asylum in British territory, on condition of immediate capitulation. All negociation now failed, and Jubbar Khan sullenly took his departure, whilst Dost Mohammed, gathering energy from despair, marched forth to give us battle, but the means to do so were failing him fast.

On all sides he was surrounded by the faint-hearted and the treacherous. Among these, threats, entreaties, and remonstrances proved unavailing, and his ranks thinned so fast, that but a few remained by his side, and on the 2nd of August, 1839, he fled westward in the direction of Bamian, pursued by Captain James Outram—the Outram of future glory—then aide-de-camp to Sir John Keane. In this duty he was associated with Hadji Khan Kakeer, who—ever a man of treachery—having command of the principal part of the horse employed, threw so many obstacles in the way, that the pursuit proved a failure.

The Afghan troops are hardy and brave. Their dress at this time was an ample turban, generally of striped blue cloth, for defence against cold and sabre-cuts. Their chief attire, the *koorta*, or shirt, is fastened down the right side with buttons or loops, not permitting any part of the body to be seen, such being deemed highly indecorous. Over this is worn a camel's-hair cloak—red or yellow being the favourite colours; loose trousers and boots complete the dress. For arms, many wore, and yet use, helmets and breast-plates, sabres and flint-lock muskets, with bayonets of unusual length, fixed permanently to the muzzle. A shield is slung over the back, and their powder and bullets are carried in leather bottles attached to the waist-belt.

During Outram's pursuit, the army continued its march, and on the 7th of August, saw before it, Cabul, amid its bare and rocky hills, with its lofty walls and towering Balahissar, or citadel, its vast bazaars, forming one continuous street, and having a population, estimated by Vigne and Burnes in 1836, at 60,000 souls.

On that day, amid every martial pomp, Shah Sujah, mounted on a beautiful Cabul charger, in a dress resplendent with diamonds, emeralds, and rubies, was conducted through the narrow and gloomy streets to the Balahissar. "In these," says Havelock, "an ocean of heads spread out in every direction, the expression of countenances indicated a ready acquiescence, or something more, in the new state of things." But on the infidel soldiers who guarded him, "they poured a shower of maledictions."*

After making his way with difficulty through the dense throngs of people—fur-capped Persians, turbaned Afghans, red-fezzed Kuzzilbashes, all bristling with arms, Hindoos, Tajiks, Christians, Armenians, and most filthy Jews—on reaching the palace, he hurried up the great staircase, and literally ran with childish delight from one apartment to another. The great object of his ambition, after thirty years of exile, was at last secured. He was once more seated on the throne, and the thunder of our cannon, as their salutes woke the echoes of the city walls, and of the rocky hills of Beymaroo, must have been as music in his ears.

CHAPTER XVI.

DISSOLUTION OF THE ARMY OF THE INDUS.—CAPTURE OF KHELAT.—REVOLT OF THE GHILJIES.—THE CANDAHAR CONSPIRACY.—NOTT AND THE SHAH'S OFFICIALS, ETC.

LITTLE foreseeing the horrors that were in the future, our troops remained quartered in and about Cabul. Replying to the despatch, in which Sir John Keane announced the installation of Shah Sujah, the Governor-General, after expressing his satisfaction, added: "It is to be hoped that the measure which has been accomplished, of restoring

* Marshman.

this prince to the throne of his ancestors, will be productive of peace and prosperity over the country in which he rules, and will confirm the just influence of the British Government in the regions of central Asia." The great object of the expedition—the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in Afghanistan—was now accomplished, and the period had come, when, according to the Simla manifesto, our troops were to be withdrawn, but unfortunately the popularity of the shah proved a delusion, and within a fortnight after his entrance, Lord Auckland placed on record that "to leave him without the support of a British army, would be followed by his expulsion, which would reflect disgrace on Government, and become a source of danger."

It was determined, therefore, to leave a force of 10,000 men to maintain him on his throne, and it was no longer possible to doubt the truth of Wellington's prediction, that when once our army reached Cabul, the most difficult part of the task we had undertaken would begin.

Though the expedition was not barren in military glory, it was fertile enough in honours, to give *éclat* to our first success. Thus Lord Auckland was created an earl; Sir John Keane was made a peer of Britain, as Lord Keane of Ghuznee and Cappoquin, with £2,000 per annum; General Wiltshire, Colonel Pottinger, and Mr. Macnaghten were made baronets, and Colonel Wade was knighted; and, not content with all this, an Order of the Dooranee Empire was created, and while all this was in progress, the Afghans had begun to murder at Cabul, every officer and soldier they could find beyond the limits of the British camp.

It was now resolved that the two capitals of Cabul and Candahar, with the important posts of Ghuznee, Quettah, and Jelalabad should be garrisoned, after which the rest of our troops might take their way homeward to British India, the Bengal division by the Khyber Pass, and the Bombay division by the Bolan route. Instead of continuing his flight, Dost Mohammed had found an asylum in the wild and wide country beyond the Oxus, and—still ripe for mischief—was reported to be levying troops for a rough renewal of the contest, while the Ghiljies, with other mountain tribes, were giving unequivocal signs of hostility.

Ultimately, as in addition to all this, Shah Kamran at Herat, oblivious of the deliverance effected for him by our influence, was intriguing with Persia and Russia, which while verbally repudiating schemes of aggression, was dispatching an expedition against the Khan of Khiva, it was resolved that the whole Bengal division of the army should remain in Afghanistan.

Under General Wiltshire, the Bombay column took its departure on the 18th September, 1839, and in this homeward movement was included a demonstration against Mehrab, the Khan of Khelat, who had broken certain treaties by which he was bound to furnish supplies for the British troops, and repress marauders, who had harassed its march. His excuses of inability were, perhaps, not without certain foundation; but some one was to be punished, a victim was wanted, and Mehrab was at hand. Thus, when General Wiltshire reached Quettah, he ordered the main body of his troops to push on through the Bolan Pass, while with a detachment, consisting of 1,000 infantry, six field-guns, the engineer corps, and 150 irregular cavalry, he marched alone. This was on the 4th of November. The 13th saw him before the picturesque and vast fortress of Khelat, situated about eighty-five miles to the south-westward of the Bolan Pass, and deemed the capital of Beloochistan.*

It is situated in a difficult and mountainous country; its site is commanding. It was well fortified and fully garrisoned by hardy warriors, under Mehrab Khan, a Beloochee chief of considerable influence, and when our troops were within two miles of his gates, a letter which was received from him—after all explanations and professions of friendship had proved unavailing—left no doubt that he would resist to the last. It referred to some negociations alleged to be pending; directed that the British troops should halt till these were concluded, and defiantly threatened them with condign vengeance if they dared to advance; and to show that he really meant fighting, the march had barely been resumed, when a cloud of Beloochee horse came galloping up, and without a word of parley, poured a ragged volley from their matchlocks into the head of the column.

A nearer approach to Khelat showed that the long lines of crenelated wall, and the clustering mass of towers that rose in its centre, were crowded by masses of Beloochee warriors in their flowing and picturesque dress, while other masses, who disdained the protection of the ramparts, were formed in order of battle on some adjacent heights, resolved to try their strength with Wiltshire's little force. A few discharges of artillery put them to flight, and the infantry captured the heights without further trouble, and the success that followed was still more important. Khelat had only two gates; one was captured before the flying fugitives had time to close it, the other was blown

* Kennedy's "Campaign," &c.

in by the cannon, and at both points the troops rushed in. The slaughter was great, for the united Beloochees and Afghans, led by Mehrab, now fought with reckless bravery, after they had retired into the citadel. Wiltshire ordered the gates to be blown in by gunpowder bags, but ere this was done, the effective fire of our artillery rendered it unnecessary, and the capture was soon complete. Mehrab died sword in hand at the head of his adherents. Outram computes the prisoners at 2,200, and the slain at a fourth of that number. Our losses were 37 killed and 107 wounded.

ment of sappers and miners, with a rissala of Skinner's Horse, to be stationed at Jelalabad; Ghuznee to be garrisoned by the 16th Native Infantry, a rissala of Skinner's Horse, and such details of H.M. Shah Sujah's troops as are available. The whole to be under the command of Major Maclaren. Candahar will have for its garrison the 42nd and 43rd Native Infantry, 4th company, 2nd battalion of artillery, a rissala of the 4th Local Horse, and such details of H.M. Shah Sujah's troops as may be available. Major-General Nott will command."

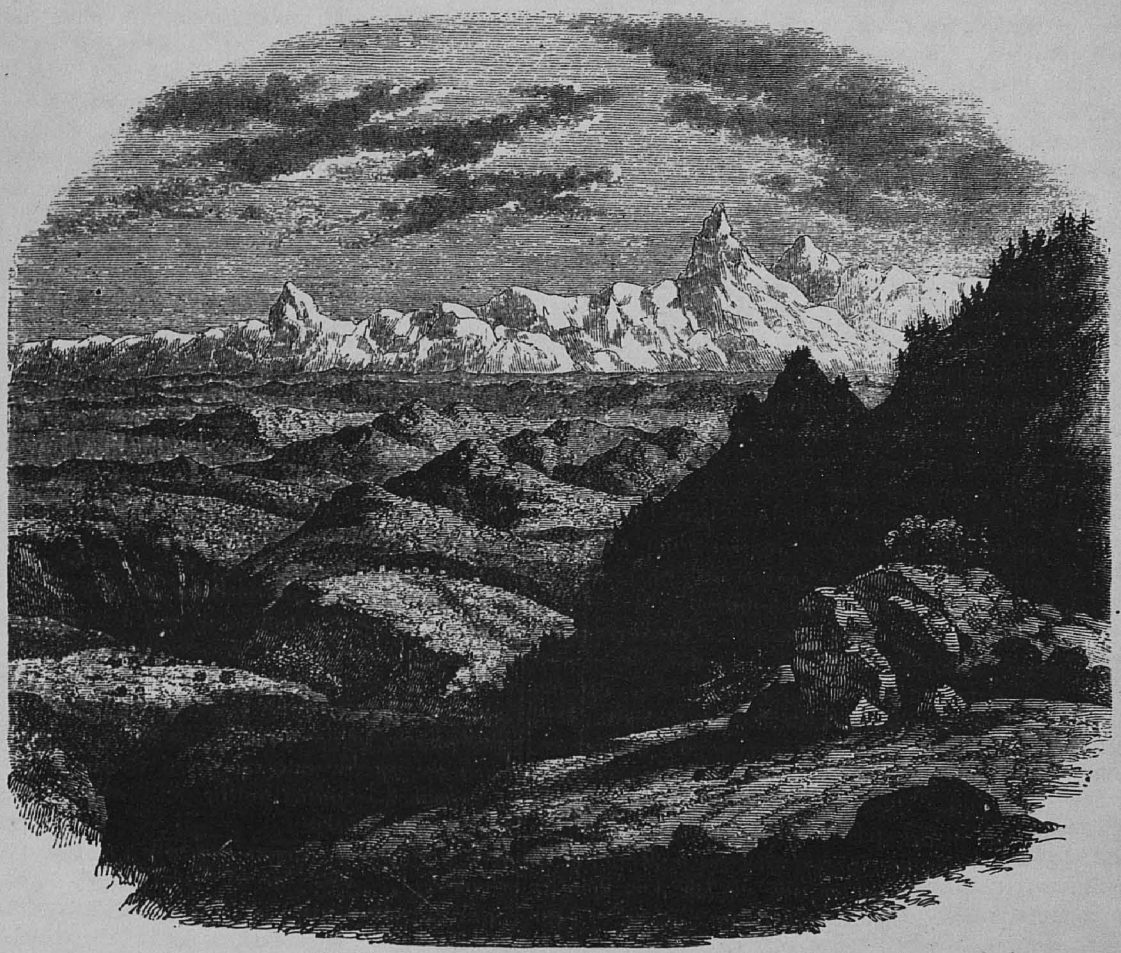


INTERIOR OF A TURCOMAN TENT.

Although the Bombay division had begun its homeward march, the final arrangements for the occupation of Afghanistan were not announced till the 2nd of October, 1839, when it was intimated in general orders, that the whole of the 1st (Bengal) division of Infantry, the 2nd (Bengal) Cavalry, a battery of light guns, and a detachment of sappers, were to remain under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton. A subsequent order fixed the posts of the army of occupation thus:—"H.M. 13th Light Infantry, 3 guns of No. 6 light field battery, and the 35th Native Infantry to remain in Cabul, and to be accommodated in the Balahissar. The 48th Native Infantry, the 4th Brigade, and a detach-

On the 15th of October, Keane set out for India, escorted by H.M. 16th Lancers, who, in fording the rapid Jhelum, had one captain, 10 troopers, and 13 horses swept away. He took his way by the Khyber Pass. Shah Sujah also quitted Cabul to avoid the severities of the coming winter, and went to Jelalabad, leaving the envoy, Sir Alexander Burnes behind, to act as his substitute, but the native administration was committed to most unworthy hands, who, instead of reconciling the fierce and suspicious Afghans to the new *régime*, infuriated by extortion and general mismanagement of everything, while a hatred of the British, and contempt for them too, grew strong and deep.

In the January of 1840, the snow fell to the depth of five feet; the unfortunate sepoys—the men of hot and sunny regions—suffered terribly; even the British soldiers were most indifferently supplied with clothes and bedding, and the hardy Afghans, with derisive scorn, saw them shivering on frozen mountains and snow-clad table-lands. The latter, however, remained inactive till the approach of spring, and then the Ghiljies and other powerful clans began to muster their cavalry for the attacks on our outposts; at the same time the people dwelling on the hills, and in the secluded glens, would neither give tribute to the shah, nor sell provisions to his unwelcome allies.



VIEW OF THE HINDOO COOSH MOUNTAINS.

The Russian expedition to Khiva, a khanate of central Asia, comprehending all the tract north of the Attruck river, and from Elburz to the Sea of Aral, now raised the suspicion of our officers in Afghanistan, but more especially those of Macnaghten and Burnes, to fever-heat. The professed object of Russia in all her attempts upon this land—a continuous waste of mountains, forest, and desert—was the general security of her frontiers, from whence numbers of her subjects were annually dragged into slavery by the Kirghiz, and to ensure the safety of the caravans which annually proceed to Bokhara and Thibet; but the Emperor had another motive. The Earl of Auckland, in his Simla manifesto, had stated that our expedition was also "to give the name and just influence of the British Government its proper footing among the nations of central Asia;" but the hot spirit of Macnaghten was disposed to develop this policy to an extent that startled our Government. He sent a military force beyond Bamian to depose an Usbec chief and instal another, a measure by which he spread alarm through all Turkestan. Major Todd, who had been sent as our envoy to Herat, was strengthening its fortifications, and had dispatched one of his assistants to offer our friendship

to the Khan of Khiva. This official exceeded his instructions, and proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, which Lord Auckland immediately disavowed. A mission was also sent to Bokhara, whose barbarous khan had commenced that series of outrages which culminated in the atrocious murders of Colonel Conolly and Major Stoddart. "If we go on at this rate," said Baron Brunnow significantly to Lord Palmerston, "the Cossack and the sepoy will soon cross their bayonets on the Oxus." But the Russian expedition proved a failure, and the general had to return, leaving the half of his force dead among the snowy deserts.

As soon as winter was past, Shah Sujah returned to Cabul about the end of April, 1840, when the state of his kingdom was becoming more unsatisfactory than ever, Dost Mohammed, hovering at that time in the territories of the Wullee of Khooloom, whose people were Tajiks, Afghans, and Usbec Tartars, was in dangerous proximity to the frontiers of the shah, and a recent event would, it was expected, precipitate hostilities. Before his arrival at Khooloom, his family, who had been residing there in the care of his brother Jubbar Khan, were handed over as prisoners to the officer commanding our post at Bamian, with no other stipulation than that they should be kindly treated. It was supposed that now we held hostages for the good behaviour of the Dost; but it was soon shown that he cared not for this arrangement. When reminded that by hostility he would expose his wife and children to danger—"I have buried them," was his grim and pointed reply, and in concert with the Wullee he continued to levy troops, to measure swords with us once more in Afghanistan.

Signs of the coming storm were not wanting elsewhere. The Ghiljies, who occupy the mountains between Candahar and Cabul, had never ceased to be hostile, and had now begun to commit such ravages that it became necessary to send a detachment for their repression. After flying to the north, when a few months had passed, the chiefs ventured to return, to re-occupy their forts, and to resume their depredations more boldly than ever. In consequence, General Nott, commanding in Candahar, was compelled in April, 1840, to attack them. The force at first employed consisted of only 210 sabres of Shah Sujah's 2nd Cavalry and the 4th Local Horse, under Captains Taylor and Walker, with a party of infantry under Captain Codrington, and some of the shah's infantry; but so great was the resistance they experienced, that it became necessary to reinforce them by H.M. Northumberland Fusiliers and four horse artillery guns, under Captain Anderson. The Ghiljie chiefs, now in open revolt, were found in position 3,000 strong, on the 16th of May, at Tazee, on some heights. Notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, Captain Anderson, commanding the whole, attacked them. They fought with dauntless bravery; and after suffering from a destructive artillery fire, gave way before the bayonet, and fled into the recesses of the mountains. But notwithstanding this, the revolt seemed to gather strength, for these free men of the hills felt, with justice, that we had no right to be among them; and so large a body gathered at Khelat-i-Ghiljie, that preparations on a greater scale became necessary, and General Nott received orders from Sir Willoughby Cotton to tranquillise the Ghiljie country. The former was convinced that the insurrection would prove less formidable than it was supposed to be at head-quarters, but being somewhat apprehensive of a rising in Candahar, took with him only a detachment of the 43rd Native Infantry; and the sequel proved the truth of his anticipations, as the Ghiljies fled and their chiefs submitted. Then, to keep them in awe, a permanent force was posted at Hoolan Robart, commanding a mountain pass of the same name; and as it was doubtful if even this would ensure tranquillity, it was agreed to pay a "black mail" of £3,000 yearly to the chiefs, on condition that they should give a free passage through their country, and abstain from marauding.

General Nott was not without solid reasons for his fears of a rising in Candahar. Letters had been found on some of the prisoners taken by Captain Anderson at Tazee, from which it was learned that certain chiefs resident in that city were in full hope that, if the garrison were greatly weakened by a Ghiljie expedition, they might effect a rising, and massacre every Briton and Hindoo in Candahar. The fact that such a plot had been formed was a strong proof of the general hatred with which Shah Sujah and his allies were regarded. And there was good reason for this in the conduct of his heir-apparent, Prince Timour, who was ruling in Candahar as the representative of his father, and in this capacity plundered, oppressed, and outraged the people shamefully. Their houses were entered, their crops cut down, and themselves cut, wounded, and shot by his followers. In one instance, at Hoolan Robart, General Nott caused the plunderers and their spoil to be seized, and intimated to the prince, and to Captain Nicolson, our political Resident, that he did not wish to interfere with the royal servants, but as the pillage had been brought into the British camp, the people looked

to him for redress. This he gave them effectually; he had the prince's people tied up and well flogged in presence of the oppressed, to whom he restored their property, and sent them away exulting.

Against these stern measures Captain Nicolson protested, and though they were absolutely necessary for the repression of the bad feeling that was growing up on all hands against the restored royal family, eventually General Nott's procedure was disapproved of by the Governor-General, and by the envoy, Sir William Macnaghten.

The censure of Nott for an alleged encroachment on the royal dignity was a species of triumph to the envoy, who had represented it in strong terms at Calcutta; but the fact of his doing so soon added to the difficulties of his position, and these were increasing fast. So far from settling down into tranquillity, the country was becoming more and more discontented; and the same spirit exhibited by the Ghiljies and the people of Candahar prevailed everywhere. On the fall of Khelat, the territory was annexed to the dominions of Shah Sujah, and the government of it was bestowed on Newaz Khan, who was supposed to be friendly to British interests. He was a collateral branch of the ruling family, a circumstance which only made him more hated by the Beloochees; and of this feeling the young son of the fallen Mehrab Khan was quite ready to avail himself.

He displayed his father's banner, and the tribes rallied round him. Though the danger had been foreseen, no precautions were taken; the revolters made themselves masters of the city. Newaz fled, and the son of Mehrab was seated on the throne, while our troops were made prisoners; and one of them, Lieutenant Loveday, after several months of severe captivity, was most barbarously murdered.

And now several disasters befell the British troops. "During our long campaign in Scinde and Afghanistan," says Captain Neill, "many a gallant soldier fell; but among the noble spirits that fled, there was not one more chivalrous and daring than Walpole Clarke." This officer, a lieutenant of the 2nd Bombay Grenadiers, had, for his bravery, been appointed to a corps of Scinde Irregular Horse, and early in May left the fort of Kahun, about twenty miles west of Suleiman Mountains, in south-eastern Afghanistan, with a convoy of camels, escorted by fifty horse and 150 foot. His object was to obtain supplies. Having marched about twenty miles, on his return to Sukkur, he directed a portion of the infantry to return to Kahun, and the rest to bivouac. In this position he was attacked by more than 2,000 Beloochees. Leaving his troopers to protect the camels, he dashed against the enemy at the head of his little band of infantry. He was soon shot down. They perished to a man, fighting desperately to the last; and the cavalry, overpowered by numbers, fled on the spur. All the stores were taken by the elated Beloochees, who overtook the party on the march to Kahun, and left none alive to tell the tale.*

Shortly after, the fort itself was attacked, and its little garrison, though ably led by Captain Brown, of the 50th Native Infantry, while making a stubborn defence, was in danger of being starved into a capitulation; and in August occurred that episode which was known as "Clibborn's disaster," which, says Captain Neill, was, "in all its results, a most painful and calamitous event, evidencing, as it did, gross ignorance of the country, or a recklessness utterly indefensible in sending a detachment on a most difficult service, by a route almost impracticable."

On the 12th of August, Major Clibborn, of the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, to relieve Captain Brown, was dispatched from Sukkur, with a convoy of 1,200 camels and 600 bullocks, escorted by 464 bayonets and thirty-four artillerymen with three twelve-pound howitzers. At Poolajee he was reinforced by 200 irregular horse, and proceeded through a country the natural obstacles of which were of the most formidable nature. On the 31st of August he reached the Pass of Nuffoosk, the aspect of which might have appalled even Swiss or Scots mountaineers. There the precipitous hills start to a vast height, sheer from the plain. The path to be traversed led zig-zag up the front of one, the crest of which was black with the gathered bands of the enemy, who, the moment that Clibborn's convoy came in sight, fired a beacon-light to alarm the whole country. The troops were already exhausted by a long march, and were parched with thirst, which there was no means of alleviating; yet the gallant Clibborn resolved at once to storm the pass—and terrible was the sequel. After the storming party had struggled breathlessly upward to the head of the pass, they were assailed by a literal tempest of rocks and stones from the summits above it, mingled with a murderous musketry fire, which it was impossible to return with the least effect. Then the wild Beloochees rushed down, sword in hand, and bore all before them. They cleared the pass of all but the dead and dying, and rushed, yelling, on the muzzles of the guns before they could be repelled. Their loss is unknown. Of Clibborn's men 150 fell; and during the conflict the camel-drivers plundered the

* "Four Years in H.M. 40th Regiment."

stores and absconded, taking with them also the horses of the artillery, which had to be abandoned, with the camp-equipage and everything else; while, with the loss of many more lives, Clibborn effected a retreat to Poolajee, more than fifty miles distant. Left thus unsuccoured, Captain Brown, having only a garrison consisting of three sepoy companies, with one gun, had to capitulate; but his bravery won him most honourable terms, which were not violated.

Outbreaks were now taking place over all the country; but the most serious as yet was that of Nusseer Khan, the son of Mehrab, at Khelat, which General Nott, in obedience to an order dated 3rd September, 1840, prepared to re-capture. The terms he was to offer were unconditional surrender, and an assurance that Nusseer Khan would be recognised by the Government of Britain and Cabul as the lawful chief of Beloochistan on his immediately paying personal homage to Shah Sujah-ul-Mulk. In one of his letters, General Nott expresses his disgust at this document.

"Our authorities talk big for a day or two," he wrote, "and then send me instructions to offer terms to a boy, declaring that they will place him on his father's throne, and thus they disgrace the character of our country. Had they taken this boy by the hand when he was a wanderer in the land of his ancestors, there would have been a generous and honourable feeling; but to bend the knee to him and his bloody chiefs now is disgraceful."

Swearing that he would accept no terms, but have vengeance for his father's fall, the young khan breathed only defiance, when he marched in the direction of Moostung, and, on the 29th of September, was within sixteen miles of that place, where Nott, with only 600 men, had halted, to await certain reinforcements he had been led to expect. Nusseer, notwithstanding his overwhelming force, evinced no intention of fighting, so various movements ensued. Nott had reached Moostung on the 25th of October, while the young khan moved rapidly on Dadur, a walled town of considerable size in Cutch-Gundava, near the eastern entrance of the Little Bolan Pass. He attacked our post there on the 30th and 31st, but the approach of a small detachment under Major Boscawen compelled him to retire in such haste, that he abandoned his camels and camp; and in a very handsome European tent was found the mangled body of young Lieutenant Loveday, who had been our political agent at Khelat.

"When Nusseer Khan went on any of his expeditions," says Captain Neill, "Loveday was invariably taken with him, being carried about in a kajavah (a sort of chair, placed like a pannier on either side of a camel), to which he was chained, exposed to the burning heat of the climate, and almost entirely divested of clothing. When found, his head was nearly severed from the trunk, which was yet warm, and the galling chain had struck into, and grated on, his weak and emaciated body. Poor fellow! it was hard to die, when imagination must have been whispering hopes of future enjoyment, and a speedy restoration to his friends and countrymen—and yet death must have been a release." * The order given had been, that the last man who quitted the camp was to murder the European captain.

Nusseer Khan's flight at Dadur opened the path to Khelat, and as Nott advanced, the former fled before him; thus, the capital of Beloochistan was re-won without effort; but now, the next source of anxiety was Dost Mohammed, whom we last left levying troops to war in Afghanistan.

Approaching Cabul with some 7,000 Usbecs, he resolved to cross the Hindoo Coosh and raise the war-cry of the Prophet, and hoping to gather strength from the unpopularity of the shah, to march in triumph to the capital. Encountered and defeated by Colonel Dennie, he entered Kohistan, or the mountains north of Cabul, where the same chiefs, who, on the Koran, had but lately sworn fealty to the shah, now joined his standard, till he was once more attacked and routed by Sir Robert Sale.† After hovering for three weeks among the hills, he descended in the Nijrow valley, the people of which are Tajicks, near Cabul, which was filled with consternation. Our alarm-guns thundered from the Balahissar, and the troops got instantly under arms. But on the 2nd of November, Sale, the indefatigable, who had been relentlessly in pursuit of him, came upon him in the valley of Purwandurra. "The heights were bristling with an armed population, but the Dost had only 200 horsemen with him. The 2nd Cavalry charged down upon him, and he resolved to meet the charge manfully. Raising himself in the stirrups and uncovering his head, he called upon his troops in the name of God and the Prophet to aid him in driving 'the accursed infidels from the land.' The cavalry troopers fled from the field like a flock of sheep; the European officers fought with the spirit of heroes till three were killed and two wounded. Sir Alexander Burnes, who was in the field, wrote a hasty note to the envoy to assure him that nothing was left but to fall back on Cabul, and concentrate

* "Four Years with the 40th Reg."

† "Personal Narrative," &c. By Col. Dennie, C.B., Dublin, 1843.

our force for its defence. The note was delivered to him next afternoon as he was taking a ride, when, to his surprise, Dost Mohammed suddenly presented himself, and dismounting, gave up his sword, and claimed his protection." *

"Even in the moment of victory," the fallen prince said, "it would be impossible to continue the contest; and having met his foes in the open field and discomfited them, he could claim their consideration without indignity."

The Dost rode with Sir William into our cantonments, where his frankness, courtesy, and dignity, won him the sympathy and admiration of all, emotions that were assuredly by no means lessened when he was contrasted with the old puppet-king in the Balahissar of Cabul. He was sent with every honour to Calcutta, where Lord Auckland assigned him a suitable residence, with an annual income of two lacs of rupees, or £20,000 sterling.

CHAPTER XVII.

CAPTURE OF ADEN.—DISTURBANCES IN AFGHANISTAN.—THE MARCH OF SALE'S BRIGADE, ETC.

BEFORE continuing the narrative of events at Cabul, it is worth while to note an important acquisition made in our overland route to India by the Government in 1839, when, in consequence of an act of piracy committed on a Madras vessel in 1837, we took possession of that desolate place of rocks and ashes, of old the fabled Rose Garden Irem, "adorned with lofty buildings, the like whereof hath not been erected in the land," † and where the famous Albuquerque, in his attack in 1513, and Lope Soarez eight years after failed.

In the January of 1839, a squadron, consisting of H.M.S. *Volage* and *Cruiser*, with five of the Company's ships, under Commander Haines and Captain Smith, having a body of troops on board, appeared off the black, calcined, and ashy-looking shore of Aden, the hills of which vary in height from 1,000 to 1,200 feet. Under Major Baillie the troops consisted of the Bombay Europeans, the 24th Native Infantry, the 6th Battalion of Gholandazees, and a company of the 2nd Artillery. On the morning of the 19th all were in readiness for landing. The *Volage* and *Mahi* leading the way came to anchor at 300 yards' distance from the lower Arab battery, from which, while they were standing in, the enemy opened a fire of great guns and musketry, but the shot passed high in the air. The battery was soon knocked to pieces, and some of its guns were dismantled; but from behind the ruins a fire was maintained with small arms. Our guns then opened on a round tower and some batteries that were on the heights and full of matchlock-men. Though the former was sixty feet high and strongly built, it was beaten to shapeless ruins in an hour. Meanwhile, the *Coote*, with the 2nd Division of the troops on board, was bombarding the town from the southward. On the fire of the enemy ceasing, the troops landed, and a dash was made at a 68-pounder (in battery), the fire of which had been obnoxious. It was taken, and the British flag was planted by Mr. Rundle.*

The guns were everywhere spiked; 139 Arabs were made prisoners, and sent on board the *Volage*, but effected their escape after killing and wounding eight men with their creeses. The Pierzadeh, on the tomb of the Mohammedan patron saint of Aden, displayed a flag of truce for the protection of a host of the inhabitants who had taken shelter there, and it was of course respected. There were taken in Aden considerable quantities of arms and ammunition, together with 33 pieces of cannon, one an 85-pounder of brass. Several of these had been conveyed there by Soliman II. during the conquest of Arabia, "and these it was the wish of the captors should be presented to her Majesty." Since then we have had possession of Aden as a port and coaling station, but agreed to pay the Sultan of Lahedge an annual sum of 8,700 German crowns for it in perpetuity.

The removal of Dost Mohammed rid Shah Sujah of the only rival to the Afghan throne who had any prospect of success, and now the envoy Macnaghten sanguinely expressed his conviction that peace was ensured, but when 1840 closed, his anticipations seemed somewhat premature. In Zémindawer, a place westward of Candahar, a body of men revolted, and, led by a chief named Aktur

* Marshman's "India."

† Koran, chap. lxxxix.

* Despatches in *Bombay Gazette*, Feb., 1839.

Khan, dispersed a party of the shah's troops when collecting the revenue. Captain J. J. Fanington, who had been detached from the city with a party, attacked the khan, who had 1,500 men, on the 3rd January, 1841, and defeated him, after a sharp contest. The most alarming feature in this petty insurrection was, that it consisted entirely of Dooranees, who, as the hereditary enemies of the Barukzyes, ought to have zealously supported Shah Sujah.

And now Yar Mohammed, feeling his power in the ascendant at Herat, had quarrelled with the British envoy, and threatened to march against Candahar, and as a preliminary thereto, had fostered the discontent under Ackbar Khan, who once more appeared in arms, but whom Lieutenant Elliot, the officer entrusted with the settlement of the district, was desired to conciliate rather than fight, and the bad effect of purchasing his submission by degrading terms was plainly foreseen by Colonel (now Sir Henry) Rawlinson, our Resident at Candahar, who informed Macnaghten that the tranquillity thus procured would be very temporary, and the accuracy of his views was soon confirmed by the restless Ackbar Khan, who appeared at the head of 6,000 men, near Ghiresk, on the west bank of the Helmand, formed in six columns, with a priest at the head of each, and a banner inscribed, "We have been trusting in God; may He guide and guard us." He kept complete possession of the district till more powerful reinforcements came up, and he was not crushed till he had tried his strength in a regular conflict with our troops under Colonel Woodburn.



PORTRAIT OF ACKBAR KHAN.

This Dooranee affair set the ever restless Ghiljie tribe once more in motion. They are a fine muscular race, expert in the use of arms, and able to bring 40,000 men into the field—men characterised by an intense ferocity of disposition, and whom neither power nor money may repress. Proud of their boasted independence, their fears were roused on finding that, to keep them in check, our garrison had been strengthening the defences of their capital, Khelat-i-Ghiljie, and to bring about a rupture, they insulted the Resident, Lieutenant Lynch, when riding near a fort in its vicinity, and he deemed it necessary to punish this insolence, lest others might imitate it. He attacked the fort and captured it, slaying the chief and many of his people. Instead of his gallantry and promptitude being commended, he met with reprimand from the envoy, and was removed by the Governor-General.

Whether forbearance on Lynch's part would have prevented what followed it is difficult to say, but a formidable insurrection immediately followed. Reinforcements were sent from Candahar, under Colonel Wymer, who, on halting on the 29th of May, 1841, at Eelmee, on the banks of the Turnuk, was informed that a strong body of Ghiljies, under two chiefs, were on their way to attack him. He had barely time to take up a position ere they were upon him. Advancing with impetuosity, they came within 900 yards, when our guns opened on them with grape. Though suffering greatly, in obedience to some prearranged plan, they broke into three separate columns, for the purpose of making three simultaneous attacks upon Wymer's front and flanks. His force was slender, and being encumbered by a large convoy, was compelled to remain simply on the defensive, and allow the Ghiljies, 5,000 strong, to come on, sword in hand. The infantry file-firing seconded the showers of grape, which told on them with fearful effect, causing the masses to reel and break; but again and again these mountaineers renewed the attack, nor were they defeated, till after the conflict had lasted five hours. Many hundreds of them were inhabitants of Candahar, to which they quietly returned after their rout, carrying with them the wounded.

These repeated chastisements gave some prospect of tranquillity, but only for a time. Ackbar Khan and Azmal Khan, two of the revolted chiefs, who had returned to their respective forts of Dirawut and Tizeen, sixty miles north of Candahar, when summoned to submit, answered with proud defiance, and once more began to muster their spears and matchlock-men, exciting thereby so much alarm, that a large portion of the troops in Candahar was detailed to act against them; and General Nott, after receiving some very contrary instructions, on finding himself left to his own discretion, put himself at the head of the expedition on the 29th September, and advanced into the disturbed districts with such a display of force as to compel chief after chief, without having recourse

to fighting, to submit to the authority of Shah Sujah. As it was evident that the rule of that prince would never be completed while "the accursed infidels" garrisoned the country, and would be at once shattered if they withdrew, it was resolved that we should remain in Afghanistan; and, without increasing the army, to reduce the expenditure but make a new loan, as the expenses of the war had drained the treasury at Calcutta.



SIR ROBERT SALE.

"The retrenchments," says Marshman, "were to be made by reducing the stipends of the chiefs; and, by that fatality which seemed to attend every measure connected with this unfortunate expedition, those who ought to have come last were taken up first. The eastern Ghiljies were the first to be summoned to Cabul, when they were informed that the exigencies of the State rendered the reduction of their allowances indispensable. The subsidies paid by us had been paid from time immemorial by every ruler of Afghanistan, and were regarded by the highlanders as a patrimonial inheritance. They were magnanimously indifferent to the politics of Afghanistan, and cared not who ruled so long as their franchise was not invaded. The stipends now reduced had been guaranteed to them when we took possession of the country, and they had performed their part of the contract with exemplary fidelity. They had not allowed a finger to be raised against our posts or couriers, or weak detachments, and convoys of every description had passed through their terrific defiles—the strongest mountain barriers in the world—without interruption. They received the announcement of the reduction in the beginning of October without any remonstrance, made their salaam to the envoy, and, returning to their fastnesses, plundered a caravan and blocked up the passes." *

Our communication with Hindostan being thus rendered impracticable, it was resolved to take advantage of the intended march downward of Sir Robert Sale's brigade to repress the Ghiljie rising and re-open the passes. Accordingly, on the 9th of October, 1841, the brigade, consisting of the

* "History of India."

13th Light Infantry, 800 strong, and the 35th Native Infantry, about the same strength, under Colonel Monteith, with two guns, marched towards the Khoord Cabul Pass, with orders to "chastise those rascals, and open the road to India"—orders in tenor somewhat like those issued by Cope and Hawley in other times. The arms of the brigade were the old flint muskets, which, from incessant use, had become very imperfect, and were apt to miss fire. Before moving, Sir Robert Sale reminded the authorities that there were in store 4,000 percussion muskets, perfectly new, and he begged that his regiment, at least, might be armed with them, and the old firelocks left behind. But the general commanding would not listen to the proposal. "What could the 13th want with new muskets, when it was well known that in marching out of Cabul they were but accomplishing the first stage of their journey to England?"

Hence many a poor fellow of the 13th never saw England; and when the day of our final overthrow came, 800 new muskets fell into the possession of Ackbar Khan.

The Khoord Cabul Pass consists of a narrow defile, overhung by lofty, rugged, and impending rocks, where the enemy clustered, thick and resolute, to dispute the way, and so completely sheltered by their position that, while remaining secure, they could, with their long *juzails* (or rifles) levelled over the rocks, quietly shoot down all that came within range. The casualties were sixty-seven ere the pass was forced, and Sale had his left leg shattered at the ankle by a ball. The 35th took up an advanced position, while, according to a previous arrangement, the 13th fell back upon Boothauk, which is only four miles south-east of Cabul, to wait for reinforcements; while Monteith underwent a harassing night attack, when the Ghiljies, in greater strength than ever, maintained a most obstinate conflict, inflicting a severe loss, which was further aggravated by the treachery of the Shah's Afghan cavalry, who, cold in his cause, failed to hold their ground, and enabled the enemy to carry off a number of our camels. But it was only after Sir Robert Sale, hastening on from Boothauk to support Monteith, pushed again through the pass, and, without much serious opposition, reached Jugdulluk, that the most stern struggle commenced.

The enemy, posted as before, upon advantageous heights, maintained from them a destructive fire, which could not be returned with sufficient effect, and to advance in the face of which was to court destruction. To neutralise it, parties were detached to take these heights in flank, and dislodge the foe by bayonet and bullet; while a third, under Captain Savage Wilkinson (who had served in Burmah with the 13th), dashed through the pass, in which the enemy had erected works, but, luckily, forgot to defend them. The onward march was now resumed, and Gundamuck reached, but not without a terrible loss of life and of much camp equipage. Among the killed was Captain Wyndham, of the 35th, who perished while performing an act of humanity. Seeing one of his sepoys wounded and unable to get on, he, though lame from a previous wound, dismounted, and lent him his horse. In the retreat he was thus unable to keep up with the soldiers, and fell into the hands of the enemy, who slew him.*

On reaching Tizeen Sir Robert Sale had sent a detachment against the fort of the Ghiljie leader, the capture of which would have inflicted a severe blow on the insurrection; but the wily chiefs contrived to outwit our political agent, and he was lured into a treaty which conceded all they wished. Their stipends were restored, and 10,000 rupees paid down; but the revolt, instead of being crushed, was rendered greater by this display of weakness. Thus, while professing submission, they sent emissaries to raise up the tribes in front of Sale, who was thus obliged to fight every inch of the way to Gundamuck, a walled village, where he found his rearward communication with the capital cut off, and the whole country in a blaze of rebellion, if it can with justice be called so.

At this time—and, indeed, during the whole progress of our disastrous intervention with Afghan affairs—the greatest infatuation seemed to pervade the minds and counsels of our officials there. Still dreaming of tranquillity, with the smoke of battle lingering in the passes, Sir William Macnaghten actually expressed a belief that the fierce attack on Sale's brigade "was the expiring effort of the rebels;" and in this delusion he did not stand alone. General William Keith-Elphinstone, C.B., and Sir Alexander Burnes were of the same opinion, "though there can now be little doubt that they were guided less by their judgments than blinded by their wishes."

The former, who now commanded the troops, was a gallant old Queen's officer, a Waterloo veteran, and Major-General of 1830, but broken-down in constitution, and, having already resigned, was longing to turn his steps homeward to die in Scotland, and for the arrival of General Nott, who, as next senior officer, was to assume the command; while Sir W. Macnaghten, who had been appointed Governor of Bombay, was irritated by every occurrence that obstructed his departure; and Sir

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

Alexander Burnes, who was to succeed him as envoy and minister at Cabul, was anxious to enter on his double duties; but fate ordained that they were all three to find their graves in the land of the Afghan.

Hence, influenced by personal views, they were but too apt to think hopefully of that tranquillity which alone could bring their wishes about; and "when warning was given of a gathering storm, they continued to see only a few passing clouds."

By the departure of Sale's brigade, Cabul had lost a large portion of its most necessary garrison. In the same spirit of confidence, orders had been given to General Nott to send a portion of the Candahar troops to Hindostan; and three regiments of native infantry, with the Bengal Artillery, had joyfully begun their march towards the Indus, when the alarming state of Cabul rendered their instant recall necessary. The whole tide of revolution had now, in bitter earnest, set in: all the hardy clans of Afghanistan had risen, to expel or destroy the infidel invaders by whom they deemed their native soil was polluted, believing the while that Sujah-ul-Mulk, the puppet shah, was but as a wretched tool by which to secure, in the end, their own usurpation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INSURRECTION AT CABUL.—MURDER OF SIR A. BURNES.—INCOMPETENCE OF THE OFFICIALS.—BLUNDER UPON BLUNDER AT THE CANTONMENTS.

CABUL, after Candahar, the second capital of Afghanistan, is built of sun-dried bricks and wood, and few of the houses are more than two storeys high. "Let the reader conceive a broken succession of houses, composed of mud walls of different elevations, pierced here and there with wooden pipes to carry off the rain from the flat roofs which it would otherwise injure; then let him imagine a few square low doors opening under the eaves of the first storey, projecting over a sort of trottoir, formed by the wearing away of the middle of the road, so angular that no wheel carriage could be driven along safely; now and then a larger door interposing the entrance to the residence of some great man, with a mulberry-tree occasionally peering over the wall, and he will form a good idea of a Cabul street." *

The city is about three miles in circuit. The Balahissar, or citadel, is on its south-eastern side, a quarter of a mile in breadth, and is girt by a lofty rampart and a broad moat of stagnant water. The principal street is a succession of bazaars, and, in 1832 presented an appearance of splendour; but all these edifices were destroyed in the troubles we are about to narrate. Around it the hills are bare and rocky, and the plain before it is barren. Cabul has few manufactures, but it is the centre of a great internal traffic, and was the entrepôt of trade between India, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. It is a place of great antiquity, and in the eighth century was the residence of a Hindoo prince.

The Indian Caucasus, with its summits covered by eternal snow, forms the background to the city, which, when seen from afar, has a very imposing aspect; and when our troops first appeared before it, the gardens and orchards which surround it on every side were teeming with fruit. Clear and rapid, though shallow, the Cabul river passes in front of the city, where it is crossed by three bridges, and pursues its course eastward to join the Indus. Havelock considered the Balahissar as the key of Cabul, and adds, that "the troops who hold it ought not to allow themselves to be dislodged but by a siege, and they must arm its population with their mortars and howitzers."

Lieutenant Durand, of the Engineers, when directed to select a proper station for the quartering of the troops, at once suggested the citadel, or upper portion of the Balahissar; but Shah Sujah declined to have the privacy of his palace destroyed by turning any portion of it into British barracks; so Durand was ordered to provide accommodation elsewhere, as the actual barracks in the citadel had been turned into a royal harem. Eventually, cantonments were erected on the worst site that could be chosen: on a flat space, two miles and a half north of Cabul, and nearly equi-distant from the Balahissar at its eastern, and the Kuzzilbash quarter at its western extremity. The cantonments, or ranges of huts, formed a parallelogram, about 1,200

* Vigne.

yards long by 600 yards broad. The Kohistan road bordered them on the west, as it ran towards a principal gate of the city; on the east lay a canal, 250 yards distant; and 300 yards further to the east ran the Cabul river. A shallow ditch, an indifferent rampart, and a round bastion at each of the four angles, formed the defences. North of these, and merely enclosed by a wall, was the residency; and by a singular blunder the government offices, instead of being within the cantonments, were placed in a little isolated part at 300 yards' distance; while, to make the position worse, a low range of heights, called the Seeah Sung Hills, and those of Beymaroo, commanded the whole of the buildings.

In these cantonments our troops passed the winter of 1840-1; and though the sepoys suffered so much from cold that the hospital was full, the British, by nature more robust, and accustomed to the climate of their native land, were rather healthy, and passed their time pleasantly. Cricket, shooting, fishing, hunting, and horse-racing, afforded occupation for the most active. For the latter sport the shah gave a valuable sword to be run for, and it was won by Major Daly, of the 4th Light Dragoons. Nor were amateur theatricals forgotten; nor in winter, skating on the lake of Istalif, on the waters of which an ingenious Scottish officer, named Sinclair, launched a boat of his own building, to the astonishment of the Afghans, who had never seen such a thing before; and they were heard to say that they wished the Feringhees had come among them as friends and not as enemies, adding, "you are fine fellows one by one; but, as a body, we hate you!" *

"Though a crisis had long been foreseen by those who, looking below the surface, saw the causes which were working to produce it, all the leading authorities, civil and military, continued as it were spell-bound. General Elphinstone, looking fondly forward, saw himself proceeding quietly under escort for the British frontier; Sir William Macnaghten had nearly completed the packing prior to his departure; and Sir Alexander Burnes felt so satisfied with the higher position on which he was about to enter, that, on the evening of the 1st November, he did not hesitate to congratulate the envoy on his approaching departure at a season of such profound tranquillity."

Yet it would appear, that some days previous a Moonshee, named Mohun Lal, of whose fidelity there was no doubt, and whose intelligence was unquestionable, had informed him that there was a general confederacy among the Afghan chiefs, and strongly warned him against the coming storm. Unwilling to believe in the existence of what he fervently wished would not happen, these notices served only to irritate him, and to such an extent, that he once haughtily expelled from his presence Gholam Mohammed Khan, a high Dooranee chief, who went to him by night to inform him of the coming mischief.

At that very time some of the conspirators were assembled in a house of the city concerting their plans for insurrection, and at dawn on the 2nd of November, with shrill yells and fierce imprecations, they and their followers surrounded the residence of Burnes, who instantly dispatched a messenger to the envoy at the cantonments for aid, while from the balcony of his house he harangued the armed mob, offering large sums for his own life and the lives of his brother, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, and Lieutenant Bradford, who had just arrived to act as his military secretary. He had a slender sepoy guard, whom he would not permit to use their arms, though firing had begun, and Bradford had fallen with a ball in his chest.

More obnoxious to the Afghan chiefs than all the other British officers, the unfortunate Burnes found his efforts to allay the tumult utterly unavailing. He was eventually decoyed into his garden by a treacherous Cashmerian, who took an oath upon the Koran that he would convey him and his brother to the Kuzzilbash fort, which was a mile distant, and then held by Captain Trevor with a very small party. Disguised as a native, Sir Alexander descended to the door, and the moment he passed it, his traitorous guide exclaimed, "This is Sekunder Burnes!" In an instant both brothers were literally hacked to pieces by Afghan knives; and the sepoys, after a fruitless resistance, were barbarously butchered, with every man, woman, and child in the place. The paymaster's guard shared the same fate, and £17,000 fell into the hands of the insurgent chiefs, who had so little expectation of success, that they had their horses saddled for flight on the first appearance of the British troops; and they subsequently acknowledged that the slightest exhibition of energy at the commencement would have put down the insurrection at once; but no effort was made.*

Although the rabble at first were little more than 300 strong, our superior officers—more especially old General Elphinstone—were so thunderstruck as to be incapable of proper action. To the credit of the shah—coward though he was—on hearing of the uproar, he sent forth against the rioters one of his Hindostanee regiments and two guns, under

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

* Marshman, &c.

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the command of an able officer, a Scoto-Indian, named Campbell.

The latter, in his impetuosity, instead of taking a route that would have led them to the house of Burnes with little obstruction, endeavoured to make his way straight through the very heart of the city, where his troops became entangled in the crooked and narrow streets. A conflict ensued; 200 of his men fell, and the rest commenced a retreat so disorderly, that all must have perished, but for the timely arrival of Brigadier Shelton, who had brought into the Balahissar three companies of the 54th Bengal Native Infantry, Shah Sujah's 6th Regiment, and four guns, the whole force which he had then in a small camp beyond the Seeah Sung Hills. He extricated the Hindostanees of Campbell, but failed to save their two guns, as he had lost some time in parleying with the shah about an entrance to the palace. Shelton was Lieutenant-Colonel of H.M. 44th, and had lost an arm at the storming of St. Sebastian.

On the evening of this disastrous day, General Elphinstone—an amiable and, at one time, a most gallant officer, who was suffering from a long and painful illness, which affected his mind as well as his body—instead of adopting a vigorous plan for operations on the morrow, wrote to Sir W. Macnaghten: "We must see what the morning brings, and think what can be done."

The morrow saw 3,000 armed Ghiljies rushing through the Khoord Cabul Pass towards the convulsed capital, while other numerous bands began to hover on the hills that overlook it, and still our leaders remained in a state of fatuous indecision. On the bank of the river there was a tower, occupied by Captain Trevor, with a few men. As it was in the Kuzzilbash quarter it was deemed of importance to retain it, as a means for communication with the inhabitants there, who were understood to be better affected towards the British than any other portion of the Afghan population. Advantage ought to have been taken of its proximity to garrison it efficiently, and secure it against capture. Elsewhere, on the right branch of the road, 500 yards beyond it, stood a large fort, enclosing the magazines erected for the commissariat of Shah Sujah's contingent. Though ill-selected, it was quite defensible if properly manned, and the importance of securing it was great, as at that time it contained a great store of grain. Yet, in the spirit of blundering, nothing was done to prevent its falling into the hands of the fast-gathering enemy, who, on the very morning of the outbreak, assailed it with fury, and it was evident that, unless relieved, its few defenders would be compelled to succumb; yet General Elphinstone looked helplessly on, and Captain Lawrence, who offered to march with two companies to its succour, was not permitted to do so.

In addition to Brigadier Shelton's futile attempt to succour Burnes—futile through the fault of Shah Sujah, not of himself—the only active step taken was to increase the party in the commissariat fort to eighty bayonets: a most pitiful reinforcement, when we remember that the subsistence of the troops depended upon the protection of the stores that were there; and to add to its perils, no attempt was made to dismantle some adjacent forts that commanded it, or to destroy the walls of an adjacent garden and orchard, from which a musketry fire could be maintained against it. But the terrible penalty for all the shortcomings of those in authority was close at hand now.

Within thirty hours of the outbreak, even Sir William Macnaghten began to despond, and dispatched letters to Generals Nott and Sale, desiring them to march at once to his relief; for now the fatal errors of failing to occupy the Balahissar, and erecting the cantonment on such low ground, were painfully apparent. The note sent to Candahar, consisting of a slip of fine paper enclosed in a quill, such as the natives place in their ears when the rings are taken out, did not reach General Nott till the 14th November. It desired him to march upon Cabul, with all the troops then under orders for Hindostan, together with Shah Sujah's Horse Artillery and half of his 1st Cavalry. There was nothing to preclude his compliance with this peremptory order, though there were some obstacles which he seems to have deemed insurmountable: such as the depth of the snow—between Cabul and Ghuznee five feet, at least—and a belief that thereby the troops would arrive, after five weeks' delay, in a state quite unfit for service. Moreover, there was the disordered state of the country, where the people spoke openly of attacking him; and, as an earnest of their evil will, Captain Woodburn, who was proceeding on sick leave to Cabul, was assailed by an armed band after leaving Ghuznee, and barbarously slain, only six out of his escort of 130 men escaping the same fate.

On the other hand, the order sent to Sir Robert Sale was equally futile, but the 37th Bengal Native Infantry, which had been left to hold the western entrance of the Khoord Cabul Pass, came duly into camp, under Major Griffiths, on the morning of the 3rd, with all their baggage and equipage in order, though they had been obliged to fight every foot of the way.* No other succour

* Lady Sale's "Journal."

reached our doomed men in Cabul; for, before receiving the order Sir Robert Sale had quitted the village of Gundamuck, and was pushing to reach the city of Jelalabad: though, no doubt, he would gladly, at the head of his gallant light infantry, have gone back to Cabul, where his wife, his daughter, and her husband, Lieutenant Sturt, were sharing the perils of the rest. But to have done so was impossible. His troops were worn out by unremitting attacks, both day and night, by continual intrenching, and most arduous outpost duty. "I beg to represent," he also states, "that the whole of my camp equipage has been destroyed; the wounded and sick have increased to upwards of 300; and that there is no longer a single depôt on the route, and the carriage of the force is not sufficient to bring on one day's rations with it. I have at this time positive information that the whole country is in arms, and ready to oppose us in the defiles between this city and Cabul, while my ammunition is insufficient for two such contests, as I should assuredly have to maintain for six days' at least. With my present means I could not force the Passes of Jugdulluk or Khoord Cabul; and even if the débris of my brigade did reach Cabul, I am given to understand that I should find the troops now garrisoning it without the means of subsistence. Under these circumstances, a regard for the honour and the interest of our Government compels me to adhere to my plan already formed of putting this place (Jelalabad) into a state of defence, and holding it until the Cabul force falls back upon me, or succours arrive from Peshawur or India."

The morning for which the general waited came, and saw, as we have said, the force of the insurgents greatly increased; for thousands, who had hitherto held aloof, now openly rose in arms, and thousands more, hearing of the plunder that might be obtained, came pouring from their mountain villages towards the British cantonments; and the Kohistan road, along which we might have passed with ease on the 2nd of November, was now completely beset by exulting and bloodthirsty hordes of horse and foot.

So miserable was the indecision of Elphinstone, that it was not until three o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd, that any attempt was made to penetrate from the cantonments into the city; and the whole force employed for this purpose consisted of only one company of her Majesty's ill-fated 44th, two of the 5th Bengal Native Infantry, and two horse artillery guns. Major Thomas Swayne, 44th, an officer who had served in the wars of America and Burmah, encountered an opposition which compelled him to fall back. His force was too feeble to achieve anything, and, in addition to this blunder, not the slightest effort was made to open up a communication with the troops in the Balahissar.

Meanwhile, Captain Trevor had been compelled to abandon his fort, thankful only that some friendly natives had, prior to that, secretly removed his wife and seven children to the cantonments; and Captain Mackenzie, an energetic Highlander, who commanded at the shah's commissariat, after keeping the enemy at bay for two whole days, and sending importunate and futile messages for support, was compelled to quit his post, as the enemy had undermined it; and our officers and men looked over the cantonment walls, "burning with indignation, while a rabble of Afghans was employed, unchecked, like a swarm of ants, in carrying off the provisions on which their hope of sustaining life depended." The effect of this episode was very great upon the troops, and thoroughly inspired them with alarm. "It no sooner became generally known," says Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, "that the commissariat fort—upon which we were dependent for supplies—had been abandoned, than one universal feeling of indignation pervaded the garrison; nor can I describe the impatience of the troops—but especially the native portion—to be led out for its re-capture: a feeling which was by no means diminished by their seeing the Afghans crossing and re-crossing the road between the commissariat fort and the Shah Bagh, laden with the provisions on which had depended our ability to make a protracted defence." *

Other disasters succeeded this; and, by the 5th of November, the general, alarmed by the loss of the commissariat fort, actually began to talk of terms with the enemy, and in one of his letters to the envoy, wrote thus:—"It behoves us to look to the consequences of failure. In this case I know not how we are to subsist, or, from want of provisions, to retreat. You should, therefore, consider what chance there is of making terms, if we are driven to this extremity." When such was the language adopted, after such gross mismanagement, what could be expected but ruin and death? "He has an army," says a writer, justly, "which, handled by such men as Sale or Nott, would have sufficed to clear the district of every rebel Afghan who dared to show his face, and he keeps it cooped up within cantonments, timidly whispering about difficulties, till he has broken the spirit of his men, taught them to dread an enemy whom they previously despised, and thus prepared them

* "Military Operations in Cabul."



ASSASSINATION OF SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

for every species of humiliation. On the following day, writing as before to the envoy, he recurs to the subject which was now evidently uppermost in his mind, and, as if the resolution to treat had been already taken, seems only anxious that the negociations should not be protracted."

This timidity was the more inexcusable as, on that day (the 6th of November) the prospects of the army had improved. Captains Boyd and Johnson, the respective heads of the British and Shah's commissariat, had exerted themselves to the utmost to compensate for the loss of the stores, by extensive purchases in the adjacent villages, so that the danger of starvation ceased to be imminent.

A work, called Mohammed Shureef's Fort, which commanded the commissariat fort, and occupied a height on the opposite side of the Kohistan road, and which was crowded with the enemy, who plied their juzails and matchlocks from its walls, after being the subject of much discussion, and the scene of more than one disgraceful repulse, was captured at last in a manner which showed that common energy, at first, might have suppressed the whole insurrection.

As soon as Lieutenant Sturt had so far recovered from some wounds which he had received during an affair in the city, he asked leave to open on the fort with three nine-pounders and two twenty-four-pound howitzers. These effected a breach by twelve o'clock, and an assault was made with such gallantry that the enemy, after a brief resistance, abandoned the place. Ensign W. G. Rahan, of H.M. 44th, while brandishing his sword on the summit of the breach, which he had been the first to mount, was shot through the heart, and eighteen of the stormers were killed.* A sepoy private, who distinguished himself, was promoted to the rank of sergeant, and before the enemy recovered from their consternation, they were charged twice: first by Anderson's Horse, who rode straight up a ridge to the right of the fort, and secondly, by some of the 5th Cavalry, who attacked them on the left.

The effect of these movements was to hem the enemy in between the two corps, and force them to a general encounter under circumstances so unfavourable that, if followed up, would ensure their total destruction. But Elphinstone failed to see this, and full of groundless fears, actually expressed doubts about the ammunition, though there was enough in store to last the army for a year; and he urged upon the envoy, "we are in a dilemma, from which there is no hope of escape by honourable or manly means. Fighting is of no use. Try diplomacy, and do not stand upon punctilios; for if it fails our case is desperate."

Sir William, who had often found money succeed when other resources failed, hoped by means of it to conciliate, at least, some of the chiefs, or sow dissension among them, and break up their confederation, and he was quite cognisant of the jealousies and suspicions that existed among them. The Kuzzilbashes, or Persian party, as Shiites, stood somewhat apart from the rest of the Afghans, who were rigid Soonees, and dreaded the tyranny to which they might be subjected if the British were expelled. Mohun Lal, the moonshee of Sir Alexander Burnes, when that unfortunate man was killed, had saved his life by taking shelter under the ample garment of a Kuzzilbash chief, named Mohammed Zemaun Khan. Another chief of still greater influence, Khan Shereen Khan, had afterwards taken him under his protection; and he was residing with him on the 7th November, when the envoy began his Machiavellian policy, and wrote, authorising him "to assure his friends, Khan Shereen Khan and Mohammed Kumye, that if they performed the service, the payment would certainly be forthcoming—£10,000 to the former, and £5,000 to the latter."

The nature of the service required was to kill or seize certain of the rebels, and to arm all the Sheeahs, to spread dissension, and 10,000 rupees were offered for the head of each of the rebel chiefs. This would seem to have been promised by Lieutenant Conolly to Mohun Lal. Though nothing of moment came of all this, Conolly's offer would seem, nevertheless, to have been acted on to a certain extent; as, within a month from that time, Abdoolah Khan and Meer Musjedee, two chiefs who had been specially marked out for assassination, were both dead, "and under circumstances so suspicious, that the blood-money was actually claimed by the wretches hired to assassinate them, and was only evaded by an abominable subterfuge." Abdoolah Khan was wounded mortally in battle, but by a ball from one of Mohun Lal's juzailchees, who fired at him from behind a wall; the other is said to have been suffocated in his sleep. "One would fain keep the envoy free from all connection with these atrocious proceedings; and it has only been suggested that Conolly made his inhuman offer at the suggestion of Shah Sujah alone."

While Elphinstone was counselling diplomacy, and Macnaghten was endeavouring to put off the day of evil by an ample distribution of gold, which, as a fresh token of our weakness, only served to increase the arrogance of the insurgent chiefs, the

* Thornton.

revolt spread so rapidly over the whole country as to leave our troops at their several stations only the ground they actually occupied. The adherents of Dost Mohammed had ever been numerous in Kohistan; and there, a Ghoorka regiment, quartered at Charikur, a town in the Ghirbund valley, and the seat of the *Hakim*, or governor, of the province, was all but annihilated. Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, who was then acting as political agent on the frontier of Turkestan, occupied the castle of Lughmannee, about two miles distant, and after a furious struggle, succeeded in uniting his detachment to the Ghoorkas under Captain Codrington. By this time the fortified barrack of Charikur was surrounded by vast bodies of Kohistanees, who pressed to the attack with equal fury and determination. Pottinger opened on them with a field-piece, but was soon disabled by a musket-shot in the leg; and Codrington, while gallantly heading his Ghoorkas, was carried in mortally wounded. The soldiers, now reduced to 200 men, had emptied their last vessel of water, and were perishing with thirst. They resolved, therefore, to evacuate Charikur, and, as their ammunition was nearly expended, to force their way, in light marching order, at the point of the bayonet, to Cabul. This resolution, born of despair, had but a small prospect of success, and on the first day's march all order was lost.

Pottinger, and another officer named Houghton, suffering from wounds, and feeling that they could be of no service, put spurs to their horses, and after many perilous adventures, reached our cantonments at Cabul, while the retiring party, led by Ensign Rose and Dr. Grant, struggled on till it reached a place called Kardurrah, where it was overwhelmed and destroyed. Ensign Rose fought with heroic valour, and slew four of the enemy ere he fell, covered with wounds; but the fate of Dr. Grant was more piteous. Fighting his way off, he escaped, and arrived within three miles of Cabul, weary, faint, and worn; and in this condition was barbarously murdered in cold blood by some woodcutters.

We have already referred to the age and infirmities of General Elphinstone. At this time he was nearly crippled by a rheumatic gout; and a very severe fall from his horse on the 2nd of November, the day of the outbreak, added seriously to his ailments. So long as he had found himself capable of acting at all, he felt bound to remain in command, till either General Nott, or some other officer, was appointed to relieve him of it; but now, he called in Brigadier Shelton to act as his second in command, and to take the more heavy and active duties of the field. Shelton was an officer of great energy, distinguished for his courage and iron nerve; and when he came into the cantonments from the Balahissar, on the 9th of November, with Shah Sujah's 6th Infantry and a six-pound field-piece, he raised the drooping spirits of the troops; but it was soon apparent that his insupportable temper neutralised all his great military qualifications. At this time, he reports, there were only three days' provisions in the cantonments, and he read anxiety in every face.

On the day after his arrival an offensive movement was resolved on. It was directed against a work named the Rickabashee's fort, which stood nearly midway between the Cabul river and the mission residence north of the cantonments, and so near the latter, that our men in the bastions were shot down by the fire of juzails from its walls. Against it 2,000 men were detailed; and Shelton was in the act of forming the column, when he heard Elphinstone say feebly to his aide-de-camp, "I think we had better give up the idea." "Then why not countermand at once?" asked the aide-de-camp; so the counter order was actually given. By Macnaghten's advice the attack was again ordered; but two hours had been lost; the spirit of the soldiers was damped by this indecision and forebodings of failure, while the enemy had been adding to their means of resistance.

Elphinstone set out with 1,000 infantry, composed of the 44th Regiment and two native battalions, some of Anderson's corps, and one gun. The gate was to be blown open; but, unfortunately, the explosion only opened a wicket, which the stormers found a difficulty in passing through under a hot musketry fire. A few, however, forced their way in with the bayonet, and struck terror into the enemy, who strove to escape on the other side; but at that very moment the cry of "Cavalry!" together with a sudden charge by some Afghan horse, struck equal terror into those without the wicket, and both queen's troops and sepoys, turning their backs, fled.

Disdaining flight, Shelton succeeded more than once in rallying them, and succeeded in saving the few brave fellows who had already entered the fort, and been exposed there to a fearful conflict. They shut the rear-gate, out of which the enemy had fled, drew a chain across it, and further secured it by a bayonet. Two of their number, Lieutenants Cadell and Hawtrey, returned to bring assistance; but ere Shelton had the fugitives rallied, the Afghans returned, forced away the chain and bayonet, and attacked the few who were in the fort. There Colonel Mackerral fell, mortally wounded;

and Lieutenant Bird, of the 37th Bengal Native Infantry, with two sepoys, took shelter in a stable, and barring the door of it, kept up a fire through some air-holes. Against this frail post the enemy dashed with all their fury; but the three men defended their lives most resolutely: they shot down thirty of their assailants. When succour came at last, and the fort was taken, one of the faithful sepoys had fallen; but Bird and the other were found unharmed, with only five cartridges left, and a pile of Afghan dead heaped up before the stable door.*

In this affair we had 200 men killed or wounded. Captain M'Crea, of the 44th, was cut down in the first attack upon the gateway, and Captain Westmeath was shot outside. The effect of our success was such that the enemy abandoned the adjacent forts; and in one of these some grain was found, and during the day fatigue parties removed much of it to a safer place. By the commissary a guard was applied for, to protect the rest during the night; but, with the infatuation which characterised everything connected with the command of this unfortunate army, his request was refused, and before dawn it was all carried off by the enemy.

On the 13th of November the latter appeared in unusual force on the Beymaroo Hills, which lay westward of the cantonments and the Kohistan road, across which they fired, with two guns, into the former. Urged by Macnaghten, the general was induced to send out a strong force in three columns, with two guns, to dislodge them; but on this occasion all the troops, European and native, displayed such a lack of common courage as to excite the astonishment of their officers. Of the latter the men did not doubt the bravery; but they had lost all confidence in their commander-in-chief, and were loth to throw away their lives in futile enterprises. One of the enemy's guns was captured, however, but the other was protected by a heavy fire from the Afghan matchlocks; and neither by words nor example could the officers of the 44th get their men to advance against it, though it lay abandoned in a ravine. As if to shame them, Lieutenant Eyre, attended by one horse artillery gunner, went forward to the gun, spiked it, and returned untouched.

The bad example set by the 44th—a regiment which had distinguished itself in Egypt, in Spain, and at Waterloo—infected the whole native troops; but the attack on the heights had a salutary effect on the Afghans, who for nearly a week offered us no molestation; and Elphinstone, well content to be let alone, left the enemy to adopt their own course.

* Thornton.

On the 22nd of November a contest ensued at the village of Beymaroo, which lies northward of the heights of that name. Though it afforded the troops supplies, it was left utterly unprotected; hence, to cut off our resources, the Afghans took quiet possession of it. On this, General Elphinstone ordered an attack to be made upon it, before daybreak on the 23rd, by a strong force of horse and foot, under Brigadier Shelton and Major Swayne, of the 44th, with a single gun. A standing order had been issued by the Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General, to the effect, "that under no circumstances, unless where a second could not be obtained, were less than two guns to be taken into the field;" and the events of this day showed the propriety of his rule.

By two o'clock a.m., Shelton had the gun in position upon a knoll, from whence it opened with grape upon an enclosure of the village which seemed full of the enemy; and he contented himself with this distant firing instead of dashing on with the bayonet, and taking them by surprise. Meanwhile, the Afghans had begun to ply their juzails (long matchlocks, which are fired over a forked rest, and carry further than the muskets of those days), and the sound brought thousands of the insurgents from the city across the hills to take part in the conflict. When day broke the opposing parties saw each other's position distinctly—the British in possession of one hill, and the enemy holding another, with a ravine between them. The juzail fire having become destructive, the brigadier left five companies on a flank of the hill overhanging the village, and hurrying across the ravine with the remainder, took post with the gun on the brow of the enemy's hill. There he formed his infantry in two hollow squares, with the cavalry in their rear. This singular formation was not productive of mischief so long as the solitary gun, which was ably worked by Sergeant Mulhall, told with effect on the crowded Afghans; but when, from incessant firing, it became hot and unserviceable, the folly of not having another soon became apparent.

The long range of the Afghan juzails enabled them to pour in a murderous fire, which the British were unable to return; and most disastrous was the result. Why these useless squares, covered by cavalry, were kept in such a position, neither advancing nor retreating, has never been explained; but the spirit of the troops was so completely broken that they were incapable of resisting the terror which began to seize them. Led by some fanatical Ghazees, the Afghans, whose movements had been concealed by a ridge, now rushed, yelling,

from behind it, and in an instant all was confusion in our ranks. The squares broke. When ordered to charge, the cavalry, like the infantry, wheeled about and fled, leaving the gun in the hands of the enemy.

All seemed lost, when Shelton had the presence of mind to order a halt to be sounded. Mechanically, by mere force of habit, the men obeyed, re-formed, and advanced upon the enemy. It was now the turn of the Ghazees to fly, the gun was re-taken, and the tide of the conflict flowed to and fro over the hill; but the village remained uncaptured; and when it was suggested that the troops should return to the cantonments while they could do so with honour—"Oh, no," replied Shelton, "we shall keep the hill a little longer." And his ground he certainly kept, losing many valuable lives, till another rush of yelling Ghazees caused another panic, and the troops gave way again. They fled in such confusion, pursuers and pursued all mingled, that had the Afghans known how to use their advantage, even the cantonments must have fallen into their hands.

It is said that the brigadier had the folly to inquire that evening of Lady Sale if she did approve of all the troops had done; and we are told that "this brave woman, accustomed to witness the heroic deeds of her illustrious husband, and the military genius which distinguished him, answered with indignant censure, pointing out the absurdities, in a military point of view, of the way in which the undertaking had been conducted and had failed."

CHAPTER XIX.

MOHAMMED SHUREEF'S FORT RE-CAPTURED.—EVACUATION OF THE BALAHISSAR.—TREATY WITH THE AFGHANS.—MURDER OF THE ENVOY, ETC.

HARASSED by being kept perpetually on the alert day and night, pining with cold, hunger, hopelessness, and exhausted by incessant fatigue, the spirit of our troops was broken, and, without shame, they fled from foes whom they despised. What was to be done now? A retreat to the Balahissar was still open, and the shah was in such alarm that he would now gladly have seen the red-coats guarding its walls. But another resource was deemed preferable—to treat for terms with the insurgents; and the envoy, having ascertained that they were willing to do so, dispatched a message to the Afghan chiefs, requesting them to appoint deputies to discuss the preliminaries of a treaty.

On the 25th of November the meeting was held, at an intermediate spot, Sultan Mohammed Khan and Meerza Ahmed Ali representing the Afghans, and Captains Lawrence and Trevor the British. The former, though representing chiefs, some of whom had betrayed Dost Mohammed, and were now ready to betray Shah Sujah, assumed a tone so arrogant, that after two hours' discussion no progress had been made.

At last they requested to see Sir W. Macnaghten, and had an interview with him in one of the gateways of the cantonments. During that conference a bullet whistled over his head; but his hour was not yet come. It was unavailing. The Afghan chiefs demanded that the British should surrender as prisoners of war, delivering up their arms, ammunition, and treasure. These terms were, of course, rejected, and the Afghan chiefs departed, muttering dark menaces. Some days passed now without active measures being taken; but this delay, while it improved the position of the enemy, was most ruinous to our army.

Their stores were consumed faster than they could be replaced, and it became obvious that, at last, they would be starved into accepting any terms. Daily the soldiers became more demoralised, and, on more than one occasion, exhibited the most despicable cowardice; and hence, on the 6th of December, Mohammed Shureef's fort, which it had cost us so much trouble to gain, was re-captured.

The Afghans tried to blow up the gate with powder, but not understanding the process, the explosion only did harm to themselves. They then tried a mine, but Lieutenant Sturt—Sale's heroic son-in-law—entered it in the night and destroyed it; then the cowardice of the 44th, or East Essex Regiment, betrayed the fort. The garrison consisted of one company of that corps, and one of the 37th Bengal Native Infantry. On seeing some Afghans, who had mounted to a window, using their crooked sticks as ladders, they

fled like sheep to the gates. Not a man of the 44th was touched when they thus abandoned Lieutenant Alured Gray, while getting his wound dressed. "They all ran as fast as they could. The 44th say that the 37th ran first, and as they were too weak they went too."* But Lieutenant Hawtrey, the officer in command, said, "There was not a pin to choose—all were cowards alike." A company of the 44th, which held the bazaar, endeavoured to run away like their comrades in the fort, but their officers, by desperate exertions, prevented them, and a guard of sepoys had to be placed at the entrance to prevent the Europeans from deserting! At last discipline began to fail in the cantonments as well as in the field; and there also the luckless 44th set the evil example.

In the now terrible dilemma, the envoy showed more spirit than the general. The latter thought of nothing but negociating, while the former urged that the sick and wounded should be sent to the Balahissar under cloud of night, and that the whole of the troops should fight their way thither, after destroying all ordnance and stores that could not be removed. But the feeble general could see no relief, beyond getting out of the cantonments or the country by what he called "honourable terms." On the 11th of December, 1841, there was but *one* day's food in the commissariat for the fighting men, and then the envoy opened a negociation with the enemy. The conference took place on the bank of the Cabul river, about a mile from the cantonments. It was attended by Ackbar Khan, the most able of the sons of Dost Mohammed, a young soldier of great energy and great ferocity, with a fiery and ungovernable temper, who had arrived in Cabul and assumed the leadership of the national confederacy, the principal chiefs of which attended him. With the envoy were Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie. The former read the draft of a treaty which he had previously prepared, and which stipulated that the troops now at Cabul would march to Peshawur, and thence to India, without delay, the chiefs engaging to keep them unmolested, and to furnish "all possible assistance in arms and provisions;" that Shah Sujah should have the option of remaining in Afghanistan, on a maintenance of not less than three lacs of rupees per annum, or of accompanying the troops, and that immediate arrangements would be made for the return of Dost Mohammed and other noble Afghans now detained in India.



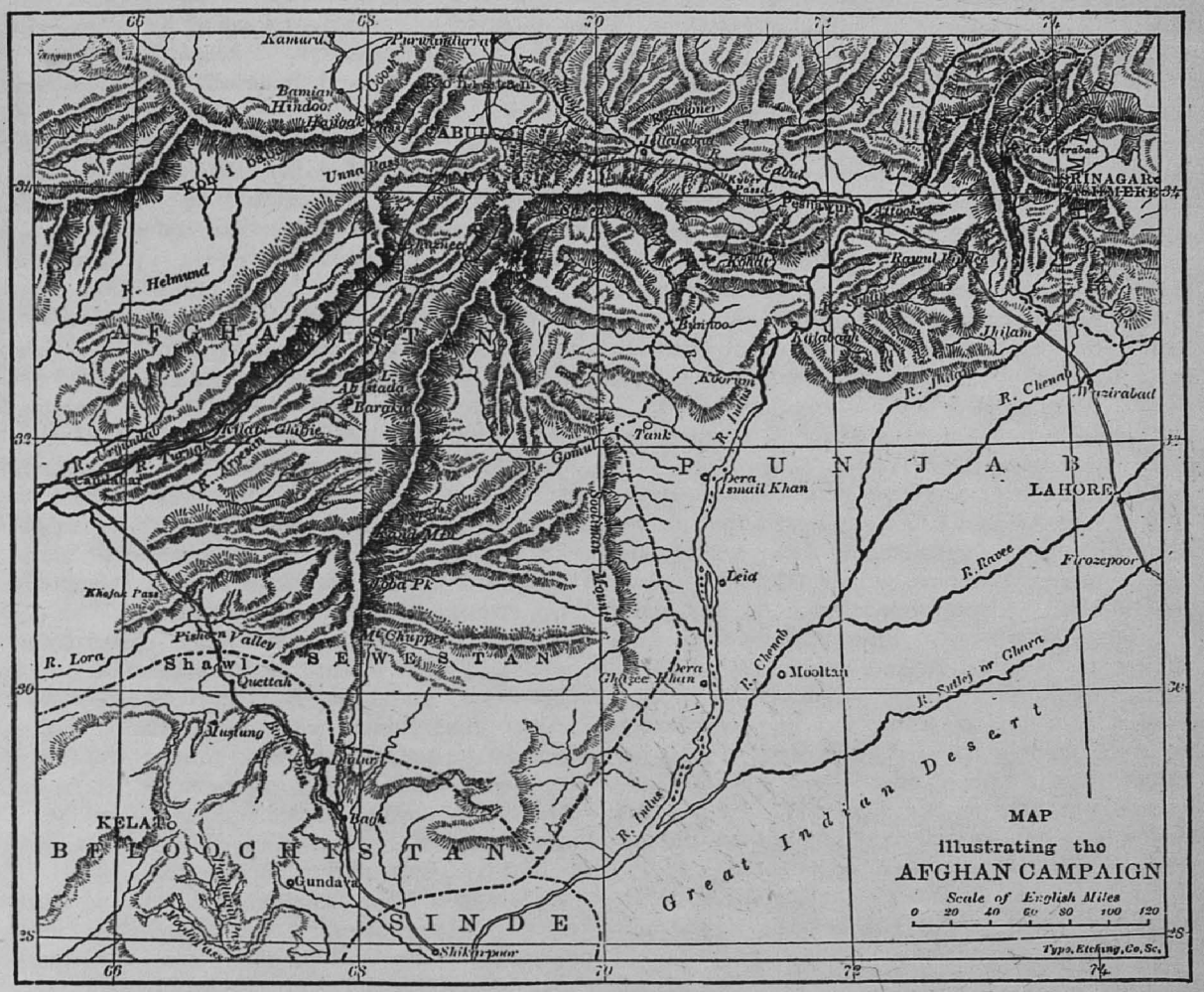
WELL IN THE HYRCANIAN DESERT.

* Lady Sale's "Journal."

As he read, he received but one interruption from Ackbar Khan, who said, bluntly, that there would be no occasion to supply the troops with provisions, as their march from the cantonments might be commenced on the following day. The other chiefs checked his impetuosity, and the reading continued to the end of this document, the most disgraceful in the brilliant annals of British India.

"Environed and hemmed in by difficulties and dangers—overwhelmed with responsibilities there were none to share—the lives of 15,000 resting on his decision—the honour of his country at stake—with a perfidious enemy at his back, he was driven to negociate by the imbecility of his companions."

The Afghans were crafty, ferocious, avaricious and vindictive, and we could have no guarantee



MAP OF AFGHANISTAN.

In its extenuation, the envoy placed on record that "we had been fighting forty days against superior numbers, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, with deplorable loss of life, and in a day or two must have perished of hunger. The terms I secured were the best obtainable, and the destruction of 15,000 human beings would little have benefited our country, while the Government would have been almost compelled to avenge our fate, at whatever cost." Sir J. W. Kaye more accurately describes his position thus:—

that, after agreeing to the conditions, they would fulfil them. On the third day our troops were to evacuate the cantonments, and this done, without hostages, they would be entirely at the mercy of the enemy, who had the option of destroying them by starvation or the sword; and it never was their intention to permit the escape of the Europeans.

Our troops in the Balahissar, 600 strong, were to evacuate it on the 13th of December, and proceed to the cantonments; and, as it was most necessary that their store of grain, amounting to 1,600

maunds, should not be left behind, every arrangement was made for its removal; but this occupied so much time that night fell before they were ready to march. Ackbar Khan, who had undertaken to guide and protect them, had his men under arms apparently for that purpose. As soon as the head of the column began to emerge from the gate, some of these made a rush at it to force an entrance. On this our troops closed it, and, lining the walls, opened a destructive and indiscriminate fire on friends and foes alike.

On this, Ackbar Khan declared that he could not guarantee the safety of our troops if they persisted in marching in the dark, as the Seeah Sung hills, along which they must pass, were crowded with Ghiljies, whom no power could restrain. The result was, that our troops, most of whom were sepoys, were compelled to remain outside the walls, without either food or shelter, exposed to the severity of such a winter night as they had never experienced before. Indiscriminate slaughter might have befallen them had Ackbar proved treacherous; but he kept his faith then, and, though much exhausted, they reached the cantonments next morning.

The adjacent forts were now resigned to the enemy, and Ackbar Khan received letters to the commandants at Candahar and other military stations, ordering them to retire. The chiefs were now allowed to enter our magazines, and assist themselves to whatever stores they fancied, while officers and soldiers looked indignantly on; but the supplies furnished scarcely sufficed to appease hunger, and Ackbar Khan and his compatriots, while withholding the necessary carriage and provisions for the march, raised their demands, and insisted not only on the surrender of stores and ammunition of every description, but on the delivery of all the married families as hostages.

Under these desperate circumstances, Macnaghten directed Mohun Lal to open negociations with other tribes, and inform them if any portion of the Afghans declared to the shah that they wished him to remain, he would break with the faithless Barukzyes, the tribe of Ackbar, to whom he had shown his friendship by making him a present of his carriage and horses. It was at this most critical juncture that Sir William received a most unexpected message from Ackbar, with a new proposal that the British forces should remain till spring; that in conjunction with his troops they should attack the fort and seize the person of Ameen-oolah-Khan, the projector of the insurrection; that Shah Sujah should retain the throne; and that Ackbar be appointed vizier, receiving from our Government an immediate payment of thirty lacs, and an annual stipend of four lacs. In an hour that was alike one of evil for his reputation and safety, the envoy agreed to these terms in writing, and promised to attend a meeting which was appointed to be held next day.

The game which Sir William Macnaghten was playing, in seeking to set one portion of the tribes against the other, while apparently leaguing with both, scarcely deserved to succeed; and while he smiled at his own dexterity in keeping it secret, the chiefs knew it all, and believed themselves well entitled to checkmate him.

Though the envoy had frequently been warned of the danger of intriguing with one so artful as Ackbar Khan, he had apparently made up his mind to risk all now, rather than endure suspense. Accordingly, after breakfast on the 23rd, he sent for Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, to accompany him to a conference with Ackbar. The greater prudence or keener perception of Mackenzie led him to be suspicious, and he stigmatised the conference as "a trap." "Trust to me for that," replied the envoy confidently. As yet, General Elphinstone had been kept in the dark as to the new plans and proposals; and when told of them, he was far from satisfied, and asked "what part the other Barukzye chiefs had taken in the negociation." "They are not in the plot," replied the envoy. "Do you not then apprehend treachery?" asked the general. "None whatever," replied Macnaghten; "and I am certain the plan will succeed. What I wish you to do is, to have two regiments and two guns quickly ready, and, without making any show, be prepared to move towards the fort of Mohammed Khan." Elphinstone still doubted and remonstrated, until Macnaghten almost rudely cut him short by saying, "Leave it all to me—I understand these things better than you do."

Accompanied by Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, with a small escort, the envoy, about noon on the 23rd, repaired to the place of meeting, about 600 yards eastward of the cantonments, near where a bridge crossed the Cabul river. It was situated on a green slope among some knolls, and was indicated by a number of horse-cloths, which had been spread on the grass for the occasion. While proceeding, the envoy remembered that a beautiful and valuable Arab horse, which he intended to present to Ackbar Khan, who coveted it, had been left behind. He requested Captain Mackenzie to return for it, and meanwhile he, with the other two officers, was occupying his thoughts on the subject, and unable, it would appear, to repress some foreboding of the fate that was so near

him now, he said, "Death is preferable to the life we are leading here!"

Ackbar Khan was most profuse in his thanks for the present of the Arab horse, and also for a very handsome pair of pistols, which he had also coveted at a previous meeting. Sir William reclined on the slope, and Trevor and Mackenzie seated themselves close to him; but Lawrence, who was full of undefined suspicion, remained standing, till, on being importuned, he knelt on one knee, but ready to start at a moment's notice; and meanwhile, the two battalions in the cantonment were getting under arms. "Are you ready to carry out the proposals of the past evening?" said Ackbar Khan abruptly. "Why not?" replied Sir William; but Lawrence now called attention to the Afghans who were crowding about them, and said that "if the conference was to be a secret one, intruders should be removed."

Then some of the chiefs made a pretence of clearing the circle with their riding-whips. "Their presence can do no harm," exclaimed Ackbar Khan, "as they are all in the secret." What the latter was did not remain long a doubt. The envoy and his companions were seized suddenly behind, and, incapable of resistance, were roughly dragged away, and placed each behind an Afghan trooper, who galloped with his prey towards the great square fort of Mohammed Khan. Trevor fell from his seat on the way, and was instantly cut to pieces by the Ghazees, while Lawrence and Mackenzie were flung into the fort. In the meantime, Sir William had been grasped by the ruffian, Ackbar Khan, and together they struggled desperately on the ground. Whether he merely meant to drag him away like the others is now unknown; but in the fury of resistance Ackbar's rage became roused, and he shot Macnaghten dead with one of the pistols so recently presented to him. Horror and wonder were seen in the face of the doomed man as he received his death-shot; and the only words he was heard to utter were, "*Az barae Khoda!*" (for God's sake!) The body was then hacked to pieces by armed fanatics. The hands were hewn off, carried about, and then flung into the window of the room where the two surviving officers were imprisoned. The head was taken into the city, and triumphantly shown to Captain Conolly, who was a prisoner there. As soon as the officers were seized, their escort, instead of attempting to rescue them, fled—all save one man, who was instantly cut to pieces.

Sir William was severely blamed for trusting to Ackbar, but no other course remained open to him. His murder, however, completely changed the relations that previously existed between the British and the Afghans, and left it optional for the former to choose their own course. "The highest representative of a government," it has been said, "an ambassador whose very office hedged him round with a sacredness which all nations not absolutely barbarous recognise and revere, had been decoyed into an ambush and treacherously murdered. With a people capable of doing such a deed, and boasting of it after it was done, engagements, however solemnly made, were useless; and all, therefore, that now remained for the British, was to avenge their wrongs; or at all events, if that was beyond their power, to become once more their own protectors, and trust to nothing but Providence and their own stout hearts and swords!"

But in those wretched cantonments, the spirit of honour, and even of indignation—save with a few—seemed dead. No call was made upon the army, and no effort of valour or devotion was made to rescue the living or to avenge the slain. Nothing of chivalry, bravery, wisdom, or nobility was essayed, and the blundering generals listened to the new tale of horror, and simply wondered over it. Macnaghten was the only civilian in Cabul, yet there was no truer-hearted soldier there. He had served several years in the Madras army, and little doubt has been expressed that if he could have assumed the command of the forces, they would have escaped the dreadful doom that befell them.*

At first it was not believed in the cantonments that the envoy had been murdered, and instead of taking means to dispel all doubt on the subject, to each regiment a message was sent to calm alarm, intimating that the conference had been interrupted by Ghazees, and that the envoy and the officers who accompanied him had gone into the city, whence their immediate return might be expected.

On the following day a letter came from Captain Lawrence, ending all doubts on the subject, and containing overtures from the murderers for a renewal of negociations; but instead of being met with scorn and repugnance, the propositions were embraced with eagerness. They differed but little from the treaty framed by the envoy; and when the chiefs found the generals so very facile, they sent back the draft with four new articles appended thereto. 1. All treasure in the military chest to be given up. 2. All the cannon, except six pieces. 3. All spare arms in store to be left behind. 4. General Sale (then commanding at Jelalabad), with his wife and daughter, and the other gentlemen of rank who were married and had families, to remain as guests or hostages at Cabul, until the arrival of

* Marshman, vol. iii.

Dost Mohammed Khan, and other Afghans, from Hindostan."

These humiliating articles were submitted to, except the last, and it is supposed that it was not complied with, merely because it could not be enforced.

On the 6th of January, 1842, the humiliated British troops, after waiting in vain for the safeguard promised by the faithless Afghan chiefs, got under arms to commence that which may justly be termed, the death-march of the whole force. The plains were deep with snow; in the passes it lay deeper still, and the magnificent yet terrible mountain ranges presented to their eyes vast piles of dazzling white, upheaved against a cold blue sky, while the frosty atmosphere was so keen that no clothing was a protection. The army amounted now to nearly 4,500 fighting men, with 12,000 camp-followers. The former may be enumerated as follows:—One troop of Horse Artillery, 90 men; H.M. 44th Foot, 600; total Europeans, 690. The 5th Cavalry, 260 sabres; 5th Shah's Irregulars (Anderson's Horse), 500; Skinner's Horse (one rissala), 70; Body-Guard, 70 = 900 Horse. 5th Native Infantry, 700; 37th Native Infantry, 600; 54th Native Infantry, 650; 6th Shah's Infantry, 600; sappers and miners, 20; Shah's ditto, 240; half the mountain train, 30 = 2,840; total, 4,430; with six horse artillery and three mountain guns.*

Of all that force but one man—and he then covered with wounds—was fated to reach Jelalabad. the bourne for which they were now departing.

CHAPTER XX.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ARMY IN THE KHYBER PASSES.

PRECISELY at nine in the morning the advance-guard left the cantonments; the throng continued to pour out, not by the gates, but through a large opening made over-night in the rampart; but evening had darkened on the snow-clad wastes ere the rearguard had passed forth. The Newab Zemaun Khan, whom the Afghans had set up as their king, wrote to Pottinger, warning him of the peril of departing without the promised safeguard; but it was too late now, so the fatal march went forward. It was six o'clock ere the rear-guard was on the way, and after a fierce conflict with Ghazees and other plunderers, pushed on after the main body. The Afghans had, early in the day, commenced firing on the former, and in this manner murdered Lieutenant Hardyman and fifty troopers of the 5th Cavalry; and it is said, that as soon as the British cleared the cantonments, the incapacity of the commanders became more than ever conspicuous.

The body they commanded ceased to be an army, and the whole became a disorganised mass of fugitives, whose confusion increased as night deepened upon the weary and terrible way they had to pursue. Rearward the darkness was somewhat dispelled by the glare from the spacious cantonments and residency, whence sheets of ruddy flame shot skyward, the whole place having been set on fire. Many of the sepoys and camp-followers dropped dead among the snow before the generals could order a halt, on the right bank of the Cabul river, near Begrammee, about two hours after night, and there many more perished.

When the cold grim dawn of the 7th stole in, a fearful scene presented itself. Hundreds of Hindoo women and children lay dying among the snow; while soldiers and camp-followers, and the baggage animals—horses, camels, and Cabul ponies—were all huddled together in hopeless confusion. One of the shah's regiments deserted in the night to the enemy, small parties of whom hovered on the flanks. These were supposed at first to be the escort promised by the chiefs who had obtained bills for fourteen lacs of rupees; but a furious attack on the rearguard soon dispelled this illusion.

The force detailed for this duty consisted of the 44th Regiment, the mountain-guns, and a squadron of irregular cavalry; but in one sudden and unexpected onset the guns were captured, and the gunners nearly destroyed. The 44th were ordered to retake them, but being now without shame, failed, or refused to advance; but a lieutenant named White, with a few gholandazees, spiked them in the face of the enemy.†

The snow now became so deep that the horses were unable to drag the artillery, and some pieces

* Lieutenant V. Eyre.
† Lady Sale's "Journal."

were accordingly spiked and abandoned. The army had but one chance of escape—a rapid march, by which the passes might have been traversed before the enemy could effectually block them up; but that was impossible now. Zemaun Khan having promised to disperse the fanatic and marauding bands that hovered on the flanks, and to send supplies of food and fuel to Boothauk, General Elphinstone was induced to halt there, though it had been his intention to continue the march all night, had not the sudden appearance of Ackbar Khan on the scene induced him to abandon it.

Coming on at the head of 600 horse, this unscrupulous personage announced that he was to act as a safeguard; but, at the same time, to demand hostages for the evacuation of Jelalabad; and till these were given—and Sale had actually quitted the city—he was instructed to detain the retreating force, but to furnish it with supplies. From the tenor of these announcements, it became apparent that the extermination of the whole army was the real object in view.

Another night of bivouacking in the snow amid the intense cold of the mountains might have achieved this, but the best chance of escape was to push on at all hazards; yet instead of doing this the general halted, and, as usual, endeavoured to make terms. Another night of horrors, death, and suffering was passed, and then Ackbar Khan agreed to accept of Major Pottinger and Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie as hostages, and to permit the retreat to be continued to Tizeen, the way to which lay through the Khoord Cabul Pass—that terrific gorge, which is five miles in length, and so narrow that the rays of the sun never penetrate its depths. At the bottom runs an impetuous torrent, which the road—if such it can be called—crosses twenty-eight times; and it was through this tremendous defile that the disordered and helpless mass of human beings pressed wildly on, inspired by one maddening desire to escape destruction. Above and around them rang, with a thousand reverberations, the roar of carnage and the shrieks of the falling; for the Ghiljies poured an incessant fire from every rock upon the crowd beneath, with arms that were unerring, and that carried death at 800 yards. Here more than 3,000 perished, and it was amid this dreadful place that delicate English ladies, some with infants in their arms, had to run the gauntlet of the Afghan bullets, amid a tempest of falling snow; but they all escaped save Lady Sale, who had a ball lodged in her left wrist.

On the evening of the 8th the survivors reached the fort of Khoord Cabul; but there the suffering was increased. The altitude and the cold were greater; there were neither tents, fuel, nor food; and the groans and cries of the hungry and the destitute were heard during the whole night.*

Before sunrise on the 9th the march was resumed; and three-fourths of the troops, without waiting for orders, or for their officers, pushed on with the camp-followers. The remainder had followed about a mile when another of these fatal halts was made at the instigation of the artful Ackbar, with one of his usual assurances of protection and supplies. The Afghans had never lost sight of their demand to get the married officers and their families into their power, and the terrible proceedings of the previous day afforded Ackbar a plausible pretext for renewing the obnoxious proposal and to Elphinstone for granting it, amid the grumbling—almost uproar—of his perishing troops, who were constrained to remain idle another whole day in the snow.

Ackbar offered to take all the ladies and children to Peshawur. Since leaving Cabul they had almost been without food; they were poorly clad, and were without shelter from the ever-falling snow. Major Pottinger—already Ackbar's prisoner—felt that it would be impossible for them to survive these hardships, even if they escaped another day's murderous conflict; and, in accordance with his advice, Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and nine other ladies, with fifteen children, were sent to Ackbar's camp, and were thus rescued from destruction. It was a horrible alternative, and when the tale of their abandonment became known in Britain, the keenest anxiety was manifested for their future fate in hands so horrible; and we may imagine, rather than express, the emotions of Lady Macnaghten, on finding herself a hostage in the power of her husband's murderer. The general felt, perhaps, more confidence in the measure from the fact that all Ackbar's family were in our hands at Calcutta.

On the morning of the 10th the march was resumed once more; but before evening the unfortunate sepoys had almost disappeared. All did not perish; they were prepared to desert, and as the shah's troops had set the example, they were not slow in following it. "The Europeans," says Eyre, "were now almost the only efficient men left, the Hindostanees having all suffered more or less from the effects of frost in their hands or feet. Few were able to hold a musket, much less to pull a trigger; in fact the prolonged delay in the snow had paralysed the mental and bodily powers of the strongest men, rendering them incapable of any

* Vincent Eyre.

useful exertion. Hope seemed to have died in every breast; the wildness of terror was exhibited in every countenance."

Panic-stricken, and thus benumbed with cold, it was evident that the end of all was approaching now. The remorseless Ghiljies still hovered on the heights with their deadly musketry, while the inextricable mass in the narrow defile kept struggling onward, mechanically, as it were, to a destruction that was inevitable. The narrow defile between the two hills was soon choked up with the dying and the dead. On went the dreadful slaughter, till of the thousands who had left Cabul not more than a fourth were alive.

Of the Europeans there were now only 250 men of the 44th, 150 cavalry, fifty horse artillery, and only one gun. On observing this unparalleled slaughter, General Elphinstone called upon Ackbar, who had looked on it idly and complaisantly, to make good his promised and purchased protection; but he replied that he could do nothing unless the British troops laid down their arms and submitted at discretion. There was still spirit enough in the dying band to spurn a proposal so humiliating. By a rapid movement, the defile—where already so many of the camp-followers had perished that it was impossible to move without treading on their corpses—was reached; but before it was left behind, the enemy had opened a destructive fire upon our rear.

The one-armed old soldier, Shelton, who commanded there, on being well seconded by a few of the 44th, won a brief respite for the whole; and as Ackbar Khan, on his being again appealed to, renewed his degrading proposal, a rapid night march was made to Jugdulluk, where the survivors, now fewer in number and faint with fatigue and want of food, found a temporary shelter behind some ruined walls. There, on the snowy earth, they endeavoured to get a little repose, but once again the roar of musketry rang around them, and volley after volley was poured into the wretched bivouac.

Rushing forth with bullet and bayonet, they cleared the ground of the foe, and, as night closed in, again took shelter behind the ruins, while Ackbar schemed out a new work of treachery. He sent a messenger inviting to a conference General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnstone of the 44th. They rashly went, and found themselves entrapped. Sir Robert Sale had not yet evacuated Jelalabad, so he resolved to detain them as further hostages. The general pleaded that his personal and unexplained disappearance from what remained of his army would cover him with disgrace; but Ackbar Khan was inexorable.

On the morning of the 12th the troops prolonged their halt to await the issue of the supposed conference, at which the three detained officers implored the interposition of Ackbar to save the little remnant that survived, and he engaged his father-in-law, a powerful Ghiljie chief, on payment of two lacs of rupees, to withhold the hands of his savage countrymen. He pocketed the money, or the orders for it, and returned about dusk, to state that he had arranged all comfortably for the safe conduct of the troops to Jelalabad.

Even as the ruffian spoke, the sound of firing was heard, which gave the lie to his words, and told that the Ghiljies had again remorselessly assailed the bivouac; and Ackbar, having now the persons of the principal officers, as well as the ladies, in his possession, quietly abandoned the remnant of the troops to their fate. Fairly at bay at last, the latter inflicted a chastisement so severe on the enemy that the first portion of the next march was effected without much more loss; but the worst struggle was yet to come, as they had to clear the Pass of Jugdulluk, up which the steep road winds between precipices. The summit was won, and then a formidable barricade, composed of fallen trees, opposed their passage, and rendered advance impossible; and so likewise was retreat. All around were the enemy in ambush, thick as bees and fierce as famished tigers. But why prolong this weary story of days that were not of glory, but of disaster and death!

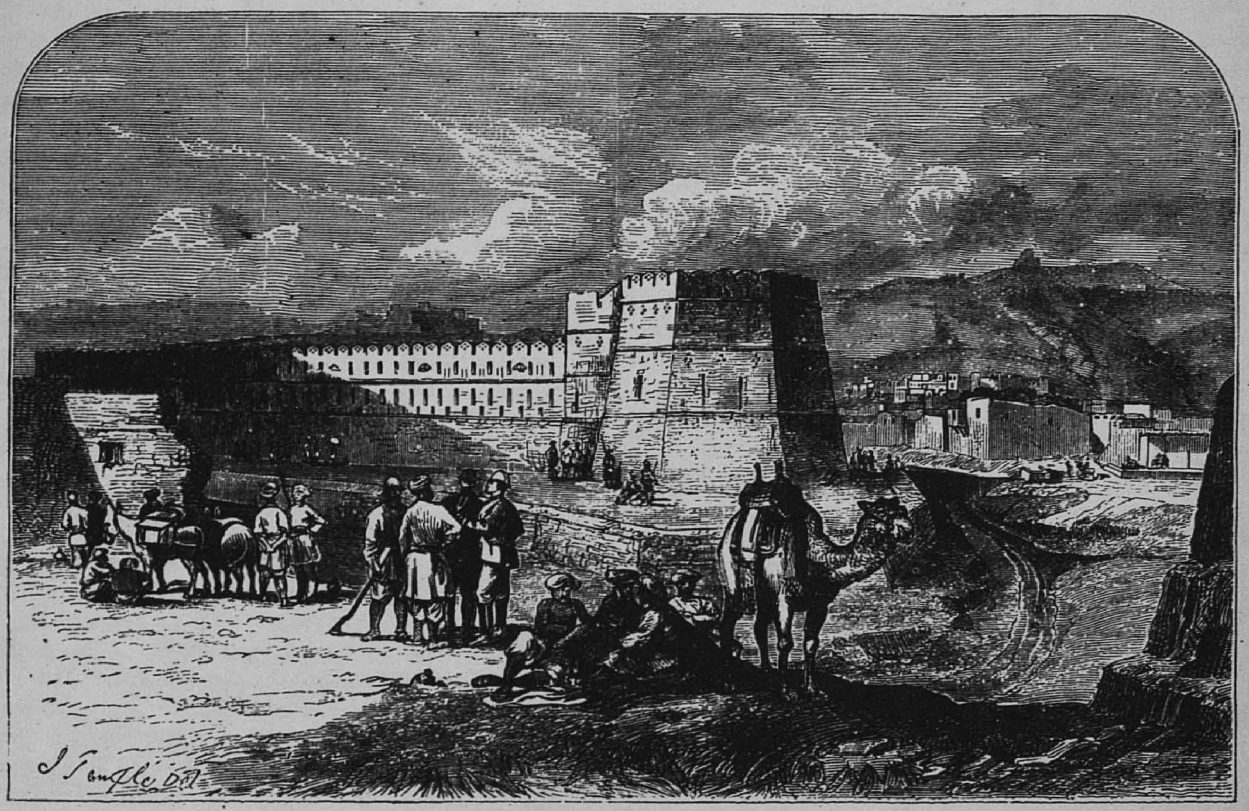
The unequal struggle was ended by the total destruction of the force. There fell Brigadier Anquetil, Colonel Chambers, and ten other officers, with several men. During the contest, about twenty officers and forty-five privates contrived to force the barricade, and made their way to Gundamuck as day was breaking on the 13th; but the respite was short, for again the enemy was upon them, with yells of "Death to the Feringhees! death to the infidel dogs!" Only two rounds of ammunition were in the pouches now; and two measures only could be taken—to seek for terms, and, if these were refused—to die fighting.

Major Griffiths, the senior officer in command, advanced in front of all that remained, viz., seventy-five of all ranks, with 300 camp-followers, to meet the chief, when the savage horde burst in upon his little band, with drawn knives, and murdered every man of them, save Captain Souter and four privates of the 44th. A few officers, who, being mounted, had got in advance of the whole, still remained; but they were all shot down in succession till only

six were left; and these, while snatching a hasty meal at Futteahbad, were attacked by an armed mob. Two were cut down on the spot; three overtaken elsewhere, and Dr. Brydone, a Scottish medical officer of the Shah's 6th Infantry, the last survivor and representative of a whole army, rode wildly and blindly on with a broken sword in his hand, and so covered with wounds that he could scarcely keep his saddle. Mr. Gleig tells that, as our sentries saw him galloping thus towards Jelalabad, it is impossible to describe the thrill that ran through their veins.

"Slowly he approached; and strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that Colonel Dennie (13th Foot) foretold the nature of the tidings of which he was bearer: for it is a fact that almost from the first Colonel Dennie had boded ill of the force left in Cabul; and that, subsequently to the receipt of the earliest intelligence which told of the warfare in which they had been engaged, and of the disastrous results to which it led, he repeatedly declared his conviction, that to a man the army would be destroyed. His words were 'You'll see. Not a soul will escape from Cabul but one man, and he will come to tell us that the rest are destroyed.' Under such circumstances, it is little to be wondered at if men's blood curdled while they watched the advance of the solitary horseman; and the voice of Dennie sounded like the response of an oracle when he exclaimed, 'Did I not say so? Here comes the messenger!'" *

A cavalry escort was sent out to meet the doctor, who had fought so toughly that nothing was left of his sword but the hilt; † and the soldiers regarded him with pity and awe when he announced himself to be what he believed he was, the last survivor of Elphinstone's once magnificent army—the last, says Marshman, "save 120 in captivity, of 15,000 men."



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Instead of one, however, there were several, and among them those in whom the keenest interest was felt. Though captives, the British ladies and children were yet alive, and might be recovered; but how they were so belongs to another part of this history.

Dr. Brydone survived his many wounds, and died in 1876, at a green old age, as surgeon of the Inverness Volunteer Rifle Corps.

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."
† Ibid.

CHAPTER XXI.

SALE'S BRIGADE IN JELALABAD.—COLONEL DENNIE KILLED.—ACKBAR DEFEATED.—ADVANCE OF GENERAL POLLOCK.—COMBAT OF URGHANDAUB.

THE destruction of our Afghan army was the heaviest blow that had ever yet befallen us in the East; but so strongly had our power there been consolidated, that no demonstrations of hostility were induced from native powers, nor was any commotion among them observable, as when Monson's force was destroyed in 1804, or when the Nepaulese campaign failed in later years, or when the army of Burmah proceeded so slowly in 1825.

Though undoubtedly overwhelmed by the greatness of the calamity, Lord Auckland issued a proclamation to the effect that "the Governor-General regarded the partial reverse which had overtaken a body of British troops in a country removed by distance and difficulties of season from the possibility of succour, as a new occasion for displaying the vigour and stability of British power, and the admirable spirit and vigour of the British Indian army."

After "this spasm of energy he relapsed into a spirit of dejection," says Marshman, and instead of considering how most effectually to restore our military superiority, the sole basis of our high position in India, he was timidly prepared to leave it without vindication, and thought only how he could withdraw General Sale safely and quietly from Afghanistan. Unluckily, the commander-in-chief was somewhat of the same opinion; but Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Clerk, a spirited Scotsman, who entered the Indian Civil Service in 1818, and was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Western Provinces, when our political agent in the Punjaub, on hearing of the blockade of the Cabul cantonment, had hurried on the brigade which had been ordered to relieve the regiments falling back from Afghanistan; but it was placed under the command of Colonel Wyld, who was obliged to advance without either cannon or cavalry.

He moved so slowly through the Punjaub, that he was thirty-five days in reaching Peshawur. The sepoys were all eagerness to rescue their comrades, but he lingered there until their discipline was nearly destroyed by intercourse with the auxiliary Sikhs of Runjeet Sing's successor. They had been sent to co-operate with Wyld; but, on reaching Jumrood and beholding the mountain pass—like the terrified Hessian troops at Killiecrankie—they wheeled about and marched back again. The colonel then entered it without them; but the frail guns they had lent him proved unserviceable after the first discharge; his sepoys lost heart, and allowed themselves to be ignominiously repulsed, with the loss of the borrowed cannon, which fell into the hands of the Afreedies.

Lord Auckland, in the excess of his caution, was unwilling to send on a second brigade to relieve the oppressed force at Cabul; but Clerk's persevering energy overcame all objections, and on the 4th of January, a corps of 3,000 men crossed the Sutlej. It was led by General (afterwards Sir George) Pollock, G.C.B. and K.S.I., a most distinguished artillery officer, whose father was a Scotsman, settled in London, where the general was born in 1786. Pollock had seen hard service under Lord Lake at Deeg and Bhurtpore, and his sagacity, caution, decision, and valour, eminently qualified him for the arduous task before him.

On the 22nd of January the entire destruction of the Cabul force became known at head-quarters, and Mr. Clerk met the commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, to discuss the measures necessary to meet the crisis. Sir Jasper—an officer who had served in the old Mahratta war, under Cathcart in Hanover, Crawford in South America, and Moore at Corunna—actually stated that the only object now to be pursued, was to withdraw Sir Robert Sale's column safely back to India; but Clerk, in a spirit more worthy of a Briton, maintained that our honour imperatively required that not only should the Jelalabad garrison be reinforced, but that, in conjunction with the troops at Candahar it should march upon Cabul, and inflict on the Afghans a signal punishment for all our late disgraces. The energy of his appeal and his fiery nature could not be resisted, and a third brigade was held in readiness to join General Pollock; but Lord Auckland's last communication cautiously and timidly informed him that "his sole business was to secure the safe return of our people and troops detained beyond the Indus."

We have already referred to the difficulties encountered by Sir Robert Sale in marching his brigade downward from Cabul, and his subsequent refusal to risk its entire loss by returning at the instructions of the late unfortunate envoy. When

the latter's first order was received, the brigade was encamped at Gundamuck, prior to which it had been so roughly handled, and was so imperfectly supplied with the requisite munition of war for marching back through one of the most difficult countries in the world, full of hardy and hostile enemies, that a council of war—though not unanimous—decided that the march should be continued to Jelalabad.

Even this could not be done without sacrifice. In order to move lightly and expeditiously, much valuable property was left in Gundamuck, with no better guardians than some of the Shah's Irregular Horse, who, as might have been foreseen, lost no time in fraternising with the insurgents. The buildings were given to the flames, the property vanished, and the revolt spread wider than ever.

On the 11th November the brigade began its march, and daybreak on the morning of the 12th, showed the adjacent hills covered with armed men, watching the opportunity for rushing down to sweep all before them. The task of keeping them in check was entrusted to the rear-guard under Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Dennie, a veteran of Lake's wars, who, after a running fight had been maintained for some time, had recourse to a manœuvre. Concealing the cavalry in ambush, he led on the infantry of his command, with instructions to wheel about when near the enemy, as if seized with a panic. Mistaking this for a real flight, the enemy, with wild shouts came rushing into the lower ground to complete the victory with their deadly knives; but a gallant charge of cavalry threw them suddenly into hopeless confusion, and they fled, leaving the valley covered with their dead and wounded. After this, no further opposition was made to the progress of the brigade, which took possession of Jelalabad on the 13th of January, 1842. Like other Afghan cities of note, it had its Balahissar, half palace and half citadel, which stood in the heart of it, forming with bare walls a kind of inner town, and furnishing but indifferent accommodation to those who dwelt there. When Sale entered the city, as many of its people as could escape, fled through its opposite gates, so the place was won with whatever stores might be in it, by our weary and foot-sore troops, without the snap of a musket.*

Sir Robert's intention was to hold it as an intermediate post, from whence reinforcements that came by the way of Peshawur might be pushed on to Cabul, and where the force there might find a place of safety if compelled to retreat; but to hold such a place was no easy task. "I found the walls of Jelalabad," he wrote, "in a state which might have justified despair as to the possibility of defending them. The enceinte was far too extensive for my small force, embracing a circumference of upwards of 2,300 yards. Its tracing was vicious in the extreme. It had no parapet, excepting for a few hundred yards, which there was not more than two feet high. There was a space of 400 yards together, on which none of the garrison could show themselves, except at one spot; the population within was disaffected, and the whole enceinte was surrounded by ruined forts, walls, mosques, tombs, and gardens, from which a fire could be opened at twenty or thirty yards."

The difficulty of holding such a place seemed great, but great was the spirit there, for "the very same circumstances which General Elphinstone mismanaged, so as to bring disgrace and ruin on the Cabul force, sufficed to make Sir Robert Sale and his brigade a band of heroes." The first question he had to consider was, whether the whole city ought to be held, or merely the citadel. Strong reasons for the latter course were not wanting, but the bolder course was preferred, and it was determined not to yield up a foot of the city, save under dire pressure. When our troops entered it, they and their cattle were short of two days' food, and the surrounding country, from whence it alone could be procured, was completely in the hands of the insurgents, 5,000 of whom could be seen posted on some heights close by.

To proceed with defences while the workers would be exposed to the Afghan marksmen, would have been vain; so the first thing to be done was to teach the latter to keep their distance. A general attack being arranged on the 14th November, Colonel Monteith of the 35th Bengal Native Infantry moved out at daybreak with 300 men of his own corps, 300 of H.M. 13th, 100 sappers, and 200 men of the Khyber corps, a squadron of the 5th Cavalry, some irregular horse, and three guns, in all only 1,100 men, to give battle to foes five times their number. The attack was made with such spirit, that the latter gave way at every point, and suffered so much in their flight, that a fortnight elapsed ere they ventured to show themselves again.

Meanwhile, strong working parties toiled daily, repairing breaches in the town walls, and deepening the ditches; every tree that stood in the line of fire was cut down, and every wall, house, and inequality was levelled. Along the ramparts parapets were run up, sand-bags and even the saddles of the baggage animals being used in their construction. Ten pieces of cannon of various calibre, and

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

mounted on strange carriages, with two mortars, were run into the bastions, while with strong escorts, foraging parties gathered from the adjacent villages grain, sheep, fuel, and all manner of necessary articles. By the energy of Sale, Jelalabad in a few days was rendered fit to be defended. At half rations there was food enough in store for one month's consumption, but not one drop of spirits, and the alarming discovery was made, that, including what the men had in their pouches, not more than 120 rounds per man remained in store, hence the greatest care was necessary, that, when under fire, not a single shot was to be thrown away.

As the enemy were again pressing close to the walls, another demonstration against them became necessary, and this task was entrusted to Colonel Dennie, who made a vigorous sortie on the 1st of December, and once more put the insurgents to rout with an amount of slaughter that was terrific, and, singular to say, he lost only one man.

But now, the tidings from Cabul that reached our brave fellows in Jelalabad, became darker and more gloomy in succession. On the 29th of December, 1841, there came to Captain Macgregor a letter bearing the signatures of Eldred Pottinger, at the head of the Cabul mission, and W. Keith Elphinstone, the general. The bearer of it was an Afghan horseman, and it ran thus :—

"It having been found necessary to conclude an agreement founded on that of the late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, for the evacuation of Afghanistan by our troops, we have the honour to request, that you will intimate to the officer commanding at Jelalabad, our wish, that the troops now in that place should return to India, commencing their march immediately after the receipt of this letter, leaving all guns the property of Dost Mohammed Khan, with the new governor, as also such stores and baggage as there may not be the means of carrying away, and the provisions in store for our use on arriving at Jelalabad. Abdool Ghuffoor Khan, who is the bearer of this letter, will render you all the assistance in his power. He has been appointed governor of Jelalabad on the part of the existing government."

This document placed both Sale and Macgregor in a dilemma, but the mode in which they met it was subsequently approved by Government. They disregarded the order to give up the city, as the neighbouring chiefs were all in arms, and the brigade had no security for its march unmolested downward to Peshawur, and four days after, the arrival of Dr. Brydone, with his dreadful narrative, convinced these officers that they had acted wisely, as the destruction of their force would have been certain to follow next.

They had refused to yield up Jelalabad, and the next idea was, would they be able to retain it? Sale's first resolution was to add to the real strength of his garrison, by curtailing it of the Khyber corps, a detachment of Juzailchees, and some Hindostanee gunners who had once served Dost Mohammed, and on all whom no reliance could be placed. They were disarmed and dismissed, about the same time that the disheartening tidings came of Colonel's Wyld's brigade being defeated in the Khyber Pass near Jumrood.

Wyld's retreat was a serious disappointment to the small and isolated force in Jelalabad, and was soon followed by a disaster, which no human effort could avert, when, on the 19th of February, 1842, an earthquake shook down all the parapets so recently constructed, injured several of the bastions, demolished a third of the town, made a great breach in the wall, and reduced the Cabul Gate to a mass of shapeless ruins. "It savours of romance," wrote Sir Robert, "but it is a sober fact that the city was thrown into alarm within the space of little more than one month, by the repetition of fully one hundred shocks of this terrific phenomenon of nature."

While the garrison worked hard to repair their defences, Ackbar Khan, whom the destruction of the Cabul army had left idle, suddenly made his appearance, with a large body of troops, at Murkail, within seven miles of Jelalabad, where for a time he contented himself with cutting off Sale's foraging parties. In repelling these attempts the bastion guns did excellent service. "The whole country within long range of the walls had been carefully measured by the artillery officers, and certain marks set up by which the distance could be accurately calculated; and the consequence was, that every shot thrown where a group of Afghans presented themselves, told. Indeed, to such perfection was the gunnery of the place carried, that a man and horse, at 800 or 1,000 yards' distance, ran extreme risk of being cut down by a round shot; and on one occasion Captain Backhouse struck down a cavalier who could not have approached within a mile of the fort." *

After a time Ackbar ventured on bolder courses. He established two camps, one with his headquarters, two miles to the west, and another about a mile to the eastward, thus blockading Jelalabad with rigour. The result of this was a series of skirmishes most harassing to the British, whose only object was to protect their parties of foragers or workers; and some of the younger officers devised

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

an amusing scheme for the latter. They dressed a wooden figure in uniform, painted its face, put a cocked hat on its head, and, by raising it from time to time above the parapet, drew such a storm of fire in that direction as left the working party free elsewhere. When it was allowed to fall, triumphant shouts rang from the enemy.

On the 19th of March, from a suspicion that the Afghans were preparing a mine, a vigorous sortie was made, and they were put to flight; but from deficiency in food and ammunition, the situation of the garrison became daily more and more critical, till the 1st of April, when, by a well-conducted sally, three fine flocks of sheep were captured, chiefly by the cavalry; and then the garrison took heart anew, as tidings came that General Pollock was on his march towards them from Peshawur.

On the 6th of April the guns of Ackbar fired a royal salute, of the cause for which different accounts were given. One was that a victory had been won over Pollock in the fatal Khyber Pass; another, that it was preparatory to the departure of Ackbar to Cabul, where a new revolution had taken place. Whatever the cause, Sale deemed it advisable to attack the Afghan camp. At daybreak on the 7th the troops, in three columns, moved out of the western gate; and Ackbar drew up his forces, 6,000 strong, to receive them, with his right resting on a fort, and his left on the Cabul river. Our central column turned all its efforts against the fort, which, as it had given annoyance on several occasions, it was thought proper to capture. The struggle was a severe one, and in it the gallant Colonel Dennie (a subaltern of 1800) lost his life. He was leading his brave men of the 13th straight to the breach, when a ball entered his side, through his waist-belt, and he fell forward on his horse's mane. He was carried to the rear, and there he died, "with the sound of battle in his ears, hoping, but not living to be assured, that it would end triumphantly." *

Meanwhile his brother-officer, Henry Havelock, had penetrated to the extreme left, and, sweeping round by the river in order to turn the flank of the enemy, became exposed to their cavalry, against whom his force formed square. The three columns now combined and made an attack upon the camp, when the foe gave way on all hands; and had our slender cavalry force been equal to the task, few would have escaped to tell the story of their overthrow. As it was, the fugitives, being driven towards the river, rushed madly in, and perished in hundreds, some amid the deep water, and others under the balls and bayonets of their pursuers. Never was victory more complete. Camp, baggage, artillery, ammunition, standards, horses, and arms—all fell into the hands of the victors. The camp was given to flames, and all the spoil was taken into Jelalabad.

General Pollock was now at hand, and, on the 16th of April, only nine days after their victory, the sound of his drums was heard, and the garrison had the happiness to receive him, and the ample succours he had brought, within their gates.

On the 5th of February, 1842, he had reached Peshawur, and found the state of our troops there worse than he could have anticipated. Colonel Wyld's defeat had filled them with dismay, and delegates from the different native regiments of his brigade were actually holding meetings by night, for the purpose of resisting any order which might be given for an advance towards these dreadful passes of Afghanistan. While such a lack of spirit existed he could expect no success, and he was doubtful whether to await reinforcements which he knew to be on the march, or start with such troops as he had. Prudence suggested that he should wait; but such was the urgency of Sale's position that he was compelled to move. His force was intended to be 12,000 men, but 4,000 of them, chiefly Europeans, had not yet joined, and a considerable portion of the 8,000 actually under the colours were Sikhs, upon whose faith he could not depend.

With the greatest possible silence and secrecy he began his march, at half-past three a.m. on the 5th of April. Immediately at the entrance of the pass he had to penetrate, the Khyberees had thrown up a strong barricade. Pollock might have stormed it, but he preferred to take it in flank, and for this purpose two columns of infantry ascended the heights on either side. The mountaineers, on seeing this, lost heart, and gave way as soon as they were attacked. Their barricade was left undefended, and the main body of the troops, with their long train of baggage animals, poured slowly through that dreadful defile, which is twenty-five miles long, and where the road is often merely the bed of a mountain torrent. In this place the Khyberees were wont to levy a toll on passengers, "but in times of trouble they are all upon the alert. If a single traveller attempts to make his way through, the noise of his horse's feet sounds up the long, narrow valleys, and soon brings the Khyberees in troops from the hills and ravines; but if they expect a caravan they assemble in hundreds on the side of a hill, and sit patiently, with their matchlocks in their hands, watching its approach." *

* Gleig.

* Mountstuart Elphinstone.

Before evening fell, Pollock's troops reached the great hill-fort of Ali Musjid, the key of the pass, perched on the summit of a precipitous rock. It was found to be evacuated. From thence the way was open to Jelalabad, the garrison of which, after five months of heroic daring and bitter privation, was triumphantly relieved.

Meanwhile General Nott was nobly doing his duty at Candahar; but Ghuznee had fallen into the hands of the Afghans.

Colonel Maclaren's brigade, after a vain attempt to reach Cabul, had retraced its steps and rejoined Nott at Candahar in December. Ghuznee had been invested by the adjacent tribes as early as the 20th of the preceding month. It was provided neither for siege nor blockade, and the garrison found with joy that the enemy, alarmed by Maclaren's partial advance, had suddenly retired. On this Colonel Palmer, the officer in command, resolved to strengthen his works and victual his stores, so as to be ready for any eventuality. The people of the town had not been turned out, and they repaid the kindness of being permitted to remain, by treacherously admitting the enemy; and the consequence was that our troops had to shut themselves up in the citadel.

There they maintained themselves bravely, but with difficulty, till a letter of similar import to that which Elphinstone and Pottinger had sent to Jelalabad arrived.

Colonel Palmer did not wisely disregard the order as Sale and Macgregor did. He therefore agreed, on the 1st of March, to evacuate the place. The sepoys of his garrison, who would seem to have lost all discipline, were destroyed almost to a man as they attempted to force their way across the country to Peshawur, which, in their ignorance, they believed to be only fifty miles distant, while



PORTRAIT OF LADY SALE.

their British officers, who had surrendered on the solemn promise of "honourable treatment," were disarmed and thrown into rigorous confinement.

Our forces at Candahar, under Nott, were 9,000 strong. He was a man of indomitable spirit and great ability, but he had, in addition to the open hostility of the people, to dread treachery in his own camp; and of the latter he had a painful example on the 27th December, when two corps of Janbaz, or Afghan cavalry, belonging to Shah Sujah's contingent, after murdering one British officer, Lieutenant Golding, with singular barbarity, and leaving another, Lieutenant Paterson, dreadfully mutilated and for dead, marched off with a quantity of treasure entrusted to them. They were, however, overtaken by Captain Leeson's cavalry, who slew about eighty of them, and brought back with him the head of the chief instigator of Golding's murder.*

Only two days after this event, Prince Sufter Jung, a younger son of the shah, proved a traitor, and joined Atta Mohammed, a Ghiljie chief, who was mustering a large army, with which he fully hoped to keep Nott's division amply occupied during the winter. He had set up his camp in the Urghandaub valley, about forty miles west of Cabul.

On the 12th of January, Sufter Jung and Atta Mohammed came within fifteen miles of Candahar, at the head of nearly 20,000 men, and took up a position on the right bank of the Urghandaub river; so Nott lost no time in taking the field against them. He took with him Blood's Artillery; four nine-pounders; twelve six-pounders of Shah Sujah's Horse Artillery; Leeson's Cavalry; two rissalas of Skinner's Horse under Captain Haldane; H.M. 40th, 2nd, 16th, and 38th Regiments; and a wing of the 43rd Bengal Native Infantry, and the 3rd Shah's Infantry.

Under Colonel Maclaren, H.M. 2nd, 16th, and 40th, were to form the right column, and to advance into the Urghandaub valley by a narrow gorge called the Baboowalla Pass. The remainder were to move round the hills to the left; Maclaren threw out his skirmishers as he neared the pass; and though parties of the enemy were in sight, they did not dispute the way, but fell back on their main body, which, on clearing the pass, our troops saw drawn up about three miles distant on the opposite side of the stream, where they had a very imposing appearance from the number of gaily-coloured banners they displayed.*

On both sides of the river were numerous pretty villages, surrounded by mud walls and luxuriant orchards. On the forces effecting a junction, General Nott crossed the river by a ford two miles below the pass, for the purpose of attacking the enemy, who took up a strong position at the fortified village of Killa Sheik, with their right and left resting upon orchards, the walls of which they loop-holed.

Before opening fire, General Nott made it known that he would give 5,000 rupees for the head of Atta Mohammed. The troops advanced against the enemy through a swamp, where the mud rose to the knee, and the fire became general along the whole line on both sides.

Theirs "began to move as we approached," says Captain Neill, "and when at length the bayonets were brought to the charge, and the British cheer struck their astonished ears, they fell back, broke, and retreated in complete disorder across the plain. Our cavalry had now to make a wide *détour* to avoid the swamp, and we did not derive the advantage which we should have enjoyed had they been well placed. The enemy continued their retrograde movement, but at length rallied and reformed on the plain. Long before the infantry could get within musket-shot of them they resumed their retreat in good order; our cavalry and one of the troops of horse artillery, which had now come up, were sent in pursuit, and overtaking them, cut up numbers of the infantry, who were abandoned by their sowars. . . . . Our loss was slight: six or eight officers wounded, and a few men killed and wounded; that of the enemy was said to have been very great, which I can easily imagine—our artillery, which was beautifully served, having such dense masses on which to play."

Prince Sufter Jung and Atta Mohammed commanded in person. The latter rode about enveloped in a shroud to evince his determination to die in the field rather than surrender. Yet he was among the first who fled.

* Captain M. B. Neill.

* "Four Years with the 40th Reg.," &c.

CHAPTER XXII.

ATTEMPT TO RE-CAPTURE CANDAHAR.—LORD ELLENBOROUGH GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—GENERAL ENGLAND DEFEATED IN THE KOJUCK PASS.

TIDINGS of Sir William Macnaghten's murder reached Candahar on the 30th of January, and prepared Nott and his soldiers for the more dismal events that were to follow. The time for active operations in the field was somewhat passed now, but neither of the armies seemed disposed to sheathe the sword, and while the British troops held the city, the insurgents, led by Meerza Ahmed, a great Dooranee chief, established their camp at no great distance. In the meantime, Nott was unremitting in his exertions: he repaired the fortifications, and secured five months' provisions. He was more sanguine than ever, after the late affair at Urghandaub, of being able to defend Candahar, when, to his astonishment, the letter of Pottinger and Elphinstone arrived, directing the evacuation of that city, and also of Khelat-i-Ghilzie. It was addressed to Major Henry C. Rawlinson, the political Resident, and in tenor was precisely similar to that received by Sale at Jelalabad.

Rawlinson deemed it wise to disregard the order for retiring, but at the same time desirable to make it the basis of a negociation, the terms of which might enable us, even in the event of abandoning Afghanistan, to retain a certain political influence there; but Nott, more soldierly in spirit, could not brook this temporising policy, and in answer to the major's official letter on the subject of evacuation, wrote thus:—"I have only to repeat that I will not treat with any person whatever for the retirement of the British troops from Afghanistan until I shall have received instructions from the supreme government. The letter signed 'Eldred Pottinger' and 'W. K. Elphinstone' may, or may not, be a forgery. I conceive that these officers were not free agents at Cabul, and, therefore, their letter or order can have no weight with me."

To prepare for the defence of Candahar upon one hand, and the attack of Meerza Ahmed's camp on the other, it became necessary to expel from the city all who were supposed to be antagonistic to the cause of Shah Sujah. Accordingly, on the 3rd of March, an order was issued for 1,000 families of pure Afghan descent, making a total of about 5,000 persons, to quit the place. On the third day thereafter the clearance was complete; and on the 7th, Nott, leaving only 2,600 men to garrison the city, marched forth with 4,000 fighting men, including Shah Sujah's and Skinner's Horse, six six-pounders, and four nine-pounders, with their gunners; H.M. 40th; the 16th, 38th, and 42nd Native Infantry; six companies of the 43rd; and a wing of the Shah's 2nd Regiment.

Though the enemy numbered 12,000 men, of whom 6,000 were cavalry, in proportion as Nott advanced they retired, first across the Turnuk and then beyond the Urghandaub, keeping sufficiently distant to prevent our infantry from reaching them; and Nott's cavalry, only a squadron, were too feeble to push forward. At last our guns got within range of them and opened, on which they broke and fled; but this plan was only a portion of a premeditated scheme, as they made a circuit, which brought them into our rear, and after that they hastened on to Candahar, hoping to gain it by assault while the greater part of the garrison was absent.

On the 10th large bodies of Afghans began to occupy the cantonments and some gardens in their vicinity. During the day their numbers continued to increase, and towards evening Prince Sufter Jung and Meerza Ahmed arrived, while a small body of cavalry were left far afield, to hover near Nott and deceive him as to the whereabouts of the main body. After sunset, a villager, pretending to have come from a great distance, presented himself at the Herat Gate, where Lieutenant Cooke, of the 2nd Bengal Native Infantry, was on guard, and asked permission to take in a donkey-load of faggots. This was, of course, refused, as it was contrary to orders to admit any one at that hour. On this, he said he would leave the wood till next morning, and, throwing it against the gate, departed.

About eight o'clock, a party of the enemy stole softly up, unseen, poured oil and ghee over the faggots, set them on fire, and the flames quickly spread to the old gate, which burned like tinder.*

Prior to this, a similar trick had been played at the citadel gate; but something induced the quartermaster of H.M. 40th, who was the officer on guard there, to look out, and on seeing the heap of faggots, some undefinable suspicion made him have them carried inside.

Meanwhile, at the blazing Herat Gate, the enemy were attempting to force an entrance, but were frustrated chiefly by the presence of mind displayed

* "Four Years with the 40th Reg."

by the Commissary-General, who formed within it a barricade of bags of flour. This the enemy gained by a rush, but were repulsed. Again and again they renewed the assault, but so hot was the fire that was poured upon them, that they were compelled to retire over a rampart of their own dead. Had both gates been attacked thus, Candahar must have been lost, with all Nott's stores, ammunition, and two eighteen-pounders; and there can be little doubt that he committed a military error in marching so far from it.

In consequence of the disasters in Afghanistan, the position of the Governor-General was rendered more embarrassed by the state of parties at home. Disgraced by the blunders of their career, the Whig ministry were tottering to their fall, and were about to be succeeded by the Tories, who had not failed to make capital out of the horrors of the Khyber Pass. And now vacillation and diffidence succeeded the former confidence of Lord Auckland, and as he had no hope that the Government, on his resignation, would be carried out in accordance with his own views, he resolved for the little term that remained to him, to conduct it in such a manner as would be least embarrassing to his successor. But the state of Afghanistan destroyed all hope of the country being tranquil before that successor arrived; and when it seemed but too probable that nothing remained for our troops but to fight their way home, the Governor-General and his council lost no time in timidly announcing their intention of shunning further conflict.

Thus Sir Jasper Nicolls was directed to forward troops to Peshawur, to assist the army in the intended retreat, and, accordingly, Pollock had hastened to that place, under the impression that he was only to relieve Sale in Jelalabad, and assist in the evacuation of Afghanistan. Nott's command in the south was confirmed, and each officer was made superior to the political Residents at their respective posts—an arrangement, the expediency of which in countries where the sword is the sole arbiter, cannot be questioned. "At the date of the resolution conferring new and, to some extent, discretionary powers on the military commanders, the full extent of the Cabul disaster was not known at Calcutta; but on the 30th of January letters were received which destroyed all hope, and made the reality even worse than had been apprehended. Severe as the blow must have been felt, not a day was lost in publishing it to the world, and at the same time, pledging the Government to the adoption and steadfast prosecution of the most active measures 'for expediting powerful reinforcements to the Afghan frontier, and for assisting such operations as may be required in that quarter for the maintenance of the honour and interests of the British Government.' A proclamation, issued from Fort William on the 31st, after making the above declaration, and adding that 'the ample military means at the disposal of the British Government will be strenuously applied to these objects, so as at once to support external operations, and cause efficient protection for its subjects and allies,' continues thus, as we have already quoted, 'a faithless enemy, stained by the foul crime of assassination, has, through a failure of supplies, followed by consummate treachery, been able to overcome a body of British troops, in a country removed by distance and difficulties of season from the possibility of succour. But the Governor-General in council, while he most deeply laments the loss of brave officers and men, regards the partial reverse only as a new occasion for displaying the stability and vigour of the British power, and the admirable spirit and valour of the British Indian army.'"

All this sounded very well, but most puerile were the attempts to follow it up; and when Colonel Wyld's column was repulsed in the Khyber Pass, Lord Auckland's heart failed him, and mortified deeply that the last military operation undertaken during his administration should prove a miserable failure, he saw nothing for it but to abandon Afghanistan; and though we had yet to take vengeance on its people, on the 19th February, 1842, he wrote thus:—"Since we have heard of the misfortunes of the Khyber Pass, and have been convinced, that from the difficulties at present opposed to us, and in the actual state of our preparations, we could not expect, at least in this year, to maintain a position in the Jelalabad districts for any effective purpose, we have made our directions in regard to withdrawal from Jelalabad clear and positive, and we shall rejoice to learn that Major-General Pollock will have anticipated these more express orders, by confining his efforts to the same objects."

The arrival of Lord Ellenborough in Calcutta on the 28th February brought Lord Auckland's desponding and disastrous administration to a close.

He wrote a benevolent minute on education, and, in the interests of science, he strove to promote them; but his administration comprised a short series of transactions—the conquest, the occupation, and the disasters of Afghanistan. It commenced with a surplus revenue of a crore and a half, and it closed with a deficit of two crores, and a large addition to the debt. The Tories

contributed an inefficient Governor-General in Lord Amherst, and the Whigs another in Lord Auckland. The one wasted thirteen crores in the Burmese war, and the other squandered an equal sum in the Afghan expedition.*

Lord Ellenborough, the new Governor-General, having previously held the office of President of the Board of Trade, was not ignorant of the duties on which he entered, and possessed both the talents and the knowledge to discharge them with success. He was a statesman of high reputation, an eloquent orator, and for many years had taken a special interest in the affairs of India, which he reached at a time when on all sides "men's hearts were failing them because of fear." After arriving there, to use the language of an Indian journal, he "took two or three months to look about him. He found that the administration of his predecessor had been a 'secretariat administration,' and to that cause alone he attributed the fact that, after an experiment of five years, it had closed in dismay and defeat. He therefore resolved to take the executive power from the hands of his secretaries and to wield it himself. Hence it was that the country which he found distracted, shaking to pieces, with an exhausted treasury and a discontented army, he left in a condition to which it had never before attained: the coffers overflowing, the army enthusiastic, and the secretaries in their proper places. Hence, too, his unpopularity with the civil service."

He was known to possess great energy and decision of character; thus the community in India augured a happy relief from the weak and vacillating policy of his predecessor. In a letter, dated the 15th of March, 1842, addressed by him to the commander-in-chief, he gave a rapid survey of recent affairs, and drew a conclusion that the tripartite treaty, in consequence of the suspicious conduct which Shah Sujah had lately been pursuing, was no longer binding upon us, and we were under no obligation to peril our armies, and even the Indian empire, in seeking to carry out its provisions. "Whatever course we may hereafter take must rest solely on military considerations; and hence, in the first instance, regard must be had to the detached bodies of our troops at Jelalabad, at Ghuznee, at Khelat-i-Ghilzie, and Candahar; to the security of our troops now in the field from all unnecessary risk; and, finally, to the re-establishment of our military reputation, by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans, which may make it appear to them, to our own subjects, and our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities and violate their faith; and that we withdraw ultimately from Afghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed."

On the part of Lord Ellenborough there was great activity, and apparent resolution; and, to be nearer the scene of operations, he started from Calcutta on the 6th of April, and, breaking loose from all official trammels, left his council behind him; but the language he adopted at Benares somewhat belied the spirit of his first proclamation, and he spoke of withdrawing Major-Generals Pollock and Nott, with their troops, into positions where they should have easier communication with India. The former was ordered to fall back upon Peshawur; the latter to withdraw his garrison from Khelat-i-Ghilzie, and to take up a position at Quettah, in Beloochistan, till the season should permit of his retiring to Sukkur.

This remarkable and unexpected change of views could only be accounted for by gloomy intelligence which he received from Afghanistan, and which perplexed him. While cheered by the steady heroism of Sale at Jelalabad, the dispersion of Ackbar Khan's troops, the junction of Sale and Pollock, he learned that these successes in the north were nearly counterbalanced by reverses in the south. Ghuznee had fallen; Khelat, though far less tenable, was sorely pressed, and General England had met with a disaster in the Kojuck Pass.

That officer, then in command of the Scinde field force, having been ordered to march from Dadur through the Bolan Pass towards Quettah, and from thence to traverse the Kojuck Pass, for the purpose of reinforcing General Nott, for whom he had supplies of treasure, ammunition, and medicine, took with him only five companies of H.M. 41st Welsh Regiment, six of Bombay Infantry, one troop of Bombay Cavalry, fifty Poonah Horse, and four Horse Artillery guns. He was an officer who had served at Flushing and Antwerp, and subsequently at Tarifa and in Sicily in 1810. On the 28th of March he reached the entrance of a defile that leads to the village of Hykulzye, where he intended to halt for the rest of his brigade, then threading its way through the Bolan Pass. It would appear that, in the hope that General Nott would send two or three battalions to the Kojuck Pass, he had resolved to halt in the Pisheen Valley till they should arrive; and it was only after learning that no such movement would be made, that he moved on towards Hykulzye.

* Marshman, vol. iii.

He had been distinctly warned that the enemy, in strength, were in readiness to contest his passage; and yet, without waiting till all his troops were concentrated, while in total ignorance of the country and of the whereabouts of the Afghans, he continued to advance rashly.

In consequence, he was suddenly attacked, when at the head of only 500 men, and compelled to give way, with the loss of 100 killed or wounded. Among the former were Major Apthorpe, of the Bombay service, and Captain May, of the 41st. He ordered the whole to retreat to Quettah, where, as if he had been pursued, he proceeded to intrench himself. Our loss was small, but the moral effect of the combat was great, and to it was ascribed the Governor-General's change of policy.

His peremptory orders for Pollock and Nott to withdraw were most mortifying to these officers, and neither were slow in bitterly expressing it; while the former, in the hope that the order might be cancelled, dexterously availed himself of a deficiency in carriage, and urged that, until it was supplied, he would be unable to fall back upon Peshawur. Meanwhile, Brigadier England (who was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 41st) seemed to have made up his mind that it was no use attempting to enter the Kojuck Pass, and announced that he would wait till General Nott came in his direction. Nott lost all patience now, and wrote him peremptorily thus:—"I think it absolutely necessary that a strong brigade of 2,500 men should be immediately pushed from Quettah to Candahar with the supplies noted. I therefore have to acquaint you that I will direct a brigade of three companies of infantry, with a body of cavalry, to march from Candahar on the morning of the 25th instant. This force will certainly be at Chummun, at the northern foot of the Kojuck, on the morning of the 1st of May, and possibly on the 30th of this month. I shall, therefore, fully rely on your marching a brigade so that it may reach the southern side of the pass on the above-mentioned date."

As this was an order which he dared not disobey, he marched from Quettah on the 26th of April. Two days later he was at Hykulzye, where the way was barricaded and the enemy in strength; but he handled his troops so well that the Afghans fled, and on the 30th he reached the southern end of the Kojuck Pass, and on sending his advance-guard along the heights, he had the satisfaction to find those in front already in possession of the Candahar troops.

After forming the junction, the whole continued their march to the city, which they reached on the 10th of May. Now, it was at this very time, when the active and impatient Nott had received those supplies, for want of which he had been kept inactive, that Lord Ellenborough's obnoxious letter reached him. It was indicative of timid and retrograde policy at a crisis when Nott hoped to be able to relieve Khelat-i-Ghilzie, or somewhere strike a blow to retrieve our tarnished honour. So great was his mortification that he could not trust himself to write on the subject to his seniors; but Major Rawlinson wrote thus, next day, to the gallant Outram:—"The peremptory order to retire has come upon us like a thunderclap. No one at Candahar is aware of such an order having been received, except the general and myself, and we must preserve profound secrecy as long as possible. . . . . When our intended retirement is once known, we must expect to have the whole country up in arms, and to obtain no cattle, except such as we can violently lay hands on. If the worst comes to the worst, we must abandon all baggage and stores, and be content to march with sufficient food to carry us to Quettah."

But for the courage of such men as Nott and Sale, the Cabul disasters would have been repeated. When the whole extent of our loss then became known, the former had written to Lord Auckland, urging him not to be disheartened for a moment, and cheerfully undertaking to march through the corpse-strewn passes from Candahar to Cabul as soon as the roads should be passable. Nott scorned the panic which prevailed at Calcutta, and exclaimed—"Stupid blunders caused disasters at Cabul; is that a reason for the despair of a mighty empire? I do greatly wonder at such deep folly."

"Had I not been sternly determined," he wrote, at a later period, "there would have been no advance on Ghuznee and Cabul, and we should have left Afghanistan in disgrace, being laughed at by the whole world, and all India would have been up in arms. I was obliged, more than once, to save their honour and their lives in spite of themselves. My sepoys always acted nobly, and I could have done anything with them. . . . . But when among our own countrymen all was panic and infatuation, from Lord Auckland down to the drum-boy; when I endeavoured to uphold the honour of my country, and save it from disgrace, I was told—mark this! it is on official record—I was told, 'Your conduct has been injudicious, and shows that you are unfit for any command.'"* But a time came when Lord Ellenborough was among the first to value and appreciate Nott.

Notwithstanding the apprehensions expressed in Rawlinson's letter to Outram, General Nott, aware

* Sir W. Nott's Papers, *Quarterly Review*, 1846.

that, as a soldier, his first duty was obedience, prepared to execute the orders of the Governor-General, and, as a beginning, on the 19th of May he dispatched a brigade, consisting of H.M. 40th and two Bengal battalions, with some cavalry, and a company of Bombay European gunners, having some nine-pounders, under Colonel Wymer, to Khelat-i-Ghilzie, to assist the garrison in the evacuation of the place and the destruction of its works. Only two days before, the defenders, under Captain Halkett Craigie, had repulsed and slain 500 of the enemy, and now, to that officer's mortification, "the only result was something like an acknowledgment of defeat by an abandonment of the place as no longer tenable."

The last sheep in the garrison had been killed on the day before Colonel Wymer's arrival, and after three days were spent in the destruction of the fortifications, the whole force, accompanied by Craigie's garrison, marched back to Candahar.

"The order for the immediate evacuation of Afghanistan excited a burst of indignation throughout India. It was universally felt that to retire before our honour had been vindicated, or the prisoners rescued, would inflict a deeper stigma on the national character than the capitulation at Cabul, and which might be considered one of the chances of the war. With all the contempt Lord Ellenborough expressed for public opinion, he could scarcely be indifferent to this unanimous expression of feeling, and he changed his mind again. On the 4th July, General Nott was assured, in an official communication, that the resolution of the Governor-General to withdraw the troops remained without alteration. On the same day Lord Ellenborough wrote himself to the general, suggesting that it might possibly be feasible for him to withdraw from Afghanistan by advancing to Ghuznee and Cabul, over the scenes of our late disasters; that this would have a grand effect upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, of our own countrymen, and of foreign nations in Europe. It was an object unquestionably great. A copy of this letter was sent to General Pollock, with the suggestion that he might possibly feel disposed to advance to Cabul and co-operate with General Nott. Both officers were too happy to move up to the capital and retrieve our honour, to think for a moment of the responsibility thus thrust upon them, and which the Governor-General, as the head of the state, should have had the courage to have taken upon himself."*

CHAPTER XXIII.

FATE OF SHAH SUJAH.—NOTT TAKES THE FIELD.—THE MARCH OF POLLOCK.—CABUL RE-CAPTURED AND PARTIALLY DESTROYED.

WHEN our army began that retreat from Cabul—a retreat which had no end, save death—Shah Sujah was acknowledged as king, and permitted to occupy the Balahissar, though the insurgent chiefs held all the powers of the State. To Jelalabad he sent repeated messages expressive of his unchangeable adherence to the British Government, with some cravings for money, though he had contrived to save twenty lacs of rupees out of the sums given him since he left Loodiana. But, as there was an irreconcilable hatred between the Afghans and the British, it was impossible that he could be the friend of both. Hence, when he protested his constant faith to the national cause, the chiefs of the Afghan clans desired him to demonstrate it by placing himself at the head of the army they were about to march for the expulsion of Sale from Jelalabad. "He was totally unworthy of the support which the British Government in an evil hour had resolved to give him, and he was now endeavouring to play a double game, in which it was hardly possible for him not to be a loser. He was safe only while he remained within the Balahissar; and, therefore, the chiefs who were bent on his destruction used every means in their power to lure him beyond its walls."

As it was rumoured that he would be murdered or blinded by the Barukzyes, to lure him proved no easy task, but the proposal that he should march to Jelalabad, as a test of his truth, wrung a reluctant consent from him, and his personal safety

* Marshman's "India."

having been guaranteed by the most solemn oaths sworn on the Koran, he moved out of the citadel on the following morning he would review the troops now encamped near the hills of Seeah



PORTRAIT OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

on the 4th of April, and returned to it unharmed on the same day. As this seemed to prove that his fears were groundless, it was announced that Sung, and then march with them for Jelalabad. At an early hour on the 5th he left the Balahissar under a salute of cannon, wearing his most costly

jewels and all the insignia of royalty, and was riding towards the camp, when a band of Afghan juzailchees, who lay in ambush, poured upon him a murderous volley. One of the balls pierced his brain. Sujah-ul-Dowlah, son of the Nawab Zemaun Khan, the chief of the assassins, now rushed forward to ascertain that the king was dead, and then stood idly by while the others stripped the bloody corpse and tossed it into a ditch.

It would seem that the regicides had been ignorant of their real influence, as before night closed, Futteh Jung, Sujah's second son, was proclaimed king in the Balahissar, and was able to rescue his father's dead body from further indignity, and inter it with all the honours due to his rank. But the proclamation of the prince was followed by confusion and anarchy, amid which the guns of the Balahissar were turned again and again on the city; the rival factions fought deadly battles in its streets, and these ended in the complete ascendency of Ackbar Khan.

While Lord Ellenborough had been changing his policy, he was anxious to disguise the fact that he was doing so; thus, while he continued to address letters to Generals Nott and Pollock, in which he constantly reminded them that to "withdraw" was still his intention, he in the same documents gave them express permission to advance on Cabul. The inflexible resolution to withdraw, with the permission to advance, were very like a contradiction, but the legal education of the Governor-General will account for any tergiversation of which he was then apparently guilty. Of this Beveridge, himself a lawyer, says: "Withdraw was still the order of the day, but there were different modes of effecting it. General Nott, for instance, instead of taking the shortest road, and retiring into Scinde by the Bolan Pass, might prefer to go a thousand miles about, and after traversing Afghanistan from north to south, reach India by the Khyber Pass and the Punjaub. Some may say that to speak of such a march as a 'withdrawal,' was a mere play upon words—in short, a despicable quibble. The Governor-General thought differently, and saw in this very quibble the means of at once saving his own consistency and retrieving the honour of the British arms."

Eventually the whole responsibility was thrown upon General Nott, whom Ellenborough knew was too much of a soldier not to accept it with joy; and he concludes his second letter of the 4th of July thus:—"If you should be enabled by *coup de main* to get possession of Ghuznee and Cabul, you will act as you see fit, and leave decisive proofs of the power of the British army, without impeaching its humanity. You will bring away from the tomb of Mahmood of Ghuznee his club, which hangs over it, and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the Temple of Somnauth. These will be just trophies of your successful march."

As an artful, but additional inducement to choose the route to Ghuznee, Nott was informed that a copy of the letter would be forwarded to Pollock, with instructions to facilitate the advance by a forward movement, and that the operations of the two armies should be in conjunction, so as to effect, with the smallest amount of loss, the occupation of Cabul, while keeping open our communication between that place and Peshawur.

Our soldiers heard the welcome tidings of the intended advance with joy; and with joy, too, did the generals accept that responsibility which was selfishly and ungenerously thrown on them, and which, in the event of failure, might have ended dubiously for them both.

Nott, as having the longer march to perform, was the first to uncase the colours. Having dispatched Brigadier England, with five regiments and a half, twelve guns, and some cavalry, to march by the Bolan Pass, he prepared to take the longer and more difficult route with his main body; and on the 9th of August he made his first march northward in the direction of Ghuznee. The route was continued without interruption as far as Mookur, a large village, distant 130 miles from Candahar, when some of the enemy's cavalry came in sight, on which our light companies were sent to the front. That night an attempt made on the baggage was repulsed, and sixty Afghans were sabred; but on the following day, the 28th of August, the first actual skirmish occurred, with a result not at all creditable to the British arms.

A report having been brought into camp that a portion of Shumshoodeen Khan's army had attacked the grass-cutters who had gone out to forage, Captain Delamaine, who commanded the cavalry, moved to the front, while dispatching a messenger to the adjutant-general that he had done so. This message was not delivered in proper time, and hence Delamaine was unsupported. He overtook and repulsed the enemy, with loss. Elated by this, the cavalry rode on, and by pursuing the fugitives too far, fell among the whole of Shumshoodeen's army in difficult ground, full of ravines, from whence the matchlock-men repulsed them by a heavy fire; and the first tidings the infantry had of an encounter was the sound of it. Clouds of whirling dust obscured the scene of the strife, and out of these some riderless horses were seen

galloping wildly into camp. The whole cavalry fell back in good order, till a kind of panic ensued among them on being charged by only 150 of the enemy's horse. On seeing Nott's main body approaching, the Afghans moved off, satisfied with what they had done.

Among the slain were Captains Bury and Reeves, of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry. When a regiment, with some field-pieces, went to the front to recover the bodies of those who fell—fifty in number—they were all found to be deprived of their heads, hands, and otherwise shockingly mutilated. At Ghuznee, Captain Reeves' head was exhibited as that of General Nott, who, it was said, had been entirely defeated near Mookur, himself killed, his army dispersed, and his guns taken.*

The effect of all this was to add greatly to the forces of Shumshoodeen Khan, and, at the same time, to inflate him with such confidence, that he began to think of assuming the offensive. Accordingly, on the 30th, when Nott was marching upon Ghoaine, he took up a position on some hills in front of the British. The country there was finely wooded and studded with little square forts, having round towers at each angle. To lure him to a trial of strength, Nott, about three in the afternoon, moved out with half his force. The challenge was at once accepted. Beating tom-toms, and uttering discordant yells, the Afghans came pouring down, and there ensued a conflict which Nott describes with brevity in his despatch:—"The enemy advanced in the most bold and gallant manner, each division cheering as they came into position; their left being upon a hill of some elevation, their centre and right along a low ridge, until their flank rested on a fort filled with men. They opened a fire of small arms, supported by two six-pounder horse artillery guns, which were admirably served; our columns advanced upon the different points with great regularity and steadiness, and after a short but spirited contest completely defeated the enemy, capturing their guns, tents, ammunition, &c., dispersing them in every direction. One hour more of daylight would have enabled me to destroy the whole of their infantry. Shumshoodeen fled in the direction of Ghuznee, accompanied by about thirty horsemen."

The two guns had been worked by Mussulman deserters from our service. Our total in killed and wounded was 104 officers and men, and seventy-eight horses, including thirteen missing. Next day Nott was joined by a body of Huzaurehs, men of a tribe from the Paropamisan mountains, supposed to be of Tartar extraction. They professed a great friendship for the British, and an equal detestation for the Afghans. As devout followers of Ali, they implored the general to exterminate all the Soonees, to rase Ghuznee, but more particularly to carry off or destroy "Jubber Jung," as they named a famous sixty-four-pound brass gun, for which they appeared to entertain a deep religious horror. These men are always good shots alike with bow and matchlock; in addition to which their arms are a Persian sword, a long narrow dagger in a wooden sheath, and sometimes a spear.*

On the morning of the 5th of September, Nott was before the lofty city of Ghuznee. It was full of armed men, he tells us in his despatch to the Indian Government, and on a range of mountains that lie north-east of the fortress there hovered heavy bodies of cavalry and infantry. Major Saunders, of the Engineers, with the 16th Bengal Infantry, proceeded to reconnoitre it to select a point for breaching; but, as he approached the village of Bullab, which occupies a spur of the mountains, about 600 yards from the walls, he was attacked by the enemy in such numbers that it became necessary to support the 16th. Captain Ferdinand White, of H.M. 40th, moved up with the light companies. Then Nott advanced with the other troops, and the firing became general. The village was captured, and Shumshoodeen Khan, who had been considerably reinforced by Sultan Jan, from Cabul, retired, with his infantry, within the walls, but not before we had lost forty-six men and sixteen horses. Two regiments of infantry and some light guns were left in Bullab to guard the formation of the breaching battery, while the rest of the troops encamped on the Cabul road. The enemy waited patiently till all the tents were up and the drums had beaten for breakfast, when a tremendous report was heard, and a shot from "Jubber Jung" whizzed over the mess-tent of H.M. 40th, and landing among the camels in the rear, killed several of them. Shot after shot came from it with amazing rapidity, and as these were roughly made of hammered iron, they hissed in their passage through the air. The camp was therefore transferred to Rosah, where the tents were set up amid vineyards and orchards. As the guns for the battery were being moved into position on the morning of the 6th, it was found that Ghuznee was empty. The enemy had abandoned it under cloud of night.

We thus entered the famous fortress without firing another shot. The Cabul Gate, by which Lord Keane had marched in, was found built up, and in the citadel where our officers had been

* Captain Neill.

* Elphinstone's "Account of Cabul."

imprisoned their names were written on the wall, with the statement of Colonel Palmer having been there put to torture. The mace that had hung above the white tomb of Mahmood—a weapon of wood, but with a metal head so heavy that few men could wield it—was gone; so was that mighty warrior's shield; but the sandal-wood gates, which, it was said, he had brought from Somnauth eight centuries before, were secured; and on hearing of this, Lord Ellenborough expressed his delight in a private letter to General Nott, abounding in minute and frivolous detail as to the mode in which the gates were to be paraded on the march homeward, and conveyed to their final destination. They were removed by a company of our 40th Regiment, amid the tears, curses, and wailings of the fakirs who watched the shrine. "Jubber Jung" was found to be a brass gun of the finest kind, and beautifully ornamented. All the guns taken in Ghuznee were burst, by order of the general. The fortifications were blown up, the woodwork set on fire, and the flames of this ancient and renowned citadel, the cradle of the Moslem power and faith in India, lighted the sky during a whole night.

Carrying with him the alleged gates of Somnauth, which Mahmood had reft from the famous temple in 1024, General Nott, on the 10th of September, marched from Ghuznee, and met with no opposition till the fourth day, when, on arriving at Maidan (twenty miles from Cabul), he found Shumshoodeen Khan, Sultan Jan, and other Afghan chiefs, at the head of 12,000 men, in possession of some heights, and prepared to dispute his passage. He immediately attacked them, and, as he states in his despatch to General Pollock, commanding west of the Indus, "our troops dislodged them in gallant style, and their conduct afforded me the greatest satisfaction." He had only two men killed, but several wounded, including three subalterns.*

The march of the 17th of September brought our Candahar force within five miles of the blood-stained capital, which was already in possession of General Pollock, who had entered it on the preceding day, and of whose triumphant march we must now give a brief account.

At the head of 8,000 men, he left Jelalabad, and on the 23rd reached Gundamuck, where the enemy were found in sufficient force to justify certain manœuvres that, though necessary, are not worth detailing; but it was not until the 7th of September that the march was resumed by the first column, under Sale, while the second, under General McCaskill, prepared to follow on the 8th. On that day, when our advance reached Jugdulluk, the enemy were seen in strong force occupying some heights forming a kind of amphitheatre to the left of the road; and Pollock, impatient for battle and vengeance, without waiting for the second column, ordered an attack. The foe met this with great firmness for some time, resolutely maintaining their posts, though the shells of our howitzers burst in showers among them; but the fiery gallantry of the veterans of Jelalabad was irresistible, and the heights were triumphantly stormed. Singular to say, we had only one man killed—an officer—and sixty-five wounded, among whom was one officer.

This success facilitated the progress of the second column, and both formed a junction at Tizeen on the 11th. Already had the Afghan chiefs become aware of the futility of resistance, and thought of obtaining terms. With this view, Ackbar Khan, who held Captain Troup as a species of hostage, sent for that officer, and told him "that he was immediately to proceed to Gundamuck, to General Pollock, and offer, on the part of the Afghan chiefs, submission to any terms he might be pleased to dictate, provided he would stay the advance of his army on Cabul." Troup, aware that the time for negociation was passed, and that for punishment was come, urged the futility of the proposed journey. Ackbar seems to have become sensible of that, too; and the moment he learned that the British troops were halting in the Pass of Jugdulluk, and might be entangled there like their luckless comrades, he moved his camp to Khoord Cabul, and then pushed on to Tizeen, where the position of the British was certainly a perilous one.

They were in the bottom of a valley, encompassed by great mountains, and there Pollock's pickets were attacked with such boldness on the evening of the 12th September that, though the assault was repulsed by the energy and personal valour of Colonel Taylor, it was evident that progress through the pass beyond would be hotly contested. On the 13th it became necessary for Pollock to decide whether that gloomy vale, where the bones of our dead lay whitening in thousands—as, indeed, they were all over the route—was again to become the scene of another dreadful carnage, or whether it was to witness the condign punishment of Afghan perfidy.

On entering the Tizeen Pass next day, its heights were seen to be crowned with 16,000 men, under Ackbar Khan, and in the battle that ensued the utmost energies of the combatants on both sides were keenly called forth. "The Afghans, elated by their previous success on the same spot, hoped that they were to achieve a second and more glorious victory, while they also knew that

* Despatches.

defeat would involve the loss of their capital, and, it might be, of their national independence. The British were animated by still stronger motives. Their companions in arms, whose remains lay scattered around them, were calling aloud for vengeance, and the only question now was, whether, by victory, they were to give a true response to this call, or, by defeat, to be in a like manner exterminated."

The battle was begun by a body of Afghan horse, who, full of confidence and the desire for plunder, descended into the plain to attack our baggage, ere they could reach which, our cavalry fell upon them like a human tempest, threw them into instant confusion, and cut them to pieces. Meanwhile, our infantry had won the crest of the heights, and, trusting chiefly to the bayonet, carried all before them. Though the flower of the Ghiljies and other tribes were under their most able chiefs, their efforts were vain, for the troops with whom they had to deal were unlike the dispirited fugitives of Elphinstone, who, long ere this, had died in the Tower of Tizeen. Deprived of the double advantage which they hoped to possess, in their elevated position and the long range of their juzails, on the near approach of our infantry they acknowledged their defeat by flight; but not before we lost 162 men killed and wounded, exclusive of four officers among the latter.

Leaving his army to its fate Ackbar Khan fled, almost alone, to the Ghorebund Valley, while General Pollock continued his march, without further molestation, through Khoord Cabul and Boothauk, and on the 15th of September he encamped on the race-course at Cabul. On the morning of the 16th he hoisted the British colours on the Balahissar, while our bands played the National Anthem, and the cheers of the soldiers rose "with triumphant vehemence, as if they would rend the heavens."

The next occupation of our troops after entering Cabul was the collection and reverent interment of the bones of their brother-soldiers and others who had fallen in that terrible retreat. In many places the skeletons lay in piles, and nearly all headless, the Afghans having taken the skulls as trophies. We are told that horrible and agonising were the efforts made by many of our officers and their men to trace, in the skulls and shattered bones, the remains of some dear friend or comrade. On the spot where the unhappy "44th made their last stand, more than 200 skeletons were found lying close together."

General Pollock's first attention was turned to the release of the captives, whom Ackbar Khan, on the 25th of August, after stripping them of everything of value, had hurried over the barren wastes and steep ascents of the Hindoo Coosh, many thousand feet above the level of the sea, to Bamean, where they arrived on the 3rd of September. Sir Richmond Shakespeare, the military secretary, was now dispatched after them, at the head of 600 Kuzzilbash Lancers. The ladies and officers were then under the charge of Saleh Mohammed, who had been a native commandant in a local Afghan regiment, but had deserted it in the previous year. On the 11th of September he had called Captains Johnson, Lawrence, and Major Pottinger aside, and produced a letter from Ackbar Khan, desiring him to convey the helpless prisoners to the higher regions of the Hindoo Coosh, and deliver them over to the Usbec Tartar chief of Kholoom, in which case, too probably, we should never have heard of them more. At the same time, he exhibited a letter from Mohun Lall, the moonshee of the assassinated envoy, promising, on the part of General Pollock, a gratuity of 20,000 rupees, with an annuity of 12,000, if he would restore the captives. "I know nothing," said he, "of General Pollock; but if you three gentlemen will swear to me by your Saviour to make the offer good, I will deliver you over to your own people."

The proposal was rapturously received, and the officers and ladies united in making themselves responsible by a deed for the funds. Major Pottinger now, by common consent, assumed direction of their movements. He deposed the governor of Bamean, and laid under contribution a caravan of Lohanee merchants which passed it.. He secured the Afghan escort of 250 men by promising them four months' pay on reaching Cabul, and issued proclamations to the neighbouring chiefs to make their obeisance to him, while he granted them remissions of revenue. To be ready for a siege, the hero of Herat repaired the fortifications, dug wells, and laid in provisions; and on the 15th a passing horseman brought the glorious tidings that Ackbar Khan was a fugitive in the Toba Mountains, that the Afghan army was annihilated. and that Pollock was in full march for Cabul.

Major Pottinger now determined to return there with his fellow-prisoners, who all moved on the 16th, and slept that night on the bare rocks, unconscious, amid their joy, of suffering or fatigue. Next afternoon, when they were resting in the sunshine under the walls of an old fort, Sir Richmond Shakespeare came galloping up with his Kuzzilbashes, and was received with heartfelt pleasure; and more than ever did the rescued —especially the ladies, with their children—feel



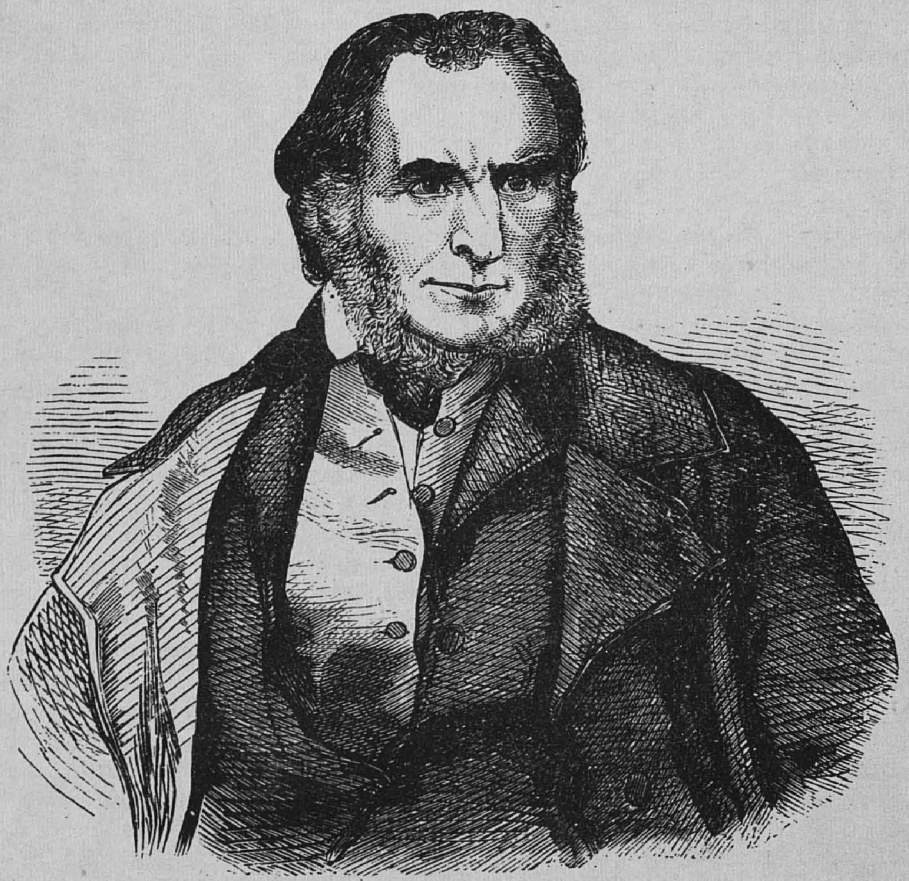
MOUNTAINEERS OF THE WESTERN HIMALAYAS.

thankful for "the grace and protecting providence of a forbearing and merciful God." *

But the party had still a long march through a difficult and disturbed country; and as Shakespeare was not without fears that Ackbar might make an effort to recover his prey, he forwarded an urgent message to General Pollock to send troops to their support, as the Pass of Suffed Khak, through which they had to march, was said to be beset. At the same time, it was resolved that the party should move forward by forced marches, for which every facility was afforded by the Kuzzilbash chiefs, who supplied fresh horses; and on the 20th they met a British officer, who gave them the welcome intelligence that the gallant Sale, with his noble brigade, was but a few miles distant, on the road to meet them. "All doubt was now at an end," says Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir Vincent) Eyre: "we were once more under the safeguard of British troops. General Sale was there in person, and his happiness in regaining his long-lost wife and daughter may be imagined."

* Lieutenant Eyre's "Journal."

"It was a glorious rescue," says another writer, "but, alas! that the number rescued should be so small. Major-General Shelton, of H.M. 44th Foot, stands at the head of the list. The total number of all who were released and recovered by Nott and Pollock's brilliant advance to Cabul, and by Sale's forward movement, was only 122. Of this number nine were ladies, and three the wives of non-commissioned officers, there were twenty-two children, and thirty-four officers. The rest, with the exception of two or three regimental clerks, were British non-commissioned officers and privates."



PORTRAIT OF SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

Many of them had no other garment than a sheep-skin; others had the flowing garb of Afghanistan. Our camp at Cabul rang with acclamations when they entered it, and never since the establishment of British India had so intense a feeling of anxiety pervaded the community as the fate of the prisoners excited, and the thrill of delight which vibrated throughout the country on the announcement of their safety may be more easily conceived than described.*

* Marshman.

Cabul was won, but the fighting was not entirely over. Under Ameen Oolah Khan, the most bitter of our enemies, the scattered bands of the Afghan army were gathering in Kohistan, or the highlands of the country, and it was deemed necessary to disperse them. For this purpose General McCaskill marched against Istaliff; but prior to his departure, an interesting ceremony was performed in Lady Sale's tent, when some of the infants who had been born in captivity were baptised by a military chaplain.

Istaliff, boasted as the virgin fortress of Afghanistan, had hence been selected by the insurgents as the place where to leave their families and treasure. It occupies a spur of the Hindoo Coosh, distant twenty miles from Cabul, and McCaskill found its strength had not been over-rated. The town rose in terraces on the mountain slope, and besides being protected by numerous forts, was accessible only by climbing heights, separated by deep ravines and narrow avenues, lined on each side by the strong walls of gardens and vineyards. Confident in the traditional strength of Istaliff, the enemy were disdainfully careless in their arrangements for its defence; thus, when the British troops advanced on the morning of the 29th, they cleared the approaches with ease. The town was stormed, and much booty found, and by some means about a third of the place was burned down. No lives were taken after resistance ceased. A large number of women and children were collected and placed under guard for transmission to their friends, and they were treated with every care and consideration; but considering all that happened there—how the people had murdered Captain Codrington, Lieutenant Rattray, and others, when dwelling peacefully in their midst—how Major Pottinger had escaped covered with wounds, after all his people were slain—it might not have excited surprise had every armed man in the place been put to death. As there were no means for transporting their booty, our soldiers threw into the flames all that they could not convey about their persons.*

General McCaskill next marched to Charikur, where our regiment of Ghoorkas had perished by wholesale slaughter, and burned it down. The objects of the new expedition had been accomplished; the surviving prisoners had been released; Afghanistan had been re-conquered, and our military reputation thus restored; but one thing more was necessary, to leave some retributive and lasting mark of our vengeance on its capital.

Prior to doing this, our generals, somewhat unwisely, set up another puppet-king at Cabul. Futteh Jung, the son of the murdered Shah Sujah, found his way, in a state of utter destitution, to General Pollock's camp at Gundamuck, from whence he accompanied our troops to Cabul, where he was again installed as king. But this availed him nothing, for when the departure of our army was announced, he resolved to return with it rather than wear a crown which would cost him his life, and a younger brother took his place, only to be dethroned before we crossed the Indus. The Balahissar, which had been doomed to destruction, was, most unwisely, left untouched, but the great bazaar of Cabul, the most splendid edifice of its kind in Central Asia, was undermined and blown up, as having been the place where Macnaghten's mutilated corpse had been exposed to the insults of a mob for days.

The British colours were lowered on the Balahissar, and with emotions of high satisfaction, our two armies began their homeward march, accompanied by the family of Shah Sujah. This was on the 12th of October, 1842. Lord Ellenborough was all impatience to publish their triumphs to the world in official proclamations. He was at Simla, in the house from which Lord Auckland had sent the declaration of war four years before, and he issued a proclamation announcing the termination of it, and that some dramatic effect should not be wanting, he dated it on the same day of the month with Lord Auckland's manifesto, though it was not issued till ten days later, and it was much censured for its unseemly remarks upon his predecessor.

"Disasters," wrote Lord Ellenborough, "unparalleled in their extent, except by the errors in which they originated, have, in one short campaign, been avenged on every scene of past misfortune. . . . . The combined army of Britain and India," he continued, "superior in equipment, in discipline, and in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any that can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength on its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won in security and honour."

With Nott and other generals, and not with Lord Ellenborough, lay the glory that had been won; but in his inflation, his proclamation about the captured gates excited ridicule as a parody on Napoleon's famous bulletin.

"My friends and brothers," he said, in his address to the princes of India, "our victorious army bears the gates of the Temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of the Sultan Mahmood looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee! The insult of 800 years is at last avenged. . . . . To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwara,

* "Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan."

of Malwah, and of Goojerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful warfare. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit these gates of sandal-wood to the restored temple of Somnauth."

This document excited such laughter, that many persons doubted its genuineness. The gates which Nott was ordered to guard as he would his colours, and which an old Fakir predicted would never reach Somnauth, were borne in a wagon covered with costly trappings, escorted by Hindoo volunteers from the 2nd Grenadiers,* and taken in Lord Ellenborough's train to Agra, while, as the procession went forward, hundreds of frantic Hindoos prostrated themselves before it, and made pooja, as if it were a deity; but the gates never went further than Agra, and were thrown into a lumber room of the fort. Moreover, the gates proved in the end not to be those of Somnauth, as their date was found to be much more recent than the time of Mahmood of Ghuznee.

Partly to overawe the Sikhs, and partly to get up a grand ovation, the Governor-General mustered a large army at Ferozepore, and there, at the bridge of the Sutlej, amidst hundreds of elephants, which he had collected to do honour to the returning troops, he welcomed General Pollock with the rescued captives, and General Nott—who must have felt some contempt for the whole affair—with the gates in their wagon. The officers were feasted in a magnificent tent, while a repast of their favourite sweetmeats was given to the sepoys. All the troops in camp now mustered 40,000 men, and if imposing, it was also a judicious display after our recent military disasters beyond the Indus.

The Afghan prisoners were now liberated; and on taking leave of Dost Mohammed, Lord Ellenborough asked his opinion of the British after all he had seen in India. "I have been struck," replied the Dost, "with the magnitude of your resources, your ships, your arsenals; but what I cannot understand is, why the rulers of an empire so vast and flourishing should have gone across the Indus to deprive me of my poor and barren country."

The surprise expressed by the Dost, says Marshman, was equally shared by the community in Britain and India; and here the curtain drops on the dark tragedy of Afghanistan.

* Captain Neill—Appendix.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CAPTURE OF CANTON.—RELATIONS WITH SCINDE.—THE PERFIDY OF ALI MORAD.—EMAUMGHUR DESTROYED.—BATTLE OF MEANEE.

To preserve coherence in the foregoing narrative of the Afghan war, we have omitted, chronologically, a reference to the expedition to the coast of China, in May, 1840.

In our dispute concerning the opium trade, Lord Palmerston, in 1839, gave instructions to our Resident at Canton to inform all British merchants and masters of vessels that to traffic in that drug was illegal; that "the British Government could not interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade." Nevertheless, smuggling was greatly carried on, the Chinese authorities at Canton conniving at it, while the supreme government, like the British Resident, issued proclamations against it. In the February of 1839, strict orders came from Pekin to carry the official decrees into effect, and hence, a Chinese accused of smuggling was publicly strangled in front of the foreign factories.

Captain Elliot, our Resident, thereupon ordered all British craft not having licenses to proceed outside the Bogue. On the 10th of March the imperial commissioner, Lin, arrived at Canton, and on the 18th he issued two edicts, one to Hong merchants, and the other to foreigners; the latter requiring every particle of opium in the store-ships, as well as in the vessels without the Chinese waters, to be delivered up to the government on the penalty of death. Captain Elliot, and other residents at Canton, who had never been concerned in any opium transactions, were seized, and threatened with execution unless the mandate was complied with in three days. Our representative had only the alternative of death or implicit obedience. To save lives he chose the latter, and promised to give up opium to the value of £2,500,000, a great part of which was at the time on the high seas, and entirely beyond the control of the Chinese government.

All the opium in these vessels was delivered up; but Lin contended that the specified amount was not made good, and detained Captain Elliot under the same threat of death, compelling him to purchase opium, to the value of about £40,000, to make up the quantity. A convention entered into by the Chinese commissioner for carrying on the outside trade was, on some pretence, broken; and a rencontre took place between H.M. ships *Volage* and *Hyacinth* and a fleet of war-junks, which ended in the utter destruction of the latter. Various attempts were made to burn the British ships in the roads, and to poison their crews. To demand redress and compensation for these insults, and the vast destruction of property, an expedition was sent from India, under Sir Hugh Gough, who captured Canton in May, 1840, and also took possession of the whole river defences, which were held by our troops until 6,000,000 dollars were paid by the Chinese government,* and five ports were opened to European commerce.

Before the final evacuation of Afghanistan took place, the attention of the Governor-General had been drawn to Scinde. On the 4th of November, 1842, a draft of a treaty with the Ameers of Scinde was prepared, and several of its articles became important before the strife then raging was over. By the 2nd article the Company's rupee was to become the only coin legally current after the 1st of January, 1845. By the 5th article the Ameers renounced the privilege of coining money. Article 6 related to the cutting of wood for steamers navigating the Indus. By article 7, Kurrachee and Tatta were ceded to us, with a free passage between them. By article 8, Subsulkhote, which had been taken from the Nawab by the Ameers, and the territory between the present frontier of Bhawalpore and the town of Rohree, are ceded to "that ever faithful friend and ally of the British Government," his Highness of Bhawalpore.

Nott's advance upon Candahar the Ameers mistook for a retrograde movement, and though he afterwards destroyed Ghuznee, and joined in the retribution that fell on Cabul and Istaliff, they would assume that his measures bore the character of a flight. "It was," says Sir Charles Napier, "viewed as a proof of weakness, and the Beloochees and Brahooes became more hopeful and more confident than before. The Ameers of Upper and Lower Scinde consulted together how best to league against the Feringhees; Sikh vakeels were at Khyrpoor ready to start for Lahore, loaded with presents for the Maharajah; and at the same time letters came from the victorious Afghans, reminding the Ameers that they were ever feudatories of the Dooranee empire, and exhorting them to act boldly in the common cause. These things led to the Ameers' final destruction: they were the forerunners of the battle by which they fell; but their primary cause, it has been shown, was deeper seated. The Scindian war was no isolated event. 'It was the tail of the Afghan storm.'" *

To prosecute a war with the British, the Ameers swore upon the Koran their resolution to unite with Afghans, Sikhs, or any other allies; but, luckily for us, at this crisis there was then in command of the troops in Scinde, where he was invested with full diplomatic and military power, a soldier of the highest reputation, Sir Charles James Napier, who had served first in the Irish rebellion, and afterwards in Spain and America. He was taken prisoner at Corunna, but not until he had received five wounds, and had his ribs broken by a cannon-shot.† He was a man of heroic valour and extraordinary energy; but it is said, by Marshman, that he assumed his post in Scinde with a strong prejudice against the Ameers. The investigation of the charges of disloyalty was left to him by the Governor-General; with the distinct injunction that he was not to proceed against them without the most complete proof of their guilt; and we are also told that he did not consider the war about to be launched upon them as just. Various treaties had been forced already upon these free and independent chiefs; and now Britain treated their country as if it were a province won in war. When Lieutenant Eastwick, on behalf of the Bombay Government, laid before the Ameers the draft-treaty referred to, Noor Mohammed, one of the most powerful, took from a box all the treaties which were in force, and with some sarcasm, asked what was to become of all these; but before he could be replied to, he added, indignantly, "Here is another annoyance! Since the days that Scinde has been connected with Britain there has always been something new; your Government is never satisfied. We are anxious for your friendship, but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given a road to your troops through our territories, and now you wish to remain!"

The death of this patriotic chief facilitated the designs of Britain, which were carried out with as little sense of scruple as of justice. The Ameers had submitted with tolerable patience to much injustice under Lord Auckland's administration, but when his successor arrived, "a puerile and hot-headed policy was pursued, calculated to drive them to madness or despair. Yet, as in the case

* Lord Jocelyn's "Chinese Expedition;" Despatches, &c.

* "Conquest of Scinde."
† Hart's "Army List," 1843.

of Afghanistan, his hot vigour was followed by reaction, and he hesitated as to the expediency of forcing certain cessions of territory, which he had ordered Colonel Outram, the Resident, to demand." And it was when one of his fits of activity returned, that he placed Sir Charles Napier in civil and military command in Scinde.

On the 5th of October, 1842, that officer reported to Calcutta that the Ameers levied toll upon the Indus, contrary to a treaty which, like others, had been forced upon them by our Government, and "which," it has been said, "they had no more right to dictate, than any Scinde or Belooch robber would have to levy black-mail within the Indian territory." Although he admitted that the Ameers had been aggrieved, and had as yet committed no act of aggression, he still resolved to carry out the Governor-General's unjust policy with a resolute will, and a series of intrigues began "between certain of the Ameers, which were neither very clever nor cunning, and eventually did more to embarrass affairs and drive the Ameers to resistance, than any of the articles of the oppressive and insolent treaty forced upon them;"* and eventually, without allowing them to discuss the terms of it, Sir Charles Napier sequestrated the whole of the lands stated in the first treaty, which belonged to Belooch chiefs, who were feudatories of Ameers, thus plunging them at once in penury.

These violent measures were caused by the villainy of Ali Morad. The highest dignity in Upper Scinde was the office of Rais, the symbol of which was a turban. Meer Roostum, then in his eightieth year, had long enjoyed it, and was venerated by all. According to the usage of the country, the succession to this honour belonged to his younger brother, Ali Morad, but he wished to bestow it on his own son. To make sure of the turban, the former won the confidence of Napier, whose mind he poisoned against Meer Roostum, who, terrified by three threatening messages sent by the general, fled to the castle of Ali Morad, on whose head he placed the coveted turban, an act which betokened the surrender of power. Sir Charles was not without some suspicion that the cession had been obtained by force or fraud, and wished to see the Meer on the subject. To prevent any elucidation of the matter, and preclude an interview, Ali woke his brother at midnight, and urged flight, as the British troops were coming to seize him. In fear and bewilderment the aged chief rode in the dark to the camp of some other relatives, twelve miles distant, to avoid Sir Charles Napier, who immediately issued a proclamation to the Ameers of Scinde, announcing that he was resolved to maintain Ali Morad as chieftain of the Talpoora family. Meer Roostum sent his minister instantly to Napier, to relate the true story, and how he had been prompted to fly. To this explanation an arrogant reply was sent by the general, who announced his resolution of reducing and destroying Emaumghur in the desert, because it was deemed the "Gibraltar of Upper Scinde;" and he was determined to show the Ameers that "neither the deserts nor their negociations could intercept the progress of a British army."

Accordingly, although we were then at peace with all the known authorities of Scinde, on the 4th of January, 1843, he made his arrangements for crossing the desert, and started on the night of the 5th, with 350 men of H.M. 22nd Regiment, mounted on camels, two soldiers on each with their muskets slung; two 24-pound howitzers, with double teams of camels, 200 of the Scinde Horse, provisions for fifteen days and water for four. On the 7th, Choonka, twenty-five miles from Deejeekote, was reached. Though the Ameers had repeatedly shown themselves, no opposition was encountered, and after a toilsome march, the 12th saw Napier before Emaumghur, a square fort built of burned brick with round towers, about fifty feet in height, and capable of resisting any force unfurnished by artillery. It was found to be deserted, so nothing remained but to destroy it, which was effectually done with 10,000 lbs. of powder, in sight of clouds of fanatical Beloochee horsemen, who hovered in the desert and looked angrily on. He then retired, and on the 21st of January reached Peer Abubeker, on the road from Khyrpoor to Hyderabad. The Duke of Wellington said it was "one of the most curious military exploits" he had ever heard of, but as poor old Meer Mohammed, to whom the fort belonged, had never given us the least offence, it was an act of wanton aggression. Moreover, his lands were confiscated in Upper Scinde, he was deprived of all power and dignity, and Sir Charles ordered all the Ameers of the upper and lower provinces to meet Major Outram at Khyrpoor, and there discuss and sign the treaty; but as some of them failed to attend, the conference was transferred to Hyderabad.

There Major Outram gave them credit for more sincerity, and so far became their dupe, as to propose that Sir Charles, who had already drawn the sword, should leave behind the army he was assembling, and come in person to Hyderabad. "This," said he, "will remove all difficulties." "Yes," replied the veteran, "and my head from my shoulders." That Napier was wise in not

* "Parliamentary Papers relating to Scinde," &c.

trusting himself in Hyderabad, was proved on the 12th of February, when twenty-five Beloochee chiefs of the Mussee tribe were arrested in arms, and, on the person of Hyat Khan, who held chief command, was found an order from Mohammed Khan, one of the Ameers of Hyderabad, directing him "to assemble every male capable of wielding a sword, and join his victorious Beloochee troops at Meanee on the 9th."

It would appear that on the very day this discovery was made, the Ameers met in solemn durbar, and with the exception of Nusseer Khan of Khyrpoor, signed that, which was to them a most obnoxious treaty, and which has been justly termed "the consummation of a system of duplicity." They had been simply seeking to gain time to complete their military preparations, but tidings of the sudden advance of Napier on Hyderabad, filled them with confusion.

As Outram, then holding the local rank of colonel, was leaving the fort after the signature of the treaty, he was surrounded by a crowd of armed and furious citizens and soldiers, who poured bitter curses on the British, as tyrants, robbers, and truce-breakers, and he, the future "Bayard of India," would have been torn to pieces, had the Ameers not personally guarded him to the residency. Next day they informed him that the Belooch troops were so exasperated, as to be no longer amenable to authority, and with more chivalry than discretion he refused to leave his post. But on the morning of the 15th February, three days after the signature of the treaty, masses of infantry surrounded the residency with a dreadful din, and after a gallant defence of three hours, Outram withdrew to an armed steamer, anchored at 500 yards distance in the river. On board of her, Captain Brown, of the Bengal Engineers, proved an efficient artillery officer, but Outram and others had to leave all their baggage and other property behind, when, subsequently, they joined the forces gathering under Sir Charles Napier.

These events rendered a general appeal to arms inevitable, and the Belooch troops flocked to the capital in greater numbers, when it was seen that Sir Charles Napier, the fiery scion of an old fighting race, persisted in advancing on it, though the treaty had been signed.

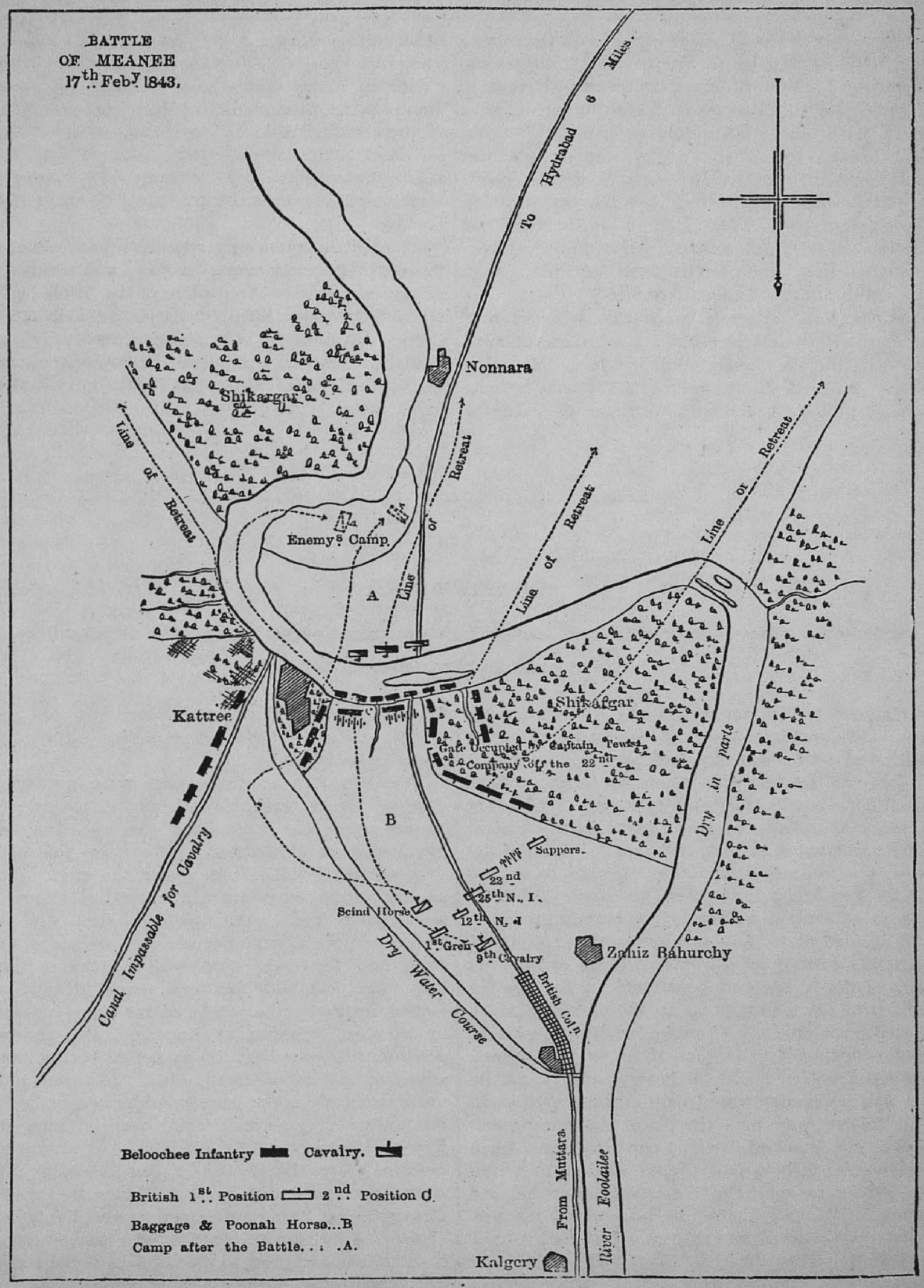
Sir Charles Napier now moved to Meanee, a town on a branch of the Indus, which is there a mile broad and eighteen feet deep. There he halted on the 17th of February, and there on that day was fought a battle, and won a British victory, second to none in the warlike annals of India.

The Beloochees were 22,000 strong; our force but 2,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, with twelve pieces of cannon.

After a four hours' march, about nine in the morning, our troops came in sight of the enemy, whose wings rested on dense woods near Meanee. In their front lay the Faililee branch of the Indus, quite dry. Our slender force began its advance from the right in echelon of battalions; the artillery and H.M. 22nd in line taking the lead, the 25th Native Infantry the second, the 12th Native Infantry the third, the 1st Native Grenadiers the fourth. The 9th Bengal Light Cavalry formed the reserve in rear of the left wing; the Poonah Horse, together with four companies of infantry, guarded the baggage. "In this order of battle," says Napier, "we advanced as at a review, over a fine plain, swept by the cannon of the enemy."

The fighting that ensued was terrible, and when our troops got close up, after the dry nullah was crossed, they had to ascend the sloping bank, but braver men never rushed to battle than those who met at Meanee; and never was true British generalship more conspicuous than there, and no quarter was given or asked while the conflict lasted.

"The Beloochees," says Napier, "having their matchlocks laid ready in rest along the summit of the bank, waited until the assailants were within fifteen yards ere their volley was discharged; the rapid pace of the British and the steepness of the slope deceived their aim, and the result was not considerable; the next moment the 22nd were on the top of the bank, thinking to bear down all before them, but they staggered back in amazement at the forest of swords waving in their front. Thick as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Beloochees in their many-coloured garments and turbans; they filled the deep, broad bed of the ravine, they clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords beaming in the sun, their shouts rolling like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they dashed forward, with demoniac strength and ferocity, full against the front of the 22nd. But with shouts as loud, and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, and hearts as big, and arms as strong, the Irish soldiers met them with that queen of weapons the musket, and sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood. . . . . Now the Beloochees closed their dense masses, and again the shouts, the rolling fire of musketry, and the dreadful rush of their swordsmen, were heard and seen along the whole line, and such a fight ensued as has seldom been known or told of in the records of war. These wild warriors continually advanced,



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MEANEE.

sword and shield in hand, striving, in all the fierceness of their valour, to break into the opposing ranks; no fire of small arms, no thrust of bayonets, no sweeping discharges of grape from the guns, could drive these gallant soldiers back; they gave their breasts to be shot; they leaped upon the guns by twenties at a time; their dead went down the steep slope by hundreds, but the gaps in their masses were continually filled from the rear; the survivors of the front rank still pressed forward with unabated fury, and the bayonet and the sword clashed in full and frequent conflict."*

At one time, our whole line was nearly overborne by sheer weight and numbers, but a brilliant charge, made by the 9th Cavalry and Scinde Horse, completely relieved it, by forcing the enemy's right flank, capturing a standard, with several pieces of artillery, and driving a body of horse beyond even their own camp. "This charge," says Sir Charles, "decided, in my opinion, the crisis of the action, for, from the moment the cavalry were seen in rear of their right flank, the resistance of the enemy slackened; the 22nd Regiment forced the bank, the 25th and 12th did the same, the latter regiment capturing several guns, and the victory was decided."

The British losses were 256 killed and wounded; those of the enemy exceeded 500; and the results of the victory were the capture of the whole of the enemy's treasure, artillery, stores, standards, and camp. Several of the Ameers personally submitted to Napier. Hyderabad surrendered, and the 20th of February saw the British colours floating on its great tower.

CHAPTER XXV.

VICTORY AT DUBBA.—CONQUEST AND ANNEXATION OF SCINDE.—THE MAHRATTAS OF GWALIOR.—BATTLE OF MAHARAJAHPORE, ETC.

BRILLIANT as this victory was, the war was not yet over. Shere Mohammed of Meerpore, the most famous of all the Ameers, had been on the march to join the confederates, when he heard of their signal defeat. Sir Charles Napier offered to accept his submission on the same terms as the others, but he scorned to submit, and kept the field, at the head of a force that rapidly augmented to 20,000 men. For some time after his victory, Napier was able barely to muster 2,000 men, and, therefore, instead of continuing offensive operations, he prudently formed an intrenched camp on the left bank of the Indus, and constructed a fort on the right bank, as a protection to the steamers which carried his supplies. There he resolved to wait for reinforcements, certain that if Shere Mohammed assailed him, he would be beaten, and that if he did not, his money would soon become exhausted. The Ameer drew near the place, and finding that he was not attacked, became confident, and when twelve miles distant, sent a letter, offering to permit the British to quit the country (though he had sworn to "Cabul them," as he phrased it), provided they restored all captives. Just as his messengers delivered the letter, the evening gun was fired. "There," said Sir Charles, "do you hear that?" "Yes." "Well, that is your answer," he added, significantly.

The expected reinforcements came up on the 21st of March, and at the head of 5,000 men, Napier was able to assume the offensive, and marched from Hyderabad at dawn on the 24th, to a village called Dubba, where the enemy, still 20,000 strong, were strongly intrenched in rear of two parallel ditches, the first eight feet deep and twenty-two wide, and the second seventeen feet deep and forty-two wide, with a bank or ridge forty-three feet wide between them. Napier attacked instantly, the whole of his guns, nineteen in number, opening at once on the enemy's position, while the line, led as before by the 22nd, advanced in echelon from the left. In a short time, the enemy, while throwing considerable bodies to this point, were apparently falling back as if unable to oppose the cross-fire of our artillery. This was the moment to try the effect of a cavalry charge, and it was performed with great brilliance by the 3rd Cavalry under Captain Delamaine, and the Scinde Horse led by Captain Jacobs, who dashed across both nullahs, and pursued the fugitives of the enemy for several miles, but not without considerable loss.

* "Conquest of Scinde."

While this occurred on the right, the 22nd, with their usual heroism, attacked the point assigned them and carried it, but not without many casualties. Three regiments of native infantry followed them close, and thus decided the battle of Dubba, otherwise called Narajah, which the Duke of Wellington said was "a brilliant victory, in which he (Sir C. Napier) showed all the qualities of a general officer, and in which the army displayed all the best qualities of the bravest troops."

We lost 270 officers and men: more than half the casualties occurred in the ranks of our 22nd Foot.

On the 27th, our troops took possession of Meerpore, the capital of Shere Mohammed, but Napier was afraid to advance further, being obliged to watch the Indus, lest the overflow of its waters should cut him off by inundation. To act still on the offensive, he sent a squadron of cavalry, on the 28th of March, to reconnoitre Omerkote, a fort in the desert, about 100 miles from Hyderabad, which, though supposed to be garrisoned by 4,000 men, was eventually found to be abandoned; and the importance attached to its capture gave Napier occasion to write thus:—"Omerkote is ours. . . . This completes the conquest of Scinde; every place is in my possession; and, thank God! I have done with war. Never again am I likely to see a shot fired in anger."

But this was a rash anticipation, for Shere Mohammed, returning from the sandy desert to which he had fled, was able, towards the end of April, to rank 8,000 men under his standard at Khoonera, about sixty miles from Hyderabad, while his brother, Shah Mohammed, at the head of several thousands more, with four guns, had gone down to Sehwan, with a view to cross the Indus, and join in a preconcerted revolt at Hyderabad. Meer Hossein, the son of Meer Roostum, was in the desert of Shaghur, with 2,000 men, and with several refractory chieftains, was menacing Ali Morad at Khyrpoor; 20,000 predatory Beloochees were traversing the Delta of the Ganges; and to the east of it, beyond the Poorana branch of the river, a tribe 5,000 strong, was threatening to cut off all communication with Bombay. Therefore, instead of the peace expected by Napier, there was every prospect of renewal of the war, and a necessity for the most decisive measures, lest Shere Mohammed should double his force amid the predatory hordes in the Delta of the Indus.

The first encounter was with his brother, upon whom Colonel Roberts came by surprise, at Sehwan, dispersed his troops, burned his camp, took him prisoner, and sent him under escort to Hyderabad. To attack Shere Mohammed, Sir Charles Napier marched out of the city in the middle of the hot season. The sufferings of the troops from thirst, fatigue, and heat, were of a dreadful nature. On the 15th of June, Sir Charles and forty-three other Europeans were struck down by sunstroke, and within three hours all were dead, save himself, an escape which he attributed to his extremely temperate habits. Another circumstance, he added, "roused me from my lethargy, as much as the bleeding." This was a message from Colonel Jacob, intimating that he had, without the loss of a man, utterly routed Shere Mohammed. All strife was completely over now, and, as Governor of Scinde, Sir Charles could devote himself to the work of internal improvement—a department in which the veteran soldier displayed administrative talents of the very highest order.

Lord Ellenborough had, prior to this, on hearing of the victory at Meanee, issued a proclamation, annexing Scinde, "fertile as Egypt," to the dominions of the Company. The triumphs of our army there, as contrasted with the disastrous extirpation of the one at Cabul, created great exultation in India, though somewhat damped by the conviction that the act was altogether lawless, grasping, and indefensible; and Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, remarked, that the conquest would never have taken place, if Lord Ellenborough had been fully aware of the perfidy of Ali Morad. But before Sir Charles became cognisant of that matter, he wrote:—"We only want a pretext to coerce the Ameers. . . . . The more powerful government will swallow up the weaker." Elsewhere he wrote—"We have no right to seize Scinde, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be."

The troops had a rich harvest of prize money, of which seven lacs fell to the share of Sir Charles Napier, but on the finances of India the annexation inflicted a loss of two crores and a half of rupees in the course of fifteen years.*

Burnet gives us a pleasing description of the somewhat lawless Ameers of Scinde. They and their attendants, he tells us, were habited nearly alike, in tunics of fine white muslin, neatly prepared, and plaited so as to resemble dimity, with sashes of silk and gold, wide Turkish trousers of silk, chiefly dark blue, and tied at the ankle, and Scindian caps of gold brocade or embroidered velvet. A pair of cashmere shawls of rare beauty were usually thrown over the arm, and a Persian dagger at the girdle, richly ornamented with

* Marshman's "India."

diamonds, or other precious stones, completed the dress and decoration of such princes as Noor Mohammed and Morad Ali.*

The unwarrantable annexation of the free country of Scinde eventually brought its own punishment, as it injured alike the loyalty and the discipline of the native army, and gave us a foreshadowing of the dreadful climax which, thirteen years subsequently, was to end in its total destruction. The land of the Ameers had now become a British province, and the sepoys, accustomed to extra batta granted to them there when it was foreign soil, failed to see any reason why it should be taken from them now, because Scinde had become a portion of British India. Hence, in February, 1844, the 34th Bengal Native Infantry (known as the *Bradsaw-ka-Pultan*) refused to march to Scinde, without the same field allowance that had been given as before to troops beyond the Indus. The 7th Cavalry and some Bengal Artillery, being animated by the same spirit, were marched back. The 4th Bengal Native Infantry, raised in 1759, and the 69th, ordered in their stead, refused to enter the boats at Ferozepore, while the 64th openly mutinied at Loodiana and Moodkee, and on none of those occasions was the spirit of discipline enforced, or the honour of the state vindicated. The Government, finding it impossible to garrison the new conquest with Bengal troops, turned to Bombay and Madras; but a regiment of the former presidency, on finding the usual allowance was not to be granted, also mutinied; so the province was turned over to the Presidency of Bombay, which made satisfactory arrangements for the pay of its sepoys.

The conquest of Scinde did not terminate the warlike operations of Lord Ellenborough's active administration. Junkojee Rao Scindia, who succeeded by adoption, in 1827, to Dowlut Rao Scindia, died childless on the 7th of February, 1843, and the Government acknowledged as his successor the young Maharajah Tyajee Rao Scindia, who was nearest in blood, and the widow, with the approval of the Mahratta chiefs of Gwalior, was appointed regent during the minority; but she wisely transferred that dignity to Mama Sahib, the Maharajah's maternal uncle; with this Lord Ellenborough concurred, and the British Resident explained to the assembled chiefs that the Mama was recognised as the head of the State, and as such would receive our support. Yet, within a very short time the Mama Sahib was with violence compelled to quit the Gwalior State, despite the remonstrances of the Resident. By the widow of the late Maharajah, men so inimical to British interests were placed in office that the Resident had also to quit Gwalior.

The Dada Khan Walla, though opposed by several of the chiefs, usurped the whole royal power in the state, which the British Government was bound to maintain in the house of Scindia. A demand was made that the Dada be expelled or delivered up to us as a necessary preliminary to the re-establishment of our usual relations with Gwalior. The widow and her faction, after much delay, yielded this point, but soon after set up men who were more turbulent than the Dada had been, and consequently the country was rent by factions, plots, insurrections, conspiracies, and murders. The British Government could neither permit the existence of an unfriendly government in Gwalior, nor leave that territory without one capable of controlling its own subjects, particularly the troops, who were 40,000 strong, 10.000 being cavalry, mutinous, arrogant, and always in arrears of pay.

With this view, an army, under Sir Hugh Gough, assembled. The Governor-General attended it, and vakeels from certain Mahratta chiefs sought him for the purpose of negociation, but simply as a ruse to gain delay, for the usurping powers were determined to appeal to the sword in the end.

The time was certainly one of alarm, and events which had recently occurred in Lahore would not permit acquiescence in a policy suited only to a state of peace. Sir Hugh Gough's army got in motion, not as the enemy, but as the friend of the young Maharajah, to restore tranquillity, and secure his rights and person.*

Ere this, on the 21st, our first brigade had crossed the Chumbul, and encamped six miles to the south, beyond the ravines and defiles. The headquarters moved on the 22nd, and by the 26th our whole right wing, with the heavy guns, had crossed, and been placed in position at Hingona. Up to the 27th it was deemed possible that the troops of Gwalior, after all their vaunts and menaces, would not dare to oppose the advance of the British; but on the 25th, Bapoo Setowlea, who had been appointed dewan, and had been expressing an earnest desire for the restoration of friendship, and had come with that pretended view to the British camp, suddenly quitted it; and on the following day it was ascertained that both troops and guns had left Gwalior, and were moving in two columns towards Chandore and Hingona, the former to encounter General Grey, who was coming on with the left wing through Bundelcund, and the latter to repel the advance of the right, under Sir Hugh Gough.

* Burnet's "Visit to Scinde."

* Proclamation from Hingona Camp, 25th Dec., 1843.

On the 28th of December, when a small party was reconnoitring the ground at a short distance from Chounda, where the Mahratta army occupied a strong position, a fire from their batteries was suddenly opened upon it, thus ending all doubt as to hostile intentions; and the Gwalior troops, by thus taking the initiative, hurled defiance at us from the mouths of their guns. Both armies now prepared for a battle, in which the inequality of numbers, usually so frequent an event in our Indian wars, was less apparent; as on that day, the 29th December, 1843, the British troops were 14,000 strong, with forty guns; the Mahrattas 18,000 strong, with 100 guns.

By eight a.m. the whole British troops, after passing over a district of extreme difficulty, intersected by deep ravines, crossed the Kohary in three columns, and halted in position, in front of Maharajahpore. Unknown to our general, during the previous night the enemy had occupied this place, with seven regiments of infantry and twenty-eight pieces of cannon. The latter opened immediately on our advances, and rendered a change of plans at once necessary. So unexpected was this fire, that Lord Ellenborough, Lady Gough, with many other ladies and civilians who were in the field on elephants, were suddenly exposed for a time to all the fury of the cannonade.

Major-General Littler's column being exactly in front of Maharajahpore, was ordered to advance direct, while that of Major-General Valiant took it in reverse, both supported by the column of Major-General Dennis; but all underwent a terrific and unexpected cannonade by which many perished, whose lives, by proper management, might have been saved; yet, as the despatch has it, "nothing could withstand the rush of British soldiers." Our siege-train had unaccountably been left behind on the surrender of the Dada; thus our light field-pieces were speedily silenced by the heavy ordnance of the enemy, at whose batteries the troops were instantly launched.

The brave old 39th, with "*Primus in India*" and "Plassey" on its green colours, and the 56th Native Infantry, burst into the village shoulder to shoulder, driving the enemy from their posts, bayoneting the gunners at their guns. "Here a most sanguinary conflict ensued; the Mahratta troops, after discharging their matchlocks, fought, sword in hand, with the most determined courage." *

The brigade of General Valiant, in which was H.M. 40th, with equal spirit, took the village in reverse. In this, two officers of that regiment, Major Stopford and Captain Codrington, each of whom had captured standards, fell under the muzzles of the guns, every one of which was captured, though the Mahratta swordsmen clung to them with desperate tenacity.

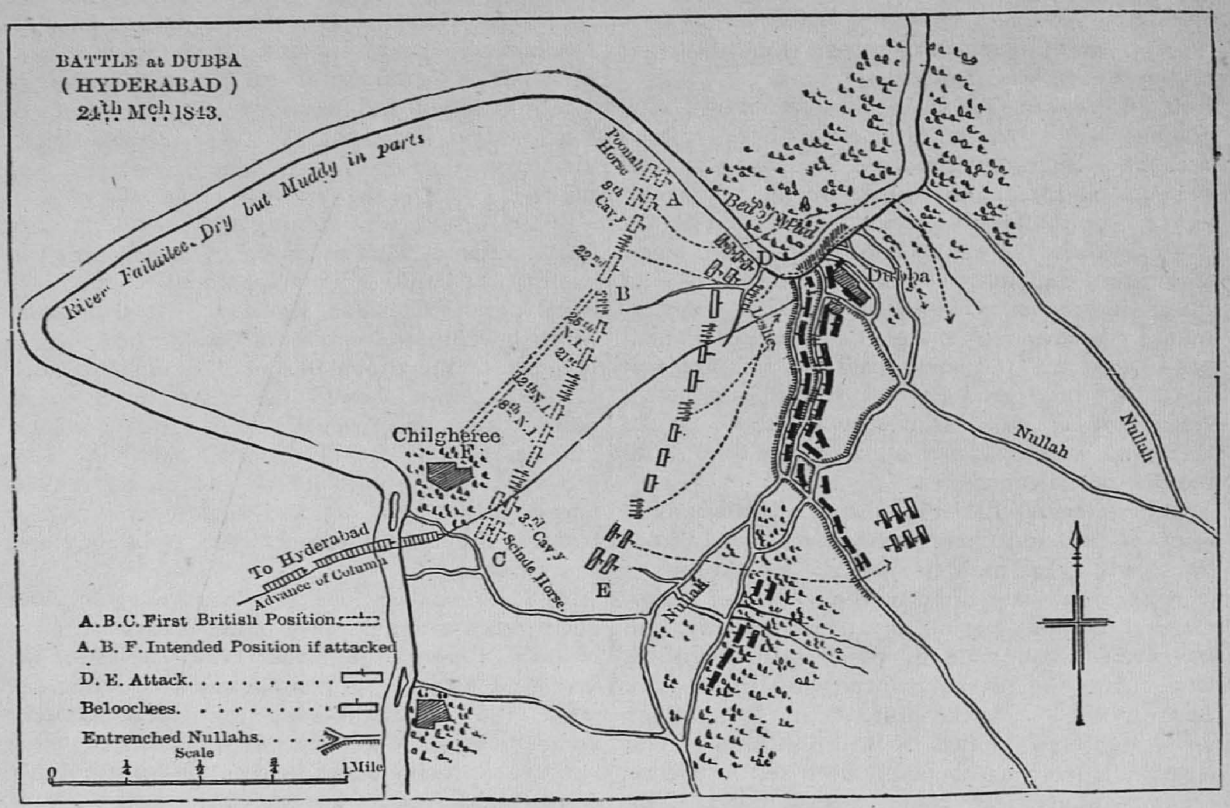
On the extreme left, Brigadier Scott was opposed by a column of the enemy's cavalry; but by some well-executed charges made by the 4th Lancers and 10th Cavalry, supported by the plunging showers of grape from Captain Grant's troop of horse artillery, they were driven back; more guns were captured, and two standards. After this decisive success at Maharajahpore, the intrenched position at Chounda was carried, and the victory was complete. The foe dispersed and fled, with the loss of 3,000 in killed and wounded, and of forty-three brass and ten iron guns. Our loss was also severe, making a total of 797 in killed, wounded, and missing. Among the first were seven officers.

While Gough was fighting the somewhat confused battle of Maharajahpore, General Grey was winning the battle of Punniar, where he acted with equal promptitude and vigilance. At that place, which is within twelve miles of Gwalior he found his progress to the capital disputed by about 12,000 Mahrattas, who showed themselves in a strong position on some heights near a fortified village. He immediately attacked them, and they were driven from height to height and utterly routed. Our casualties were 215, and would have been less, but that the troops were fatigued by a long and sultry march.

The junction of the two *corps d'armée*, after having each won a decisive battle, under the walls of Gwalior, awed the durbar into submission, for the whole kingdom of Scindia was thus at the disposal of Lord Ellenborough, who had hitherto always talked of Gwalior as an independent state; but now, as a conqueror, he not only set the rights of the Maharanee aside, but changed its form of government. In future, she was to be a dependant on the Company, with a revenue of three lacs of rupees, but no political authority; and during the minority of the Maharajah, the administration was to be conducted by a council of regency acting in accordance with the advice of the British Resident; and the vacancies in which, when occurring by death or otherwise, could only be filled up with the sanction of the Indian Government; thus virtually converting the once proud state of Scindia into a British dependency, by a regular treaty, which was not negociated, but actually dictated by the Governor-General, in the stately fortress of Gwalior, an edifice so vast in strength and magnificence, that it is impossible to convey any idea of it without the aid of the pencil.

* Gough's Despatch.

The treaty consisted of twelve articles, of which, in addition to the stipulation above, the most important were those which limited the strength of the Gwalior army to 9,000 men, of whom not more than 3,000 were to be infantry, with twelve field-pieces and 200 gholandazees. On the other hand, the British subsidiary force was largely increased, and the fort of Gwalior was to be garrisoned by the Reformed Contingent (of which we have elsewhere written), under Brigadier Stubbs, who was to



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF DUBBA.

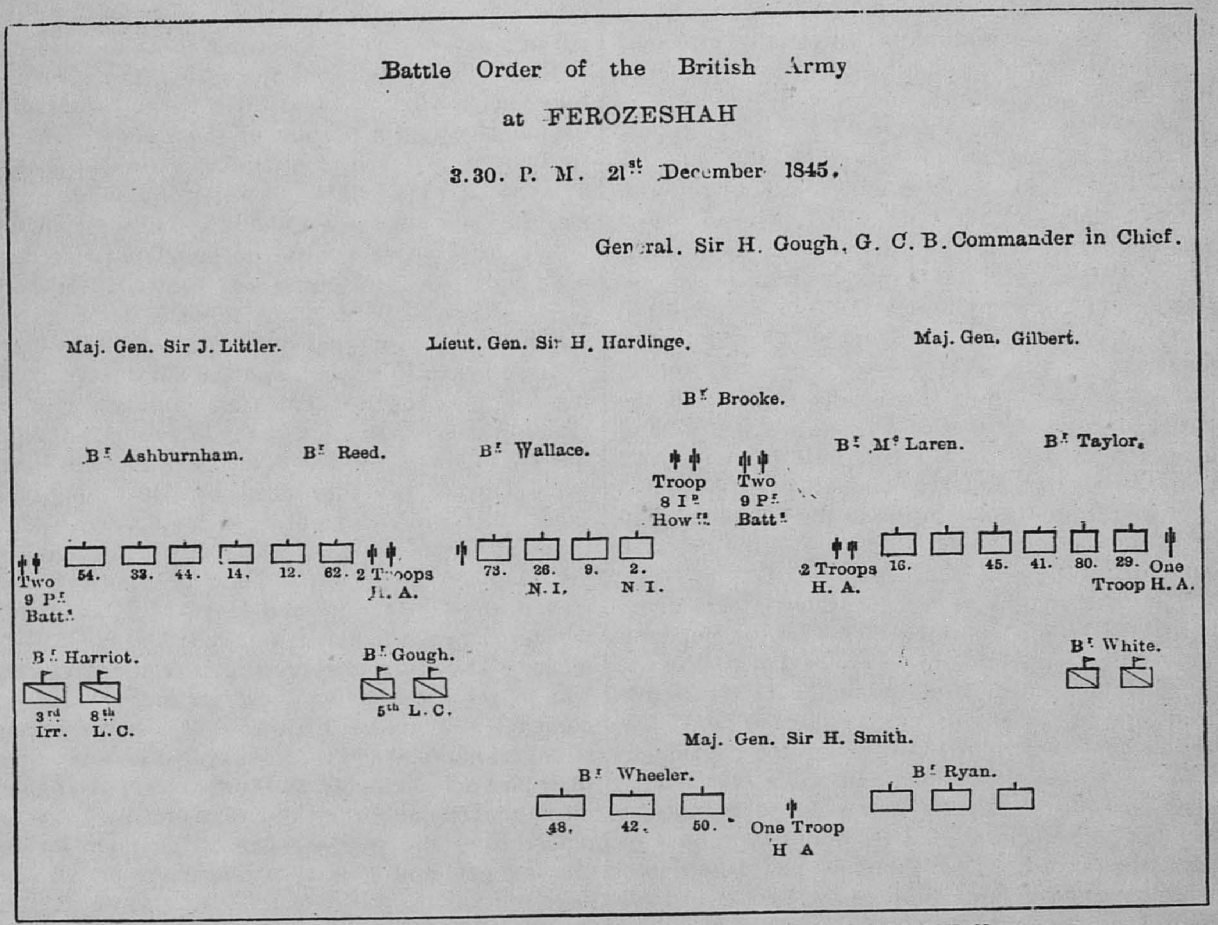
act as commander of all the forces, which were to be recruited by high-caste Brahmins and Rajpoots—men of athletic frames and high courage, and also of unlimited presumption, as we found to our cost in 1857.

While carrying matters thus with a high hand at Gwalior, Lord Ellenborough was subjected to a severe ordeal in the Court of Directors. By his bombastic proclamation about the gates of Somnauth, he had somewhat impaired the confidence placed in his sound judgment, and by circumstances, to a certain measure beyond his control, the whole course of his administration but little accorded with the pacific policy to which he had pledged himself on leaving Britain; and that regarding Scinde was strongly objected to. "He had," it was averred, "concocted a series of charges against the Ameers on insufficient evidence, and then made them the pretext for imposing a final treaty, to which he might have foreseen they would never submit without coercion. In this way, when the exhaustion of the Indian treasury by the disasters of Afghanistan made it most desirable that peace should be maintained, he provoked a war of the most formidable description, which, but for the singular ability of the military commander, might have proved ruinous, and which, after the most brilliant victories, had only added to our already overgrown Indian empire a tract of territory, which, for years to come, would not pay the expense of governing it. His policy in Gwalior was of a similar description, and there was reason to suspect, from hints which he had thrown out, that he was meditating a greater war than any he had yet carried on."*

He had continued to provoke jealousies and animosities between the civil and military branches of the public service. Under Lord Auckland it had been the rule to make the political subordinate

* "Comprehensive Hist. of India."

to the military department; but this, which had hitherto been the exception, was made by Lord Ellenborough the established custom: so much so, indeed, that he always spoke and acted as if the first qualification for office of any kind was the profession of arms; hence the time came when he found himself at enmity with the most able and influential officials in India, and nothing but the urgent remonstrance of the Cabinet prevented the imprudence, and as "the most indiscreet exercise of power he had ever known." The mortification which Lord Ellenborough undoubtedly felt was somewhat softened by the fact that he was to be succeeded in office by his brother-in-law, who would naturally be more tender of his reputation than a stranger, and would innovate as little as possible on the policy of his predecessor. Military experience would seem to have been regarded by Lord



PLAN OF THE BATTLE ORDER OF THE BRITISH ARMY AT FEROZESHAH.

Directors from exercising the power of recall, which they undoubtedly possessed, though they had not exercised it. At last, on the 21st of April, 1844, Sir Robert Peel, then Premier, in reply to a question put to him by Mr. Macaulay, said that "Her Majesty's Government had received a communication from the Court of Directors that they had exercised the power which the law gives them to recall, at their will and pleasure, the Governor-General of India."

Cheers from the Opposition benches greeted this announcement; but the Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, stigmatised the recall as an Ellenborough as the chief qualification for the office he held, and thus, turning his back on the seat of government, and oblivious of any attempt at internal reform, he spent most of his time under canvas. At a farewell banquet given him before he quitted Calcutta, which he did on the 14th of July, 1844, he said: "The only regret I feel at leaving India is that of being separated from the army. The most agreeable, the most interesting period of my life, has been that which I have found here in cantonments and in camps."

He was raised to the peerage as Earl of Ellenborough, and died on the 22nd December, 1871.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SIR HENRY HARDINGE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—THE SIKH WAR.—ARMY OF THE SUTLEJ.—BATTLES OF MOODKEE AND FEROZESHAH.—THE 62ND REGIMENT.

THE new Governor-General, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Hardinge, K.C.B., Colonel of the 97th Regiment, reached Calcutta on the 23rd of July, 1844, and immediately entered on the duties of his office. No man was more universally esteemed than Sir Henry, who, like the conqueror of Scinde, had fought at Corunna, and was by the side of Moore when the hero received his death-wound. Dismounting, he raised him from the ground, strove in vain to stop the effusion of blood with his silk sash, and wept when his beloved leader was borne to the rear by the mourning men of the Black Watch. He was gentle-hearted as he was brave, and never "allowed the sun to go down upon his wrath." As Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Portuguese army, he served throughout the whole Peninsular War, from the battle of Roliça to that of Orthes, and lost a hand at Ligny in 1815. He had now been forty-six years in harness, and his conduct at Albuera had won him from a great historian the commendation of being then "a young soldier, with the eye of a general and the soul of a hero."

The first months of his government were given to making judicious arrangements for the improvement of the civil service, to the removal of grievances, the maintenance of strict discipline in the native army, and in opening up new avenues to prosperity by the construction of railways and the encouragement of steam navigation; but while engaged in these peaceful plans for a happy future to India, it was but too apparent that he would soon have to draw the sword. The Punjaub had fallen into anarchy, while a large Sikh army, that defied all control, was hovering on our frontier.

The death of old Runjeet Sing had been followed by confusion and bloodshed not often equalled in India. He had been succeeded by his imbecile son, Khurruk Sing, whose son, Nao Nihal Sing, a gallant youth, the equal of old Runjeet in talent and courage, ruled the state, but was obliged to share that rule with Dhyan Sing, one of the most influential men in the Punjaub, who was a member of the Dogra family. Gholab Sing, the head of it, had originally been a running footman, who had attracted the notice of Runjeet Sing, risen high in his service, and was endowed with the territory of Jummo Being a Rajpoot, and not a Sikh, his power rendered him an object of hatred and envy. Khurruk died, the premature victim of many excesses, and, singularly enough, his son, Nao Nihal, when returning from his funeral, was killed by the fall of a gateway as he was entering Lahore.

Runjeet's reputed son, Shere Sing (though never fully acknowledged, his birth being doubtful), having suborned a portion of the troops, marched to Lahore, and seized on the government in the January of 1841. Though shrewd and frank, he was the slave alike of sensuality and of the Jummoo family, from whose control he could not free himself; thus the chief power was centred in Dhyan Sing, who had been prime minister to Runjeet. Ultimately, the intrigues of Shere Sing's boon companions began to prevail, and the old wuzeer found his life in danger. This fear induced him to sanction the assassination of the Maharajah, a crime quickly followed by that of his son, Pertaub Sing, while Dhyan was shot dead by Ajeet Sing, the same chief who had murdered his master. After these atrocities the land was plunged in anarchy, yet Dhuleep Sing, another son of Runjeet, was placed upon the throne, and Heera Sing, son of the murdered prime minister, succeeded to his father's office. The army, now conscious of the part they had played in effecting these various changes—a compact and martial body of Sikhs, united by the strongest national and religious sympathies, proud of their past achievements, and conscious of their good discipline (though they did occasionally blow an officer from the gun)—began to clamour for increased pay, and took dire vengeance on all who were opposed to this demand. In this way Heera Sing met his fate, and Juwaheer Sing, uncle of the young Maharajah Dhuleep, was also destroyed before the eyes of him and his mother, who, in her capacity of guardian, then assumed the government of Lahore. Her power was nominal, as all real authority lay with the army, who exercised it by means of delegates, and issued imperious mandates, which neither she nor her adherents dared to disobey. That war would be the result of this military despotism was apparent to all. Sufficient in numbers to form a mighty host, the soldiers had inexhaustible stores, but there was no arena for glory or plunder save the British territories, which they resolved to invade.

Though averse to the unprovoked war, the ranee was compelled to give a formal assent to it; and while this rash resolve seemed, to all appearance, that of the army and the durbar, Gholab Sing, of Jummo, brother of the murdered wuzeer, continued to keep aloof, and to play with dexterity a double game, externally complying with the fierce demands of the army, but secretly professing a friendship for the British Government.*

Sir Henry Hardinge was perfectly cognisant of all that was passing at Lahore, but he was resolved not to bring out his array till the last moment, or till there could be no possible mistake as to the intentions of those fiery soldiers, whose lawless will was law in the land beyond the Sutlej. He was not quite satisfied with the state of preparation to meet, or even to repel, a Sikh invasion; thus before he was three months in India he had several strong columns marching from the most remote confines of Bengal towards the north-western frontier; but so quietly was every post at Ferozepore, Loodiana, Umballa, and elsewhere, reinforced, that even in our provinces the operations passed unnoticed; and so strong was the desire of the Directors for a period of peace that Sir Henry proceeded with extreme caution; and though censured by the uninformed for being unprepared, he was fully ready for action when the crisis came. The accompanying table will show how the forces stood on his arrival in India in July, 1844, and when the war broke out in the December of the following year:—

At Ferozepore	July. 1844...	4,596	men,	12 guns.
	Dec., 1845...	10,472	,,	24 ,,
At Loodiana...	July, 1844...	3,030	,,	12 ,,
	Dec., 1845...	7,235	,,	12 ,,
At Umballa....	July, 1844...	4,113	,,	24 ,,
	Dec., 1845...	12,972	,,	32 ,,

We had in garrison at the hill stations, during both periods, 1,800 men. Thus, when Sir Henry landed in India, in the first line from Umballa to the Sutlej there were but 13,539 men, with forty-eight guns; but when the war broke out, there were 32,479 men, with sixty-eight guns, giving an increase of nearly 19,000 men and twenty guns.

The Meerut force, consisting of 5,873 men, with eighteen guns, was augmented to 9,844 men, with twenty-five guns; but being 250 miles in the rear, was rather for the support of the Umballa column than actually available for repelling invasion; and, with what was now called the army of the Sutlej, there were serving H.M. 3rd Light Dragoons; 9th and 16th Lancers; 9th, 10th, 29th, 31st, 50th, 53rd, 62nd, and 80th Regiments of Infantry.

* Macgregor's "Hist. of the Sikhs," &c.

To give an idea of the power of the Sikhs, their army on the 1st July, 1844, according to a statement made by our adjutant-general on the north-western frontier, was as follows:—101,020 infantry; 33,925 cavalry; artillery, 5,180 men, 552 guns, and 995 camel swivels.

On the 2nd of December, 1845, Sir Henry was at Umballa, and on the 6th he moved his camp towards Loodiana, to carry out his previously-announced intention of visiting our protected Sikh States, as his predecessors in office had done. "His movements," it would seem, "were made in as peaceful a manner as possible, because he was not only anxious not to furnish the Sikhs with any pretext for hostility, but had not ceased to hope for an amicable settlement. He only deemed it probable that some act of aggression might be committed by parties of plunderers for the purpose of compelling the British Government to interfere, and, as nothing was further from his wish than to be thus involved in war, he resolved to carry his forbearance as far as possible. The wisdom of this resolution may be questioned," continues Beveridge; "a more spirited conduct might have made the Sikhs pause, whereas forbearance, being only regarded by them as a symptom of fear, probably hastened the crisis."

On the other hand, it has been supposed, not without reason, that the great force massed on the frontier, together with the appearance of fifty-six large boats brought up from Scinde to Ferozepore, had kindled the suspicion of the Sikhs, and led them to anticipate our views, whatever they were, by invading our territories; and yet, considering the disordered state of the Lahore government, with the most efficient army ever marshalled under the banner of any native state, panting for battle and glory, and hovering on our frontier, Sir Henry would have been held inexcusable had he failed to prepare for the storm that might burst at any hour. The invasion that came was the work of the Sikh leaders, Lal Sing and Teh Sing, less than of "the Messalina of the North," as Sir Henry termed the ranee, as they felt that the only way to maintain their power in the Punjaub was to hurl their battalions on our territories for their own security, to involve their army in a quarrel with Britain, and by the destruction of Delhi and Benares, to avert that of Lahore. On the 17th of November the order was issued to cross the Sutlej.

Our political agent on the frontier, Major Broadfoot, urged the most energetic action without delay; but Sir Henry still clung to the hope of peace, and sent another remonstrance to the durbar, the only reply to which was the command to march; and,

full of the highest enthusiasm and religious rancour, 50,000 Khalsa soldiers, with 40,000 well-armed camp-followers, and 155 guns of the largest calibre, poured across the Sutlej in four days, and by the 16th of December were in front of Ferozepore, which was held by Sir John Littler, one of the best officers of the Indian army, with some 10,000 men and twenty-one guns.

On the 13th, Sir Henry heard of their invading British territory, and on the same day he issued an order which said:—"The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories. The Governor-General must, therefore, take measures for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace. The Governor-General hereby declares the possessions of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, on the left, or British bank of the Sutlej, confiscated and annexed to the British territories. The Governor-General will respect the existing rights of all jagheerdars, zemindars, and tenants in the said possessions, who, by the course they now pursue, evince their fidelity to the British Government."*

Ferozepore, where Littler was in command, was about 150 miles north-west of Umballa; there, on the 11th December, Sir Thomas Gough was seriously menaced the moment the Sikhs, led by an able warrior, Teh Sing, advanced against it. On that night our officers at Umballa were making preparations for a grand ball in the state tent of the Commander-in-chief, when tidings came of the invasion; the ball was abandoned, and the time spent in preparing to aid Littler. Hours were now priceless, and our troops, heavily accoutred, performed a march never before known in India, by which they compassed the whole distance in six days through deep sand, without time to cook their food, and scarcely one hour of repose. The day after the Sikh army crossed the river a large body of it, said to be 25,000 strong, with eighty-eight guns, under Lal Sing (another account says 20,000 men, with only twenty-two guns), pushed on to Feroze-shah, where they began to construct works of the most substantial nature, to protect the walls, leaving Teh Sing to watch Sir John Littler, with 23,000 men and sixty-seven guns.

On the 18th of December, the army, after performing a most fatiguing march of twenty-one miles over an arid plain, not having broken bread since the preceding night, and when just about to halt and cook, saw clouds of dust whirling up in front, and then the booming of cannon announced the foe, under Lal Sing.

* War in India: Despatches, 1846.

The scene of the battle of Moodkee is a flat country, covered in part with low scrubby jungle, and dotted with hillocks, most of them bare and sandy. The jungle and inequalities of the ground enabled the Sikhs to cover their infantry and artillery, presenting a good position, which was occupied by troops giving every indication of perfect confidence in themselves. As in most accounts of Moodkee, the number of men and guns in the field vary, we shall here adhere to the despatch of Sir Hugh Gough, addressed to the Governor-General on the day after the battle.

Amid clouds of dust and smoke, deepened by the shadows of the closing day, the troops advanced into action

"I immediately pushed forward the horse artillery, directing the infantry to move forward in support. . . . . The rapid and well-directed fire of our artillery appeared soon to paralyse that of the enemy, and as it was necessary to complete our infantry dispositions, without advancing the artillery too near the jungle, I directed the cavalry, under Brigadiers White and Gough, to make a flank movement on the enemy's left, with a view of threatening and turning that flank if possible. With praiseworthy gallantry, the 3rd Light Dragoons, with the 2nd brigade of cavalry, consisting of the Body Guard and 5th Light Dragoons, with a portion of the 4th Lancers, turned the left of the Sikh army, and sweeping along the whole rear of its infantry and guns, silenced for a time the latter, and put their numerous cavalry to flight. While this was taking place on the enemy's left, I directed the remainder of the 4th Lancers and the 9th Irregular Cavalry, under Brigadier Mactier, to threaten their right. This manœuvre was also successful. Had not the infantry and guns of the enemy been screened by the jungle, these brilliant charges of cavalry would have been productive of greater effect. When the infantry advanced to the attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed on his horse artillery close to the jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry, under Major-Generals Sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir John McCaskill, attacked in echelon of lines the enemy's infantry, almost invisible among wood and the approaching darkness of night. The opposition of the enemy was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of being irresistible. Their ample and extended line, from great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours; but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced; and the roll of fire from this powerful

arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected, and their whole force was driven from position to position with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of very heavy calibre; our infantry using that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, whenever they stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object. I regret to say, this successful and gallant attack was attended with considerable loss; the force bivouacked upon the field, and only returned to its encampment after ascertaining that it had no enemy before it, and that night prevented the possibility of a regular pursuit."*

The grand total of all ranks killed and wounded amounted to 872, of whom 215 were among the former. Two general officers fell—old Sir John McCaskill, shot dead when gallantly leading on his column, and Sir Robert Sale, "the hero of Jelalabad," whose left thigh was shattered by a grape-shot, and who died on the field.

For about sixty years past it had been the practice of the home authorities to unite the office of Commander-in-chief with that of Governor-General, when he happened to be a military man; but it was unfortunately omitted in the case of Sir Henry Hardinge, who, feeling not quite satisfied with the tactics displayed at Moodkee, placed his services at the disposal of Sir Hugh Gough, and chivalrously took the post of second in command; but it must be borne in mind that, though both were lieutenant-generals of November, 1841, Gough stood senior in the list.

For two days the army remained at Moodkee, to take repose and bury the dead, and then it was reinforced by two European and two native regiments, brought on by forced marches, through the active exertions of Sir Henry Hardinge. Without provisions or tents, it marched on the morning of the 21st against the intrenched camp of the Sikhs at Ferozeshah. Sir John Littler was directed to join about the computed hour of its arrival, and moved out at dawn, deceiving Teh Sing by leaving his tents pitched and bazaar flags flying, with his cavalry pickets standing, and before noon formed a junction with the main body, at the head of 5,500 men, with twenty-two guns.

The Sikh intrenchment at Ferozeshah was in form a parallelogram, about one mile in length and half a mile broad, with the village in its centre. The number of troops now under Lal Sing was computed at 35,000 men, with 100 guns and 250 zumboorucks or camel-swivels; with 50,000 men and 188 heavy guns, according to one account. The batteries were armed, not with field-pieces, but heavy siege guns. The day was the shortest in the year, "and with such an enemy as the Sikhs proved themselves to be at Moodkee, every moment was of inestimable value; but three hours were strangely frittered away after Sir John Littler's arrival, and it was nearly four in the afternoon before the first shot was fired."* To this delay no reference is made in the despatch of Sir Hugh Gough.

The British mustered 15,700 men, with sixty-nine guns, chiefly of the horse artillery.

The command of the left wing was taken by Sir Henry Hardinge, while Sir Hugh led the right. Upwards of 100 guns, says the latter's despatch, opened on our troops as they advanced, and this fire the practice of our lighter pieces failed to silence; but in the face of a dreadful storm of round shot, grape, and musketry, our matchless infantry rushed up the works, threw themselves headlong on the cannon with bayonet and clubbed musket, and wrested them from the grasp of the enemy; "but when the batteries were partially within our grasp, our soldiery had to face such a fire of musketry from the Sikh infantry, arrayed behind their guns, that in spite of their most heroic efforts, a portion only of the intrenchment could be carried. Night fell while the conflict was everywhere raging. Although," continues Sir Hugh, "I brought up Major-General Sir Harry Smith's division, and he captured and long retained another point of the position, and H.M. 3rd Light Dragoons charged and took some of the most formidable batteries, yet the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of the great quadrangle, whilst our troops, intermingled with theirs, kept possession of the remainder, and finally bivouacked upon it, exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit. In this state of things the long night wore away."

Elsewhere, Sir John Littler's column, at the muzzles of the battery guns, was arrested by the overwhelming fire; and the 62nd Regiment, mowed down by round and grape shot, after losing every officer but six, was checked and compelled to retire, but not without honour, as we shall ere long show. Terrible indeed was the resistance shown everywhere that night around the fatal village of Ferozeshah. "The guns were dismounted," says the historian

* Despatches, 1846.

* Marshman.

of the Sikhs, "and the ammunition blown into the air; the squadrons were checked in mid career; battalion after battalion hurled back upon its shattered ranks; and it was not until long after sunset that portions of the enemy's position were finally carried. Darkness and the obstinacy of the conflict threw the British into confusion, and all ranks were mixed together. Generals were doubtful of the fact or extent of their own success, and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded, or of the army of which they formed a part." *

All this was doubtless the result ot the three hours' delay, of fighting in the dark, and of attacking the strong batteries with cold steel instead of two points where no such heavy guns were placed. Sir Henry Hardinge had no less than five aides-de-camp struck down by his side; but the one-handed veteran of Ligny and the Peninsular War spent the night in passing from corps to corps, sustaining the ardour of the toil-worn soldiers, and instead of falling back, as he was more than once advised to do, determined to grapple anew with the foe in the morning.

* Macgrogor.

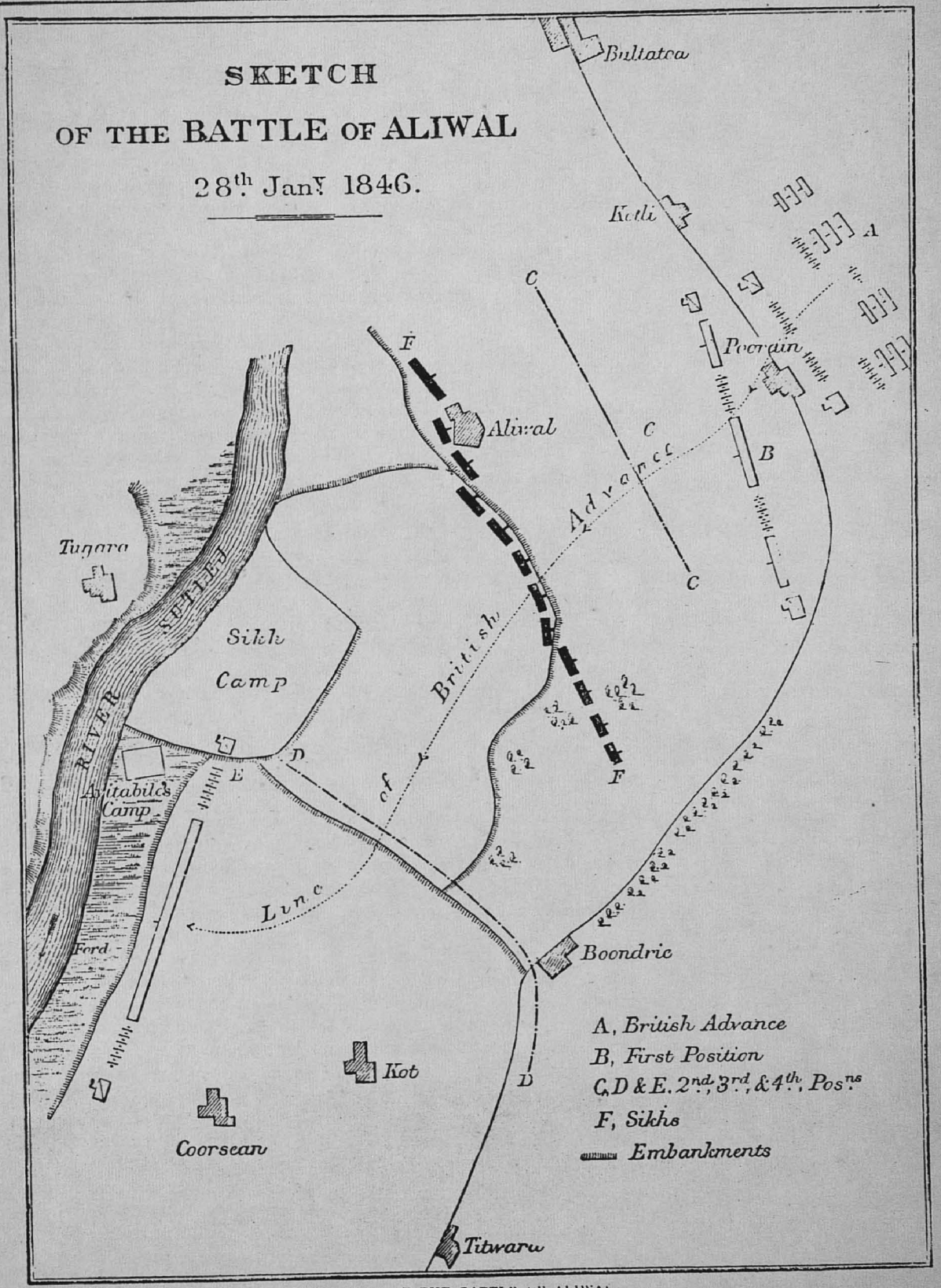
Meanwhile, there were stormy councils and fierce recriminations passing in the camp of the enemy; their military chest had been pillaged, and confusion was beginning to reign, when at day-dawn Sir Henry and Sir Hugh collected the scattered soldiers of General Gilbert's corps, formed them in line, flanked by horse artillery, and, aided by a fire from these and a flight of rockets, once more attacked the village, and bore down all before them, driving the Sikhs completely out. The whole line then halted beyond, breathless and flushed, "but as if on a day of manœuvre, and received its two leaders as they rode along the front with a gratifying cheer." *

We had taken three stands, upwards of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and were masters of the field. The cheers along the line had scarcely died away, when clouds of dust announced the approach of other foes. These were the forces of the Sirdir Teh Sing, who, on finding how Littler had eluded him, brought on from Ferozepore fresh battalions and a large field artillery, supported by 30,000 Ghorepurras, who hitherto had been quietly encamped by the bank of the river.

* Gough's Despatch.



THE BATTLE OF FEROZESHAH.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF ALIWAL.

At this terrible crisis, the British troops were sinking from sheer hunger, no food having passed their lips for six-and-thirty hours, and now they were almost without ammunition, that for the guns being entirely expended. Hence, when those of Teh Sing opened, ours were unable to reply by a single shot. He drove in our cavalry outposts, and made vigorous attempts to regain Ferozeshah, compelling us to change front to the left; but Gough directed our now exhausted cavalry to menace him on both flanks at once, while the infantry prepared to advance in support, movements which made him suddenly cease firing, and quit the field with precipitation.

British India was again saved by British valour, against enormous masses, as of old; but our loss was 2,415, including 103 officers, and it was quite as much the deficiency in our tactics and in our gun ammunition, as the native courage of the Sikhs, that gave for a time a fatal equality to the struggle. The Sikh loss was estimated at four times that of ours.

Prince Waldemar of Prussia, with Counts Grueben and Oriola as volunteers, rode with the staff at Ferozeshah, as also at Moodkee.

In both actions, our officers and men behaved nobly; yet old Sir John Littler, in the hurry and confusion of his despatch to the adjutant-general, stated, unfortunately, that the havoc was such "as to cause an immediate panic and hesitation in H.M. 62nd Foot." But never was charge more groundless, for that regiment has ever been second to none in the field or elsewhere, and the accusation was well rebutted at the time. Before it fell back, it had seven officers killed and ten wounded, eighty-eight rank and file killed and 161 wounded, out of its weak ranks, and its loss was greater than that of any European regiment there, save H.M. 9th Foot, whose total losses of every kind were 297.* Both the Governor-General and Sir Hugh Gough did all in their power to remove the impression caused by Littler's mistake; and in the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington stood manfully forward to vindicate the fame of a gallant old regiment, which in other days had formed a portion of his Peninsular army.

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMBAT AT BUDDIWAL.—BATTLES OF ALIWAL AND SOBRAON.—THE PUNJAUB ENTERED.—ITS SETTLEMENT, ETC.

After their second defeat, the Sikhs hastened to place the Sutlej between themselves and the victors. Their expectation was that they would be immediately followed up; but it was deemed imprudent to pursue them until the arrival of Sir John Grey, who, with an auxiliary force and a powerful battering train, was coming on from Meerut. Emboldened by this delay, which they attributed to doubt or fear, their Sirdirs took heart anew, and with the intention of recrossing the river, began to construct a pontoon bridge a little below Hurreekee. Sir Harry Smith had, in the meanwhile, been detached, with a single brigade of his division and a field battery, against the town and fort of Durrumkote, which cover the road from Ferozepore to Loodiana. Brigadier Cureton's cavalry were ordered to march by Jugroon towards the latter place, and a brigade under Brigadier Wheeler moved on to support him.*

Smith's task had barely been accomplished, when he was obliged to push on to Loodiana, where Brigadier Godby, with only three battalions, was menaced by 10,000 Sikhs, under Runjoor Sing, who had crossed the Sutlej and intrenched himself in the vicinity. Sir Harry pushed with his small force along the direct road to Loodiana, but at a place called Buddiwal he received a serious check; so his march proved a disastrous one, and he was thrown out of communication with General Wheeler, a matter of serious strategical importance. Runjoor, relying on his superiority in force, sought to intercept his progress by moving parallel with his flank, and at length cannonaded him furiously. According to Sir Harry's despatch, some of his baggage fell into the hands of the enemy. The reality was, that amid the many manœuvres which the activity of the enemy compelled him to make, nearly the whole of it was captured, and he was checked, with the loss of 131 rank and file,

* Major Hough.

* Adjutant-General's Return, Lahore, March, 1846.

of whom forty-seven were reported missing,* and these, no doubt, would be butchered by the enemy.

By a series of able manœuvres, Sir Harry succeeded eventually in effecting his communication with Loodiana.

In addition to the reinforcement obtained from Brigadier Godby, he soon after obtained another of greater importance, by the advance of his second brigade, which had moved to support Wheeler. It was now his turn to resume the offensive against Runjoor Sing, who, elated by the result of the combat at Buddiwal, had retired to his intrenched camp.

These little operations preluded the great battle of Aliwal.

Runjoor had still the superiority in force, as Sir Harry mustered only 10,000 men, with thirty-two guns, while the former had 15,000 men intrenched, with fifty-six guns; and on the 26th of January, this disparity in strength was still further increased by the arrival of 4,000 of the regular, or *Aieen* troops, the corps of the veteran Italian, General Avitabile, with twelve guns and a large cavalry force. Strengthened thus, Runjoor was compelled to yield to the clamorous impatience of his troops to fight. They believed that Smith's retreat from their cannonade at Buddiwal was equivalent to a confession of inferiority, and they, full of confidence that victory must be theirs, on the 28th advanced, and when the British came in sight of them, were formed in order of battle close to the village of Aliwal, eighteen miles west of Loodiana, with their left resting on their intrenchments next the Sutlej, and their right occupying a ridge towards Boondree. Aliwal stood on their left front, and masses of jhow jungle, with a dry nullah, lay in their rear.

Our cavalry, under Brigadier Cureton, and the horse artillery, under Major Lawrenson, formed two brigades, one under Brigadier Macdonald, of the 16th Lancers, and the other under Brigadier Stedman, 7th Cavalry. The 1st Division of Infantry consisted of two brigades: H.M. 53rd and the 30th Native Infantry, under Brigadier Wilson, of the latter corps; the 36th Native Infantry and Nusseree Battalion, under Brigadier Godby, of the latter corps; and the Shekawattee Brigade, under Major Foster. The Sirmoor Battalion was in Wheeler's brigade, and the 42nd Native Infantry guarded the head-quarters.

The cavalry led the attack with the celerity and precision of a home review; as they approached, they wheeled off to either flank, uncovering the steadily-advancing infantry and artillery, the bayonets flashing and the colours rustling in the wind, forming a grand and imposing scene. There were the glittering lines of the Sikhs, many of whom were clad in complete coats of mail, led by the chiefs with their aigrettes in their steel helmets, which sparkled like silver in the sun along the jungly slope. After gaining the exact range, their dark-looming guns opened a steady and perilous cannonade.

"I was compelled," says Sir Harry, in his despatch to the Adjutant-General, "to halt the line for a few moments, though under fire, until I ascertained that by bringing up my right and carrying the village of Aliwal, I could with great effect precipitate myself upon his left and centre. I therefore quickly brought up Brigadier Godby's brigade, and with it and the first brigade, under Brigadier Hicks, made a rapid and noble charge, carried the village, and two guns of large calibre. The line I ordered to advance—H.M. 31st Foot and the native regiments—and the battle became general."

Aliwal was occupied by hill-men, who, singular to say, made a feeble resistance; but the Sikh gunners died, nearly to a man, around their guns. Our cavalry, on the right, charged the enemy's overlapping left, through jungle, smoke, fire, and everything, and broke up a large portion of Runjoor's force; but, at the same time, his right, consisting of his best troops, outflanked us by numbers, till a charge of cavalry changed the complexion of the conflict.

The Sikhs threw themselves into squares, against which our lancers hurled all the weight of man and horse and weapon. They rode right through; but we are told that as they did so "the Sikhs closed behind, as some of the British squares did when partially penetrated at Waterloo." Their infantry, casting aside their muskets, betook them to sword and dagger, and received these British lances on their large dark-brown shields, against which many of the tough ash shafts splintered and broke. Again our horsemen charged through, and by a happy but singular manœuvre changed the lance to the bridle-hand. The Sikhs being unprepared for this, received in their bodies, instead of on their bucklers, the thrusts of the 16th and other regiments; but the latter had to ride a third time through these squares before they were utterly broken, mixed up together, and dispersed; yet it was a conflict in which cavalry, by the use of all their weapons in succession, sword, lance, and pistol or carbine, effected wonders against these brave swarthy infantry.

Cureton led the cavalry in these charges. He was an old Peninsular veteran, and had been under

* Adjutant-General's Return.

fire a hundred times. He had been wounded by balls at Mondego and Fuentes d'Onoro, where his skull was also fractured by a sabre.

Brigadiers Wheeler and Wilson had been equally tried, in the meanwhile, and had been equally successful on their side in driving back the enemy and capturing their guns, and nothing remained but to dispossess the latter of the village of Boondree, which they had occupied strongly to cover their retreat and secure to them the passage of the river. This gallantly achieved, the battle was won.

"Every gun of the enemy fell into our hands," reported Sir Harry, "as I infer, from his never opening one upon us from the opposite bank of the river, which is high and favourable for the purpose; fifty-two guns are now in the ordnance park, and four were spiked on the opposite bank, making a total of fifty-six pieces captured or destroyed." *

Our whole troops advanced in splendid order to the common focus, the passage of the Sutlej. Hemmed in on every hand, fleeing wildly from our fire, with their shields slung behind, the enemy precipitated themselves in disordered masses into the ford and boats in confusion and terror; our eight-inch howitzers soon began to play upon the straggling multitude, and ere long the débris of the Sikh army was seen flying in consternation in every direction beyond the high bank of the river.

Our grand total of killed, wounded, and missing was 589 men and 353 horses. The quantity of stores of every kind taken was "beyond accurate calculation." The loss of the foe was unknown; but when the dead bodies of both armies floated down the Sutlej to Sobraon, it became first known there that a great battle had been fought, "and these silent and appalling witnesses bore evidence conclusive on which side the victory lay."

Moving up the left bank of the Sutlej, the British army, on the 18th of January, 1845, encamped at Khodawala, nearly opposite to where the Sikhs had constructed their new bridge. This work they had been permitted to complete without molestation, and had further strengthened it by a *tête de pont*, skilfully constructed by a Spanish engineer named Hobron, who next proceeded to form it into an intrenched camp of the most formidable character. The disasters of the Sikhs in the open field had been too terrible for them to tempt the fortune of war there again; but the stern resistance which they had been able to offer among their jungles at Ferozeshah, had convinced them that behind the trenches of a stronger camp, they would be able to repel any attack.

Hobron's camp at Sobraon they therefore occupied with 37,000 of their best troops, and manned its ramparts with a numerous and heavy artillery.* Our army, after waiting at Khodawala for the arrival of the siege-train from Delhi, and the junction of Sir Harry's victorious troops, moved out of camp under Sir Hugh, at three in the morning of the 10th of February. It was intended that our whole park of artillery, siege and field guns alike, should be posted in a semi-circle, so as to embrace within its fire the entire radius of the enemy's works, and should open at daybreak; but so heavy a mist shrouded all the plain and the river, which there makes a bold sweep, or reach, that it became necessary to wait till the rays of the sun exhaled it.

There were several Spanish and French officers of high reputation serving in the army of the Sikhs, whose jealousy and pride often led them to oppose the sound advice given by these soldiers of fortune.

Gough's army was 15,000 strong; of these 5,000 were Europeans. After describing the position assigned to the various corps, the despatch tells us that our guns opened at seven a.m. The Sikhs answered flash for flash from sixty-seven pieces of artillery, and by nine it was found that our cannonade made no impression on their position; the ammunition was already beginning to fall short, and after having waited seven weeks for these guns, it was discovered that they were of little avail, and that to the musket and bayonet must the final issue be left, after about 120 pieces of ordnance had been thundering for hours in the valley of the Sutlej. Accordingly, "at nine o'clock," says Sir Hugh, in his despatch to Sir Henry Hardinge, "Brigadier Stacy's brigade, supported on either flank by Captains Horsford's and Fordyce's batteries, and Lieut.-Colonel Lane's troop of horse artillery, moved to the attack in admirable order. The infantry and guns aided each other co-relatively. The former marched steadily on in line, which they halted to correct when necessary. The latter took up successive positions at the gallop, until at length they were within 300 yards of the heavy batteries of the Sikhs; but notwithstanding the coolness and scientific nature of this assault, which Brigadier Wilson well supported, hot was the fire of cannon, musketry, and zumbooracks, kept up by the Khalsa troops, that it seemed for some time impossible that the intrenchments could be won

* Despatches: "Eleven guns were sunk in the river; total, sixty-seven pieces."

* Despatches, p. 129.

under it; but soon persevering gallantry triumphed, and the whole army had the good fortune to see Brigadier Stacy's soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them within the area of their encampment. The 10th Foot, under Lieutenant-Colonel Franks, now for the first time brought into action, greatly distinguished itself. This regiment never fired a shot until it got within the works of the enemy. The onset of H.M. 53rd Foot was as gallant and effective. The 43rd and 59th Native Infantry, brigaded with them, emulated both in cool determination."*

The general plan of attack was in three divisions, on three points, by Generals Dick, Gilbert, and Smith. That of Sir Robert Dick, K.C.B. (a very old officer, who served with the 78th Highlanders in Sicily, and led the Black Watch at Waterloo after Macara fell), charging home with the bayonet, cleared the ditch and mounted the rampart. The enemy perceiving that this was to be the chief point of assault, slackened the defence of their works elsewhere, and concentrated their guns upon it. Fresh regiments rushed on to succour Dick, who here received a mortal wound, but they were checked and staggered by the terrible resistance they encountered. The other two divisions were then ordered to press on. The enemy no sooner perceived this, than they rushed back to the posts they had quitted, and from every foot of the ramparts they poured a withering fire of all arms; but the most remarkable occurrence of the day was the charge of General Gilbert's division on the centre: his troops were repeatedly driven back, but returning to the assault over their own fallen, by the most indomitable courage, they carried the works, with the loss of 689 killed and wounded.

The defences were stormed on three points. Teh Sing was among the first to fly, and either by accident or design, the bridge was broken down after he had safely crossed it. Pressed on three sides into a disordered mass, the valiant Sikhs still continued to dispute every inch of the ground, till they were hurled upon the bridge, and, preferring slaughter to yielding, plunged wildly into the stream, which having risen in the night, flooded the ford by which they had hoped to cross, so the current swept them away by hundreds.

As they rushed to the broken bridge, our cavalry cut them down like ripened grain, while flights of roaring rockets and showers of vertical grape blew their heads off, or tore their bodies to pieces, and the carnage, it was said, was horrible for human hand to inflict, and human eye to witness; but what would it have been with us had we been defeated? In addition to those who perished in the river, hundreds lay dead and mangled on the bridge, till the crashing of round shot and the explosive shells rent the pontoon itself to pieces, and then its ruins, with the dead, the dying, and the drowning, were all swept away by the stream, which was crimsoned with blood.

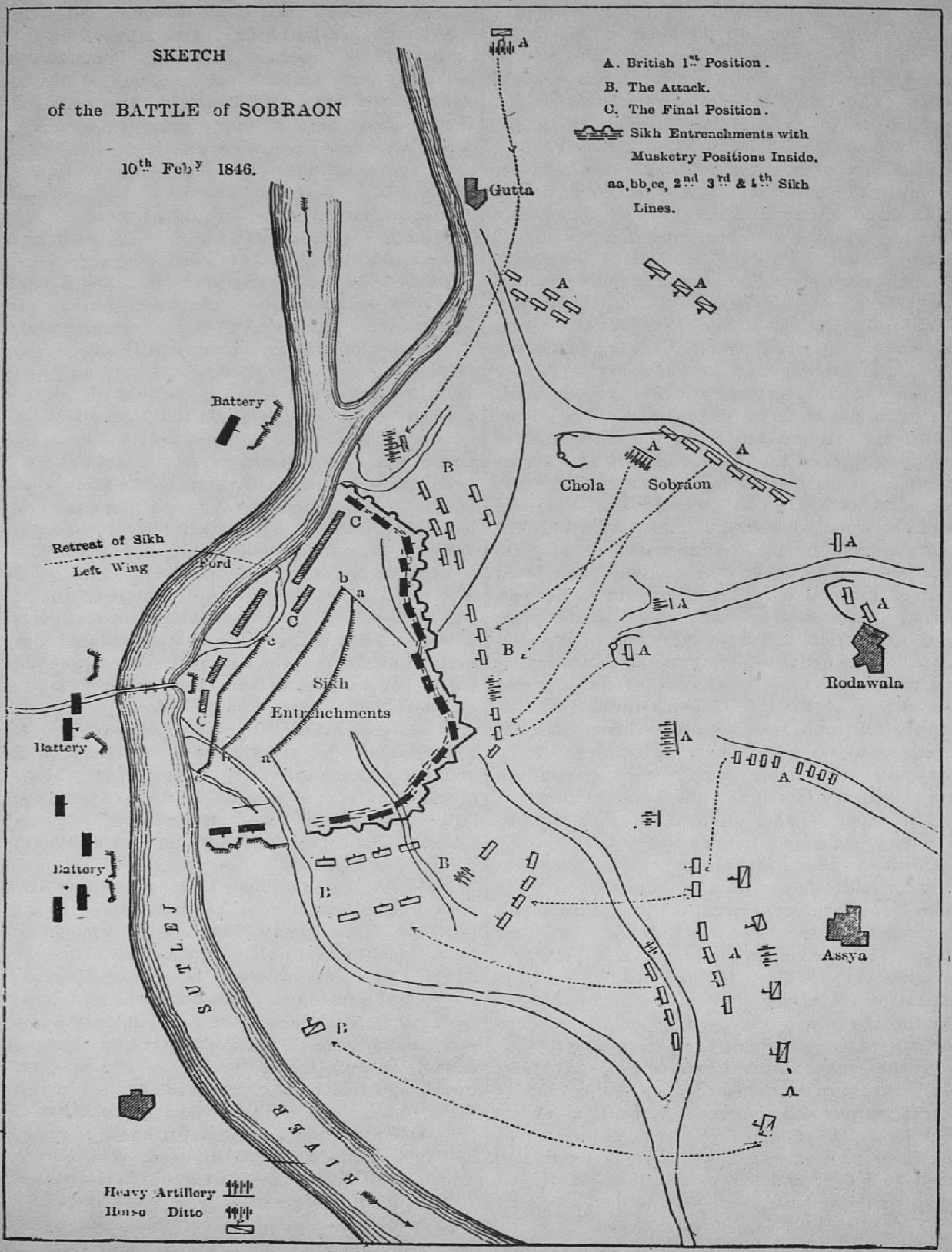
Many fought their way along the bank, and reaching fords that were known to them, escaped across, and continued their flight to Lahore. A few thousands escaped thus; but they acknowledged their loss to be 14,000 men, including eight great Sirdirs; while our losses presented a grand total of 320 killed and 2,063 wounded. Among the former were Brigadier Cyril and Sir Robert Dick, "who fell gloriously at the moment of victory, displaying the same energy and intrepidity as when, thirty-five years ago in Spain, he was the distinguished leader of the 42nd Highlanders."* A monument has since been erected to him in his native place in Perthshire. Old Brigadier Maclaren, borne off the field, mortally wounded, when put to bed, declared that he must cross the Sutlej at the head of his beloved European Light Infantry, even if they carried him in a litter; "but the conquerors, as they beheld the trenches filled with the bodies of their iron-hearted defenders, and the fords of the Sutlej choked up with thousands of corpses, and the great river itself exhibiting in every direction the wreck of a great army, did not fail to pay a tribute of admiration to the gallantry and devotedness of the Khalsa legions." †

Here, as elsewhere, Prince Waldemar of Prussia, with Counts Oriola and Grueben, rode on the staff, and exposed themselves to every danger. Many of our army were ill after the battle from excessive fatigue and fever, arising from their exertions; and Colonel Havelock, the future hero of Lucknow, had a horse killed under him.

Major Abbot, who had been unceasingly employed in constructing a pontoon bridge of the boats which Sir Henry Hardinge had brought to Ferozepore, had it finished on the night before the battle. Sir Henry, who had been most active on the field at Sobraon, and had been severely injured by a fall from his horse, the moment our victory was certain, rode to Ferozepore, twenty-six miles distant, to hasten the passage of the pursuing troops, and that night six regiments bivouacked in the Punjaub. On the third day after the battle, the whole force, which, including a horde of camp-followers, made up 100,000 men, with 68,000 camels and horses, and forty guns, crossed the Sutlej without a single casualty.

* Despatches, Camp Kussor, 13th Feb.

* Despatches. † Marshman.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF SOBRAON.

In Lahore great was the consternation of the durbar, when the scared fugitives from Sobraon came pouring in. Further resistance was hopeless, and nothing remained but to negociate. With this view, a deputation from the Sikh cabinet waited on Sir Henry Hardinge. At its head was Gholab Sing, who had been playing the double game already referred to, and who now endeavoured to make profit out of it in the person of a mediator.



PORTRAIT OF SIR HENRY HARDINGE.

On the 15th of February he arrived at the Kussor camp, when the Governor-General immediately put him in possession of the terms he meant to enforce.

He at once declared that he was alike empowered and prepared to accept them, and begged that the army would now halt, and not approach the capital; but so far from assenting to this, Sir Henry told him plainly that, if he signed a treaty at all, it must be signed at Lahore.

On the 22nd of the same month, after a brigade of British troops, with himself at their head, had taken possession of the citadel, he issued the following proclamation, of which we give a part:—

"Foreign Department, Lahore, February 22nd, 1846.—The British army has this day occupied the gateway of the citadel of Lahore, the Badashahee Mosque, and the Hoozooree Bagh.

"The remaining part of the citadel is the residence of his Highness the Maharajah, and also that of families of the late Maharajah Runjeet Sing, for so many years the faithful ally of the British Government. In consideration of these circumstances, no troops will be posted within the precincts of the palace gates.

"The army of the Sutlej has now brought its operations in the field to a close by the dispersion of the Sikh army and the military occupation of Lahore, preceded by a series of the most triumphant successes ever recorded in the military annals of India. The British Government, trusting to the faith of treaties, and the long-subsisting friendship between the two states, had limited

military preparations to the defence of its own frontier.

"Compelled suddenly to assume the offensive, by the unprovoked invasion of its territories, the British army, under the command of its distinguished leader, has, in sixty days, defeated the Sikh forces in four general actions, has captured 220 pieces of artillery, and is now at the capital, dictating to the Lahore durbar the terms of a treaty, the conditions of which will tend to secure the British provinces from the repetition of a similar outrage.

"The Governor-General being determined, however, to mark with reprobation the perfidious character of the war, has required, and will exact, that every remaining piece of Sikh artillery, which has been pointed against the British army during this campaign, shall be surrendered.

"The Sikh army, whose insubordinate conduct is one of the chief causes of the anarchy and misrule which have brought the Sikh state to the brink of destruction, is about to be disbanded."*

Could it be the case, the conquered asked of each other, that the mighty army of the *Khalsa* (or church)—the band of the Sikh prophet—was to be humbled thus?

On the subsequent day, at a durbar, attended by the young Maharajah Dhuleep Sing and a glittering suite, the new treaty was signed and ratified. Its articles were sixteen in number. The most important were those which confiscated the whole of the Sikh territories on the left bank of the Sutlej, and also those on the right bank, known as the Jalindar Doab; and which stipulated for an indemnity of a crore and a half of rupees, or £1,500,000, the half to be paid down instantly, and the rest to be discharged by the cession of all the hill country between the Beas (a river of the Punjaub) and the Indus, including Cashmere and Huzareh. The disbandment of the imperious and mutinous Khalsa army was fully provided for, and the future strength of it was limited to twenty-five battalions, of 800 bayonets each, and 12,000 cavalry.

By the twelfth and thirteenth articles, wily old Gholab Sing was to be recognised as the independent sovereign of such territories as we might assign him, and all disputes between him and the Maharajah were to be referred to the British Government. By another treaty, concluded at Umritsur, on the 16th of March, 1846, the latter transferred to him and his heirs all the mountainous country, with its dependencies, eastward of the Indus and westward of the Ravee, including Chumba (with its lofty mountain covered by eternal snow), and excluding Lahool, which our Government ceded to Lahore; while he, in consideration of this, was to pay us "seventy-five lacs of rupees: fifty lacs to be paid on the ratification, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, 1846."

The Lahore cabinet, well aware how their troops had been their masters, still feared them, even in this form, and petitioned Sir Henry Hardinge to have a body of British troops in the capital. He consented, but not without some hesitation; and this led to a supplementary treaty, by which, eventually, the force thus left was to be placed in full possession of the city and citadel of Lahore, while the Khalsa troops should be quartered outside of both, and the Sikh Government became bound to pay all the expenses of this new and humiliating arrangement; after the conclusion of which, the victorious army of the Sutlej began its homeward march. It received the thanks of Parliament, and many were the honours distributed; Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough were both raised to the peerage—the victor of Aliwal was made a baronet—and medals were granted to the army which had humbled the pride of Lahore.

"Those ponderous cannon, the pride of the Sikh soldiery, and which they knew so well how to direct, swelled the train of the conqueror, or lay in broken fragments in the shattered trenches, which the valour of the Sikh, sepoy, and Briton had stained with the blood of the brave. It was more like the relation of some Indian tale of gods and spirits, creating strange fantasies among the abodes of men, than a reality. The Sikh could not realise it. The beaten soldier stalked forth and viewed the anomaly with scowling brow, but unarmed hand, baffled and wonder-struck, but not cowed."

* "The War in India;" Desp., London, 1846.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OUR RULE IN SCINDE.—WAR WITH THE HILL TRIBES.—FEMALE INFANTICIDE, ETC.

We must now refer to the affairs of Scinde. There the active and indefatigable Sir Charles Napier had been all this time displaying his admirable skill, alike as a soldier and diplomatist. Lord Ellenborough's recall had made him doubtful whether or not he was bound in honour to resign, as his lordship had ever been his friend; but Napier felt that, though he was suffering severely in health from the climate, and that Scinde was conquered, his work there was incomplete, as among the Cutchee mountains northward of Shikarpore were many hill tribes, capable of mustering raiders by thousands, who from time to time carried havoc and desolation within the boundaries of Scinde. The Ameer Shere Mohammed had found protection among them, and it was but too probable that, under the influence of his presence, they might become a rallying-point for all who were averse to us, and thus lead to a revolution in Scinde.

To preclude all chance of this, Napier, in 1844, drew up a plan for a campaign among the mountains. The difficulties were great, but Napier knew "no such word as fail," and his proposals met with the full approval of Sir Henry Hardinge; but at Sukkur the motions were delayed by an epidemic peculiar to the country, which fearfully decimated his troops, especially the 78th Highlanders, who had embarked for the East in 1842, and were not yet acclimatised. "I have lost the 78th," he wrote, despondingly, in December, 1844; "that beautiful regiment arrived here in high health, but the first week in November they began to grow sickly, and here they are bodily in hospital, with about 200 dead, men, women, and children."

Greatly to his disappointment, he found himself compelled to order the regiment—on which, as Highlanders, he had depended so much in a mountain campaign—to Hyderabad; but eventually his arrangements were complete, and the force was in motion towards Cutch Gundava. This is a district of Beloochistan, bounded on the north-east by Afghanistan, on the south and east by Scinde, and on the west by Salaman and Sarawan. Its climate is oppressively hot. The Khan of Khelat is ruler, and it is connected with the Lower Indus by a range of remarkable rocks, named the Cutchee Hills, that run towards the Bolan Pass. The inhabitants are fierce and wild. "The Scindians are Indians," says Lieutenant Burton, "a very different race peoples the rugged ranges of the Khelat Hills, and the oases that chequer the deserts beyond. Here (as in Scinde) a collector may raise his revenue without perpetual appeals to the bayonet. A handful of Europeans may still overawe thousands with the white face. There there is no revenue to collect; and had there been, nothing but steel or hemp could collect it."

Numerous fierce tribes inhabit the Cutchee Hills, under the names of Jackranees, Doomkees, Bhoogtees, and Muzarees, &c., who could bring 18,000 well-armed warriors, with many more followers, into the field, and whose boast it was that no foreign foot had ever traversed their rocky defiles, an immunity which they owed to the nature of their passes and the impassable deserts that lay beyond.

To ordinary troops, owing to the scarcity of water and the absence of those hill-forts usually erected for the security of such wells as may occur, the passage of these desolate places offered the most perilous difficulties; but against these Napier had to a great extent provided, by the formation of a fighting camel-corps: each carried two men, clad in turbans, short tunics, and long boots, one armed with a musket, and bayonet slung over the left shoulder, the other with a carbine and sword. One guided the camel and fought from its back, the other acted as an infantryman on foot, "because the robbers were accustomed to fire from the fissures and holes in the plains whither neither sword nor lance could reach them. If assailed by superior numbers, the camels were to kneel in a ring, with their heads inwards and pinned down, so as to form a bulwark for the men."

The most noted of the robber chiefs at this time was Beja Khan, long the scourge of the Scindian frontier by the number and success of his inroads, and he had added to his local renown by repulsing an ill-managed attempt to capture his patrimonial fort of Poolajee, among the Cutchee Hills. Lieutenant Fitzgerald had once resided in this district, and now believed that his knowledge of it was such that he would be enabled to surprise Beja with ease. Sir Charles Napier, with this intention, despatched Captain Tait with 500 horse, and Fitzgerald with 200 of his camel corps. These

made a forced march across the dreary desert, but found Beja on the alert, at the head of a strong body of matchlock-men, so the proposed surprise proved an utter failure, and after some loss Tait retreated; and the movement would have been disastrous, but, fortunately, in choking up the wells, Beja omitted one, at which the sinking soldiers procured some water.

Tidings now came that, elated by this, the tribes were assembling at Beja's fort, and openly spoke of bringing into Scinde the Ameer Shere Mohammed. The Doomkees and Jackranees made a successful raid across the frontier; and, as if to add to the troubles of Sir Charles, the 64th Native Infantry (which served at Cabul) evinced a mutinous spirit at Shikarpore, on an old complaint, a demand for increased field allowances, on the plea that Scinde was not a portion of India, but a foreign country. There was great reason to fear that the other native infantry might adopt the same course, but this was prevented by the prompt measures of Brigadier Hunter, who, finding his remonstrances unavailing, ordered the old garrison under arms, seized and manacled some forty of the mutineers, disarmed the rest, and forced them across the left bank of the Indus.

As any delay was now dangerous, from the bad spirit of the native troops on one hand and the ravages of the hill tribes on the other, it was resolved to open the campaign; and consequently, on the 18th of January, 1845, the advanced guard of cavalry and guns, under Sir Charles in person, marched from Sukkur, and on the 15th arrived at the town of Khangur, situated in a barren country overgrown with low jungle.

Captain Jacob, who had marched with the left column from Larkhana, arrived on the same day at a place called Rojan; his force and the centre then moved northwards, at an average distance of twenty miles apart, the former to Shapoor, where Beja Khan was alleged to have his head-quarters, and the latter to Ooch, where, on the 18th, Sir Charles was relieved of some anxiety which he felt concerning the fate of a detachment which had gone in advance, on hearing that Captain Salter, the officer in command of it, had defeated 700 robbers, under Deyra Khan, a chief of Jackranees. About the same time he received intelligence to the effect that Captain Jacob, with the left column, had surprised and routed another band, under the son of Beja Khan.

A friendly chief, named Wullee Chanda, had also been victorious at Poolajee; after this triple defeat, Beja Khan and his followers, full of wrath and terror, abandoned the western range of hills, and sought shelter among the eastern. While Salter held Ooch, Jacob's column moved on Poolajee to co-operate with Wullee Chanda (whose friendship for us proved him only a traitor to his own people), to overawe the tribes of Khelat, while the infantry, artillery, and all the stores were sent to Shapoor, where a magazine for a fortnight's consumption was formed. While posted thus, Napier's forces occupied two sides of a square. One menaced the dark rocky passes from the jungly desert on the south, and the other commanded the gaps of the long parallel and solitary valleys which run eastward towards the broad waters of the Indus. It was now that the real and defined pursuit of Beja Khan commenced, and was persevered in, till it proved one of the most remarkable pieces of service ever undertaken and brilliantly achieved by disciplined troops.

A detailed narrative of the operations is unnecessary; suffice it to say, that though it had always been taken for granted that disciplined troops had a slender chance of warring with mountaineers, among the rugged cliffs and savage ravines of their native hills, it was now shown that, under such a leader as Napier, they could fight and pursue as well as on the lowland plains. Thus, ere long, Beja Khan and his confederates, finding themselves hemmed in on all sides, and threatened by starvation, made an unconditional surrender on the 9th of March, 1845; and so ended the war among the hills of Cutch Gundava, and Sir Charles was left free to improve the internal condition of Scinde. No man ever deserved a peerage better than Sir Charles Napier, and why he did not receive one, no man can say.

Of the Ameers he wrote:—"Their misfortunes were their own creation, but as they were great, I gave them back their swords." There was chivalry in this, but in most instances they were undeserving of it, though Ali Morad, of Khyrpore, is described by Mr. Postans, who knew him personally, as the beau-ideal of a strong-hearted, independent chief, "the last of the Barons," and the only one who was consistent in his spirit of independence from first to last; but in his superstition, he directed the bones of a tiger to be preserved in his fortress of Dejee, to protect it in case of attack, and to save its inhabitants from the evil eye or death.

As rulers or sovereigns, the Ameers knew no law but the sword, and the people of Scinde were slaves rather than subjects. There was no security for property, and money was extorted from merchants and others by torture and mutilation, as it was drawn from the wretched English Jews in the

days of the savage Plantagenet. They restricted commerce; they hated strangers, lest they should draw comparisons that were unpleasant between their rule and that of neighbouring princes. With a rich soil, and people who were willing to till it, they only formed vast hunting-grounds, "and laid waste in sixty years a fourth part of the fertile land of Scinde. The process of William the Conqueror in forming the New Forest in Hampshire was gentle and diminutive compared with their proceedings along the bank of the Indus."

The only trade they are actually known to have encouraged was the slave trade, and so did all their chiefs as importers and exporters; while infanticide was a regular system among them; the Ameers and Sirdirs killed all their illegitimate, and very commonly their female legitimate children, when they thought they had too many girls in their family.

This horrible practice existed from the earliest period in India; though in all nations, before Christianity shed its light upon them, the sacrifice of a child to some grim idol has prevailed; and even in Scotland, so late as the early part of the ninth century, an Earl of Caithness is said to have offered up a human sacrifice to Odin. Without referring to the long legend in support of female infanticide, the first official intimation our Government had of it in India was about 1789, when Mr. Duncan, afterwards Governor of Bombay, informed Lord Cornwallis that he had discovered it to be "no unfrequent practice among the tribe of Rajkoomar to destroy their daughters by causing the mothers to refuse them nurture." By the humane exertions of Mr. Duncan and Major Walker, every means were taken to suppress this crime at Benares, and among the people of Cutch and Kattywar; though, when urged on the subject, they had the effrontery to say: "Pay our daughters' marriage portions, and they shall live."

In the Koran we find this crime referred to thus among the Arabs: "And when any of them is told of the birth of a female his face becometh black, and he is deeply afflicted: he hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him, considering within himself whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust." *

Mr. Duncan was inclined to pay for the lives of the girls; but the Court of Directors at once declined, on the plea that other tribes would seek to barter in the same way. From time to time new disclosures of the most fearful nature came to light, showing the extent to which this crime prevailed among the Khonds and others; while the worshippers of Boora Pennu, a sect of the Khonds, alleged his permissive sanction for the custom, given on the occasion of his last communication with mankind, when he said to men: "Behold! from making one female what I and the world have suffered. You are at liberty to bring up only as many women as you can manage."

According to the law of births the number of each sex is nearly equal; but at one time it was found among the population of Kattywar, a central division of Goojerat, though exceeding 8,000, not more than sixty-three female children had been preserved in the course of ten years. On some of the largest estates only one, and on others, containing more than 400 families, not one female child was found.

With this crime there was the greatest difficulty in dealing, even when the extent of the iniquity was known; but how was it to be prevented? Done in zenanas, recesses whither none could penetrate, or in forts to which no legal access could be had, by what manner of evidence could the terrible custom be proved or punished? The proposition to bribe informers was suggested, but negatived, lest the cure should prove worse than the disease, by the suggestion of false accusation or revenge. The most able of Indian statesmen, while admitting that no effectual check could be imposed upon the atrocity, added, that "we must be content to follow the footsteps of our predecessors (without going beyond them) in their most meritorious endeavours to discountenance this enormity; and we may flatter ourselves that, as the manners of the people become softened by a continuance of tranquillity and good order, they will gradually discontinue a practice which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct."

This patient acquiescence and trust in the softening effects of civilisation would never have produced any change in a people so unchangeable. Certainly, force could not be used, as the Rajpoot tribes, most guilty of infanticide, were not then subjects of the East India Company; but as soon as the chiefs were given to understand that they must either renounce the crime, or be scouted by the British as utter barbarians, with whom we could hold neither faith nor friendship, they came forward, and proffered rewards, and some even issued proclamations denouncing infanticide, and threatening the committal of it with punishment; but it was only when they found that their personal interests were likely to suffer, that these vaunted Rajpoots affected to be suddenly inspired by emotions of humanity and natural affection.

* Koran, chap. xvi.

It was in Kattywar that our political agent, Mr. J. P. Willoughby, after carefully ascertaining the exact census of the Jharigah population, whose chiefs he compelled, under severe penalties, to furnish half-yearly registers of marriages, births, and deaths, obtained the first great triumph over this ancient domestic crime. By proclamation he guaranteed protection and reward to all informers, by enjoining every father who gave his daughter in marriage to a Jharigah chief to have a written stipulation that all children born alive should be preserved; and to prove that the British Government would no longer be trifled with, he had several offenders tried and convicted. He fined one chief 12,000 rupees; another 3,000 rupees, with a year's imprisonment. Thus, under the influence of the hope of reward and dread of punishment, the proportion of the children of the two sexes in Kattywar was nearly equal in 1849; and so progressive was the increase of the female population, there were grounds, in time, to believe that, in Kattywar at least, infanticide had become extinct; but from some passages in the Indian newspapers, so lately as 1876, it does not seem to have altogether passed away. "At one time it carried on its murders by wholesale, and must have annually slain its hundreds; whereas now, if ever it find a victim, it can only be by shrouding itself in the deepest darkness, and doing the horrid deed, while trembling at the punishment with which it will certainly be visited if discovered."

In 1847, the intrigues of the Ranee of Lahore, who wished to upset the council of regency, rendered it necessary, for the general peace of India, to remove her to some distance from the capital, after which the Governor-General gave his almost undivided time to peaceful improvements. New encouragement was given to education; Christian labour was prohibited on Sunday; the exchequer, previously drained by the Afghan war, was replenished; while in the liberal patronage bestowed upon railways, and in the erection of public works, great and permanent good was done to India.

Through misapplied patronage, influence, and interest, partialities, jealousies, and heart-burnings had crept into many branches of the public service; but the good Lord Hardinge "threw oil upon the troubled waters, and merited the honourable title of peace-maker."

Lord William Bentinck had abolished *Suttees* throughout the whole dominions of the Company; but they were still perpetrated in those native states over which we had no control. Hence, on the death of the Rajah of Mundee, his obsequies were celebrated by a perfect holocaust, no less than twelve of his widows being burned with his body on the funeral pile.

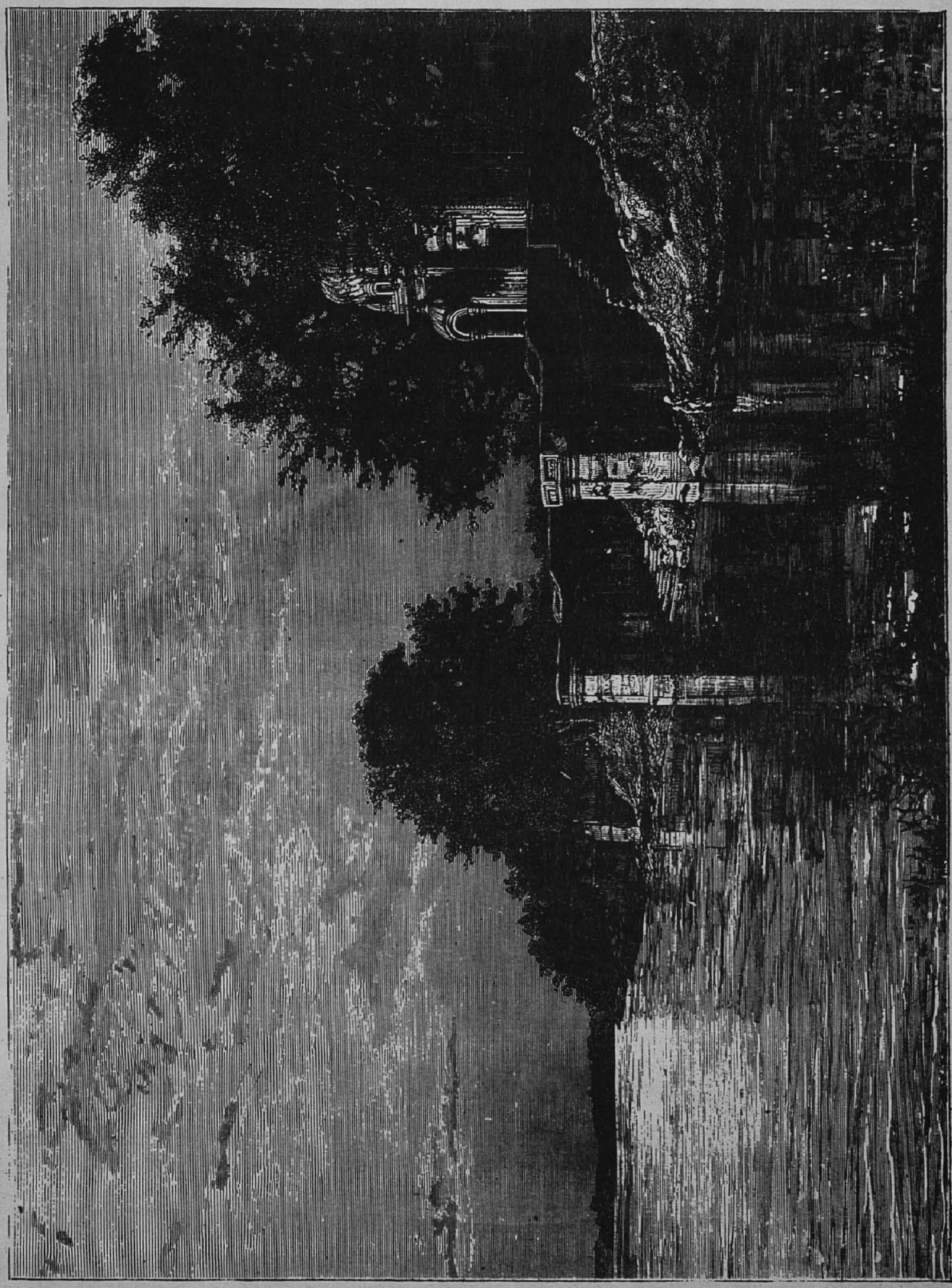
Lord Hardinge used all the influence he possessed, and all that of our paramount authority, to induce the native princes and chiefs to relinquish or abolish a practice so barbarous; and before his departure he had the satisfaction to receive, from twenty-four native princes and princesses, written and solemn assurances that they were making strenuous efforts to meet his humane wishes; and a *Suttee* is now all but unknown in India.

On the 5th of April, 1847, he wrote to the Secret Committee in London that the Sikh chiefs, forming the cabinet of Lahore, were carrying on the government with a loyal desire to maintain the terms of the recent treaty; and so they were to all appearance; but, at the same time, the majority of them were privately plotting the destruction or expulsion of the British. By the 27th of May, he again addressed the Secret Committee, holding forth the same assurances that all was quiet and well. In that letter he quotes the opinions of the talented Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, to the effect that, as usual, all manner of rumours were flying as to the hostile intentions of the Sikh chiefs towards us. Such tales he believed to be greatly exaggerated or obviously false; but he was deceived, as a little time was to show.

These reports seem to have been utterly rejected at Government House, Calcutta; yet few who had studied the deeply-rooted religious antipathies of the Sikhs, their fierce disposition and whole antecedents, could doubt that another storm was gathering along the banks of the Sutlej, and that those rumours, flying though they were, had an origin in the wide-spread disaffection of the chiefs and their people, to the alliance which the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing had contracted with infidel strangers, and rage at the presence of the latter in any part of the Punjaub empire.

The distribution of Lord Hardinge's patronage was regulated by an exclusive regard to the interests of the public, and he was as free from the suspicion of nepotism as his predecessor. In India, by his plain, good, common sense, by his decision of character and kindly disposition, together with vigour of discipline, he secured the golden opinions of all men.

The termination of such an administration was indeed viewed as a calamity, and great was the general regret which was felt when, at the end of little more than three years from the time when he took office—and three stirring years they were—he announced his intention of resigning; but we have already told how his services and those of his



VIEW OF THE SUTTEE CHAORA-GHAT, OR BROAD STAIRCASE OF FUNERALS, ON THE GANGES AT CAWNPORE.

gallant comrades in the war of the Punjaub were duly acknowledged by the authorities at home. These honours were doubtless well and faithfully earned.

He sailed from Calcutta on the 15th of March, 1848, with the firm, but most mistaken conviction, "that it would not be necessary to fire another shot in India for several years to come." Yet so impossible is it to foresee the future, that before a short twelve months had passed, the great district of the Punjaub had revolted against us, had been re-conquered, with a vast amount of bloodshed, and converted from an independent state into a mere province of the British Empire.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REVOLT AT MOULTAN.—THE OPERATIONS OF LIEUTENANT EDWARDES.—THE BATTLE OF KINEYREE.—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF MOULTAN.

THE successor of Viscount Hardinge, James Andrew, Earl of Dalhousie, K.T., Lord Clerk Registrar of Scotland, took his seat in the Council at Calcutta on the 19th of February, 1848. The representative of a long line of warlike ancestors and of a Scottish family of great note since the reign of David I., he was then in his thirty-sixth year, had occupied a seat in the House of Commons, and in Sir Robert Peel's last Cabinet had been President of the Board of Trade at the most busy period of its existence, "when it was flooded with railway schemes." When entering on the administration of India, he was without that intimate knowledge of its policy and institutions which was possessed by the Lords Teignmouth, Wellesley, Minto, or Bentinck; but he had a great natural genius, which soon caught the spirit and learned the details of Indian affairs. Hence, the period of his administration, which extended to eight years, was filled with transactions which must long continue to influence the prosperity and good of the vast empire of the East.

His reception in India was most flattering, for the pleasant odour of a good name and unblemished reputation preceded him. Like most of his predecessors, he was most anxious for the preservation of peace, and yet, within four months after his arrival, the alarm of war was given in the Punjaub.

The tranquillity in which Lord Hardinge left India was only the treacherous lull before the furious storm, which at length burst suddenly in the south-western province of Moultan. There a chief of some talent, named Sawun Mull, had been succeeded as prime minister, in 1844, by his son Moolraj, whose ambitious spirit led him to aspire to independence. On the understanding that he would pay into the treasury a sum of thirty lacs of rupees, his succession had been confirmed at Lahore; but taking advantage of the confusion consequent to the war, he not only failed to pay that sum, but withheld the entire revenue. Remonstrances now proved futile; he was addressed in terms which showed very clearly that, unless he acted in conformity with the views of the durbar, force, in the name of Dhuleep Sing, would be employed against him.

He thereupon responded by proposing to resign office into the hands of any person authorised to receive the trust. Whether this was a pre-arranged scheme between him and those inimical to the British, it is now difficult to determine; but it has been thought not improbable that, had native officers only been sent to receive the surrender, it might have been made *bonâ fide*. Our Resident, however, ordered Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew, a civilian, and Lieutenant Anderson, of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, to accompany Sirdir Khan Sing, who was nominated Dewan of Moultan; 530 irregulars formed the escort. Moolraj now made a show of surrendering office on one hand, with many sly pretexts for delay on the other.

It was on the 18th of March that Agnew and Anderson entered the city. Next morning Moolraj waited on them to discuss the general terms of his resignation, and asked a general deed of quittance; but Mr. Agnew insisted on all the monetary accounts of the preceding six years. Much recrimination ensued; Moolraj acceded eventually to the demand, and left the conference with an ominous scowl on his brow, quitting the Eedgah, a spacious building, within cannon-shot of the north face of the fort of Moultan. On the following

morning, Sirdir Khan Sing and the two British officers accompanied Moolraj into the fort, where they received the keys, and placed two Ghoorka companies in possession of the posts. They allayed, or thought they had allayed, the manifest impatience of the garrison at this change by promises of service, and proposed to return.

They had passed the gate and reached the drawbridge which lay across the ditch, when a soldier of Moolraj rushed at Mr. Agnew, unhorsed him by a thrust of his spear, and gave him two severe sword-wounds; but before he could complete the intended murder, the assassin was tumbled into the ditch by a trooper of the escort. Instead of interfering, Moolraj forced his horse through the excited crowd, and galloped to his residence of Ám Khue, near the fort. Lieutenant Anderson was now attacked by some of Moolraj's followers, and was so severely wounded that he was left for dead, till found by some Ghoorkas, who carried him in a palanquin to the Eedgah.

To that place Mr. Agnew was also brought, by the assistance of Rung Ram (the brother-in-law of Moolraj), who placed him on his own elephant, and conveyed him in haste to the camp, binding up his wounds as they went along. Mr. Agnew was able to report these occurrences to Sir Frederick Currie, the Resident at Lahore, and to Lieutenant Edwardes, who, with a small force, was employed in collecting the revenue in the neighbourhood of Leia, a fertile and well-cultivated province north-west of Moultan. He further wrote to Moolraj, calling upon him to prove his own innocence by seizing the culprits, and coming in person to the Eedgah. Moolraj replied by asserting that he was incapable of doing either; adding that all the Lahore garrisons, Hindoo and Mohammedan alike, were in rebellion, and he would advise all British officers to consult their own safety without delay.

At that very time he was presiding over a council of chiefs, composed of Hindoos, Afghans, and Sikhs, who were successively taking the oath of allegiance to him, as prescribed by their different faiths.

If any doubts had been entertained as to the past intentions of Moolraj, there could be none about the present, as he was in open revolt. On the 19th the whole of the baggage animals of the escort were carried off, and as all escape, or retreat, was thus precluded, nothing remained but to put the Eedgah in a state of defence. Though sinking with wounds, Agnew called within its walls all the soldiers of the escort and their camp-followers, while six guns were placed in battery; and could the place be but defended for three days and nights succour might arrive.

But the worst was yet to come. On the morning of the 20th the guns of the fort opened on the Eedgah; the six there replied by one round, and then ceased. The Lahore gholandazees refused to act; and the efforts to seduce them and the escort proved so successful, that ere evening fell the whole had deserted, save Khan Sing, eight troopers, the Moonshees, and domestic servants of the British officers. The idea of further resistance was at once relinquished, and a messenger was sent to Moolraj to arrange a capitulation. The utmost he would accord was that the officers should quit the country, and they would be unmolested. But ere these terms could be communicated, the fortified temple was attacked by a horde of howling savages, who burst in, sword in hand, took Khan Sing prisoner, and barbarously cut Anderson and Agnew to pieces. They hewed off their heads, and presented them to Moolraj, who made the atrocity his own by rewarding the perpetrators of it.

Two days after, Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., whose administrative qualities had been largely tested during the late Sikh war, heard of the attack only; and under the impression that the revolt had many branches, immediately put in motion against Moultan seven battalions of infantry, two corps of regular cavalry, 1,200 irregular horse, and a force of artillery. These were all Sikhs, inadequate in strength and doubtful in fidelity; thus, when tidings of the murders and desertion of the escort came, lest the other troops of the durbar should imitate the example given them, he referred the matter to the Commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, who resolved to postpone all operations until he could take the field in person in the cold season.

And now it was that the heroic Lieutenant—afterwards Sir Herbert—Edwardes took action personally at this crisis. Colonel Van Cortlandt, a distinguished officer of the Company's service, then occupied Dhera Ismael Khan, in the same neighbourhood where Edwardes was collecting the land-tax for Moolraj. The lieutenant crossed the Indus into Deerajat the moment he received Agnew's letter from the Eedgah, with his whole force, mustering only twelve companies of infantry, 350 horse, with two guns, and twenty zumboorucks he resolved to move on Moultan, which was ninety miles distant. At the same time he wrote to Lieutenant Taylor, who was with Van Cortlandt (then commanding the troops of the Maharajah), for a regiment and four guns. He took possession of Leia, and was about to intrench himself there,

and await the approach of Moolraj, when a paper of importance fell into his hands.

It was an intercepted letter, from which he learned that his Sikh soldiers had agreed to sell his head to Moolraj for 24,000 rupees. To baffle these men, and to raise other recruits free from the infection of revolt, or Afghans who had no sympathy with the Sikhs—"bold villains, who," as he said, "were ready to risk their own throats, and cut those of any one else"—he re-crossed the Indus; and on being joined by Soobdan Khan's regiment of Mohammedans, under Van Cortlandt (who was a native of India), with six horse artillery guns, and by the troops of the Rajah of Bhawulpore, he thought himself strong enough to face Moolraj.

By the 19th of May the enterprising young subaltern—the future Governor of the Punjaub—was at the head of a force mustering 4,000 men who were supposed to be faithful, and 800 Sikhs, whose loyalty might well be considered doubtful, with ten guns and twenty-nine zumboorucks—a force which he describes as "this brave but heterogeneous army, composed of every race that peoples the Soolimanee range and Deerajat." *

His troops were far outnumbered by those of Moolraj; but a strong diversion had been made in our favour by the Rajah of Bhawulpore, who, urged by Edwardes, was marching to cross the Sutlej, and threaten Moultan. So confident did Lieutenant Edwardes feel, that by the 20th of May he wrote to Sir Frederick Currie, saying, "I am prepared to undertake the blockade of that rebel (Moolraj) in Moultan for the rest of the hot season and rains, if you should honour me with that commission, and order Bhawul Khan to assist me."

For the present, however, the main object in view was the capture of Dera Ghazee Khan, the country around which had been bestowed by Moolraj on a native named Julal Khan, a title ever in use in the East, and synonymous with "esquire" in Britain. Khourah Khan, who was his avowed foe, immediately made his submission to the British, and sent his son, Gholam Hyder Khan, with a contingent, to act in concert with our troops. Accompanying Colonel—or, as he is sometimes called, General—Cortlandt, this youth volunteered, on the 20th, to go in advance to raise his father's tribe, and drive Lunga Mull across the Indus.

Van Cortlandt, without attaching much importance to the offer, accepted it. The youth proved true to his word; he raised the tribe in arms, and prepared for the encounter. Lunga Mull, Cheytun Mull, and Julal Khan, at the head of the Lugharee tribe, did not decline the conflict—an obstinate and bloody one—which ensued. A night attack, led by Gholam, commenced it on the 20th, and it was undecided on the following morning, when by a charge with shield, sword, and dagger, like those of the Scottish clans of old, he gained a complete victory, slaying Cheytun Mull, and taking Lunga Mull prisoner. Some of the fugitives took shelter in the fort of Dera Ghazee Khan, but capitulated on obtaining permission to cross the river; so the whole place was delivered up to us without further opposition.

The forces of Moolraj now moved down the Indus towards the scene of this disaster, and took up a position on its left bank, at a place called Koreyshee, intending to seize a fleet of boats provided by the captive Lunga to pass the river; but they failed to achieve this, and the two armies remained inactive, with the broad waters of the mighty river rolling between them, till Bhawul Khan crossed it in June, with the intention of moving on Soojahbad, which is westward of Moultan, and this had the effect of drawing them from their position, and leaving the passage of the river free to the British, who could cross with ease, having previously secured the flotilla in question.

The chief barrier was a peremptory order from Sir Frederick Currie to keep the left bank; but this was withdrawn on Bhawul Khan demanding instant support. The Indus was then crossed without further delay, and our whole force marched to the town of Khangur, in a barren country, overgrown with jungle, on the right bank of the Chenab. In the meantime, the Moultan forces were pushing on towards Soojahbad, with the imperative orders of Moolraj to fight Bhawul Khan before he could form a junction with Lieutenant Edwardes, who gives the strength of the several forces thus:—

The rebels were from 8,000 to 10,000 horse and foot, with ten guns, commanded by Moolraj's kinsman, Rung Ram; and the Bhawulpore army of 8,100 horse and foot, with eleven guns and thirty zumboorucks, led by Futteh Mohammed Khan Ghoree, held the left bank of the Chenab. His own force, consisting of two divisions (one of regulars, foot, and artillery, of the Sikh service, of about 1,500 men and ten guns, under Van Cortlandt, and another of 5,000 irregulars and thirty zumboorucks, under his own command), held the right bank of the river. The three several forces formed a species of triangle in their three positions. *

The plan of Rung Ram should have been to attack the Bhawulpore troops without a moment's delay, for his own, being better disciplined, must

* Letter in the Punjaub Blue Book.

* "A Year in the Punjaub."

infallibly have routed our allies; but he lost the opportunity by waiting till evening, and then moving eight miles lower down the Chenab to within an easy march of Kineyree, the point at which he knew the British must cross the river.

To seize this passage was his plan, intending thereafter to attack the chief of Bhawulpore, when left single-handed; but, luckily, his views were baffled by him, as he, too, hastened towards Kineyree, while a strong British corps, consisting of 3,000 Patans, under Foujdan Khan, had already crossed the river, and was already moving on the same point. This junction had scarcely been effected, when Lieutenant Edwardes, who had left Cortlandt to bring over the rest of the force, and was crossing the Chenab (which takes its rise in Thibet, and is the largest of the five great rivers of the Punjaub), heard the booming of great guns, announcing that a conflict had begun.

This was on the 18th of June, when Rung Ram, in hurrying on to seize the ferry, found it already occupied, and had to take up a strong position on the salt-hills of Noonar, and opened fire with his guns; thus the active Edwardes came at an important time. Without waiting for orders, the undisciplined warriors of Bhawulpore rushed to the attack, but were met by a fire so steady, and so different from their own border tactics, that they were driven in confusion on a village in their rear. They were in this condition when Edwardes' force came upon the ground, and he inquired for Futteh Mohammed Khan Ghoree, whom he found squatted under a large peepul-tree. He was a little old man, with dirty clothes, a skull-cap on his head, and a rosary in his hands, the beads of which he was telling rapidly, while muttering, helplessly, "Ullundoolillah!" (God be praised!) "apparently quite abstracted from the scene around him, and utterly unconscious that six-pounders were going through the branches overhead, that officers were imploring him for orders, and that 9,000 rebels were waiting to destroy the army of which *he* was general." *

Edwardes had now to take the whole responsibility upon himself; nor did the brave young fellow shrink from the difficulty, which was great. The Bhawulpore artillery was so overborne by that of the Moultanees that he could not assume the offensive until his own guns crossed the river, and it was an effort to avoid defeat ere they could be brought into the field. Imperfect as the Bhawulpore artillery proved, he continued the cannonade with it, and placed the rest of the troops in the jungle, and under cover as much as possible. Under this fire the Patans were very impatient, and continually started up, clamouring to be led against the enemy; and thus did Edwardes spend six harassing hours, till six British guns arrived, and with them two regiments of infantry.

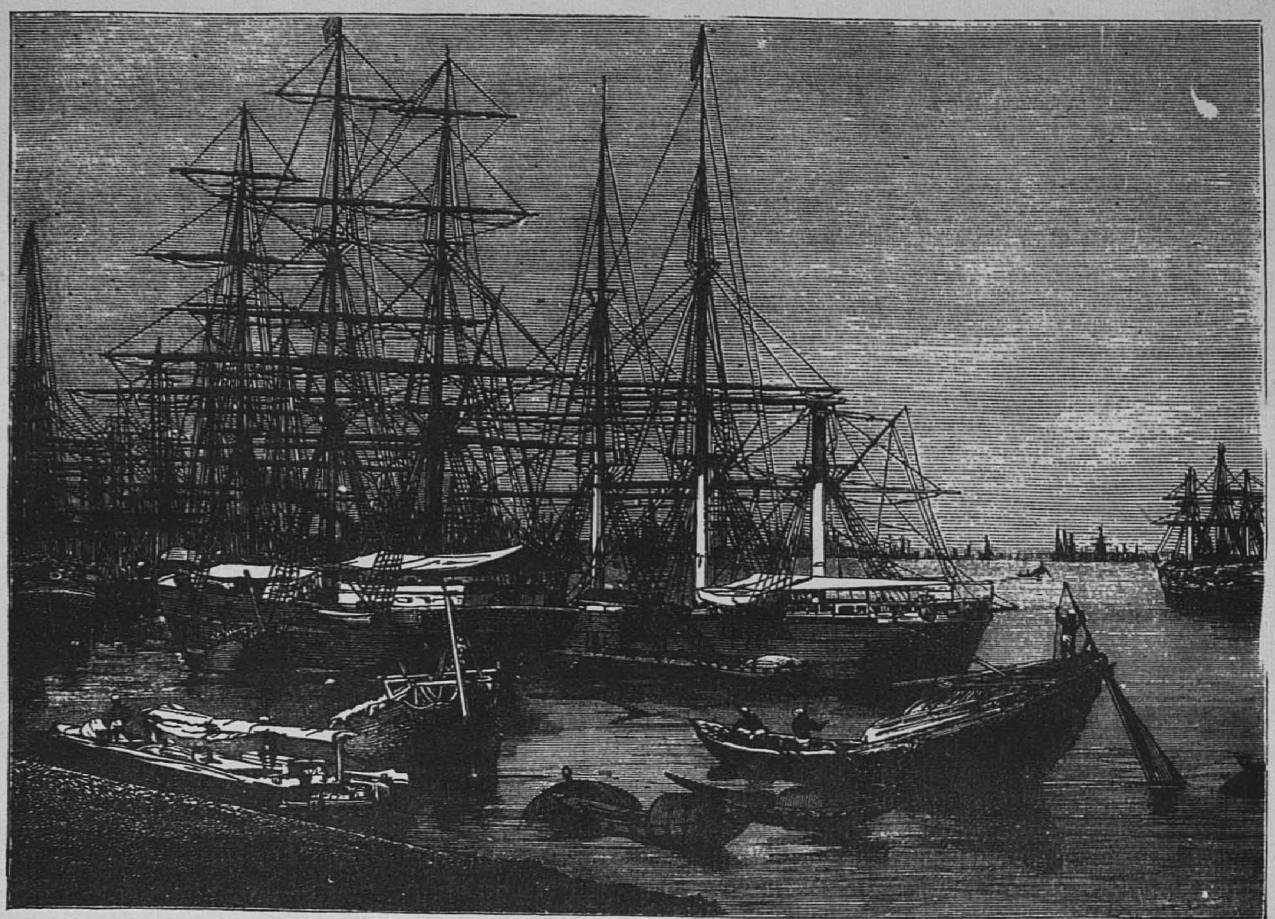
When they opened, the Moultanees, supposing that they had already silenced their enemy's cannon, were taken by surprise, and made but a poor resistance, especially when one of the fresh regiments charged. The whole allied force then advanced steadily, led by Edwardes; and the victory was his, together with all the ammunition, and eight out of ten pieces of cannon. His losses were about 300 killed and wounded; that of the enemy 500 in killed alone; and the fugitives never halted till they reached Moultan. But Moolraj was determined not to let himself be shut up in that place without measuring swords with us again.

Edwardes now importuned the Resident to support him, fighting, as he was doing, single-handed, and almost on his own authority, and preparations were made to dispatch an adequate force; but Lord Gough again interposed, because the season was not favourable and the siege-train had not moved from Cawnpore. Ten days after, the invincible subaltern, on receiving a reinforcement of 4,000 men, under the Sheikh Imaum-ud-Deen—whose fidelity, however, was doubtful—attacked Moolraj at Suddoosain; but although his army now consisted of 11,000 Sikhs, supported by eleven guns, he was defeated, put spurs to his horse, and fled into Moultan, which Lieutenant Edwardes at once proposed to besiege; but, too weak to undertake that service as yet, he encamped in the vicinity to keep a watch on the enemy.

Sir Frederick Currie thought that the addition of a single British brigade, with ten guns and twenty mortars, would be a sufficient force for Edwardes; but Lord Gough still adhered obstinately to his former opinion. Lord Dalhousie concurred with him; so Currie was compelled to take the matter into his own hands, and order General Whish, commanding in the Punjaub, to take measures for the dispatch of a siege-train, with all its requirements and escort, for the reduction of Moultan. This step of Sir Frederick Currie was certainly a bold one; but the peril of relinquishing it after it had been made public, appeared to Lord Dalhousie far more than that of prosecuting it. So, as the die was cast, on the 24th of July, Major-General Whish, a distinguished artillery officer, started for Moultan, with a force of 8,039 men, thirty-two pieces of siege-ordnance, and twelve horse artillery guns. Among these troops were H.M. 10th Regiment, a troop of horse artillery, the 7th Irregular Horse,

* "A Year in the Punjaub."

and the 8th and 52nd Native Infantry. He marched in two columns: the right, with his head-quarters, moving from Lahore along the left bank of the Ravee; and the left, under Brigadier Salter, coming on from Ferozepore by the right bank of the Sutlej. With the latter were H.M. 32nd Foot, a battering-train of thirty guns, a troop of horse artillery, the 11th Cavalry and 11th Irregulars, the 49th, 51st, and 72nd Native Infantry.



VIEW OF THE PORT OF CALCUTTA.

The native force which had assembled before this, consisted of 8,415 cavalry, and 14,327 infantry, with forty-five horse artillery guns, four mortars, and 158 zumboorucks. "Of this column, including that of General Cortlandt, 7,718 infantry and 4,033 cavalry were commanded by Lieutenant Edwardes; 5,700 infantry and 1,900 cavalry formed the Bhawulpore army, commanded by Lieutenant Lake; and 909 infantry and 3,382 cavalry, formed the Sikh army, commanded by Rajah Shere Sing. To this besieging force of nearly 32,000 men Moolraj was not able to oppose more than a garrison of 18,000 men, with an artillery of fifty-four guns and five mortars. This great disparity of numbers was compensated by the strength of the works."

Moultan is built on a mound of considerable height, formed of the accumulated débris of many cities that have occupied the same site, on the left bank of the Chenab. Its bazaars are extensive, and silks, cottons, and brocades were extensively manufactured by its inhabitants, who, previous to the events now to be narrated, numbered about 80,000 souls. Its silks and carpets rivalled those of Persia. The citadel, on which the banner of Moolraj was waving, is an irregular hexagon, constructed on an eminence, and girt by a ditch twenty-five feet deep by forty wide. The city surrounds the hill which this citadel crowns. Prior to the late defeat of Moolraj, an old brick wall was its only defence, but now, by unremitting exertions, he had surrounded it by an enormous rampart of mud, having six gates. The citadel was undoubtedly one of the strongest and most regular of Indian fortresses constructed by native engineers. Beyond its deep wide ditch, which was faced with masonry,

rose a wall, strengthened by thirty great towers. Within, everything had been done for its security, and its magazines were stored for a protracted siege. Around the city are populous suburbs, groves of date-trees, and beautiful gardens.

"The city of Moultan," says Iben Haukal, a traveller of the tenth century, "is about half the size of Mansureh-Bukkur, and is called the Golden House; for there is in it a certain idol, to which the natives of the country come on a religious pilgrimage every year, and bring great riches with them. This temple is situated in the middle of the city, and over the centre of the temple there is a great cupola, or dome. All around this building are the houses in which the servants and attendants of the idol reside. It is made in the form of a man sitting upon a square throne, the hands resting on the knees. All the riches which are brought to this idol are taken by the Amir, who distributes a portion among the servants of the temple."

On the 4th of September, 1848, General Whish issued a proclamation to the people and garrison of the city, demanding an unconditional surrender "within twenty-four hours after the firing of a royal salute at sunrise to-morrow, in honour of her most gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and her ally his Highness Maharajah Dhuleep Sing." In the event of non-compliance, death and destruction was threatened to "the rebel traitor and all his adherents, who, having begun their resistance to lawful authority with a most cowardly act of treachery and murder, seek to uphold their unrighteous cause by an appeal to religion, which every one must know to be sheer hypocrisy."



PORTRAIT OF SIR HERBERT EDWARDES.

The only reply to this was a cannon-shot from the citadel, which buried itself in the earth, close by General Whish and his staff. Moolraj had recently become inspired with new confidence; as, at the time he had shut himself up in Moultan, the disaffection of the Sikhs had become more general, so that the Resident, who had been confident of his speedy destruction, was obliged to confess that plans were maturing and combinations being made with a view to a grand struggle for our total expulsion from the Punjaub. Shere Sing, who was at the head of the finest soldiers of the Sikh army, though ordered to halt at Tolumba, had continued to advance on Moultan. Many suspicious events occurred else-

where. Among them was a formidable revolt led by Chuttur Sing in the Hazareh country in the north-west of the Punjaub, where the people are of Tartar origin, and, like our Highland clans of old, are almost constantly at variance with each other. They are, moreover, an irritable, fierce, and capricious race, good matchlock-men, and excellent archers. Their outbreak derived significant importance from the fact that Chuttur was the father of Shere Sing, who though now encamped with his troops before Moultan, affecting to be part of the besieging force, must have been acquainted with his father's designs, and no doubt sanctioned them.

At daybreak, on the 7th of September, the siege of Moultan was opened. The first parallel was commenced at the singular distance of 1,000 yards, in consequence of the nature of the ground; and on the 9th, an attempt to dislodge the enemy from gardens and houses in front of the trenches failed, owing to the darkness of the night and the confusion it occasioned. This event greatly elated Moolraj, who began to strengthen his post anew, and thus besiegers and besieged continued for two whole days throwing up works within half musket shot of each other. On the 12th, the general determined to scour his front, and caused the irregulars to make an attack on the left, while two columns of British troops advanced to the attack in front. Elated by the trivial affair of the 9th, and confident in the strength of their works, the enemy fought with the most obstinate valour, but were driven headlong in with the loss of 500 killed. The result of this was to bring our approaches within 800 yards of the walls, or quite within battering distance. The speedy capture of Moultan was confidently anticipated, when an unlooked-for event took place.

On the 14th of September Shere Sing threw off all disguise, and, at the head of all his contingent, marched to join the enemy in Moultan, ordering the *dhurum kha dosa*, or religious drum, to be beaten, and proclaiming a sacred war, "under the auspices of the holy *Gooroo*," against "the cruel *Feringhees*," summoned all who had eaten the salt of the Maharajah to come forth and destroy them. The arrival of Shere Sing was a source of high satisfaction to Moolraj, though the latter was far from having confidence in his new allies; thus, instead of admitting them into the citadel, he cautiously kept them under its guns in the city, while he took all the officers to a temple and made them swear that they had no designs of treachery.

Even this oath proved insufficient to allay the suspicions of Moolraj, who was anxious for the withdrawal of Shere. Lieutenant Edwardes had skilfully contrived to ferment the disputes between these chiefs by letters fabricated to deceive them. Each came into possession of a pretended correspondence, fabricated for the purpose of deceiving them both, which the spies of Edwardes placed in their hands, and by which, each seemed to betray the other for the Khalsa cause. Hence Shere Sing, on the 9th of October, marched to join his father, and became the leader in a new Sikh war; before narrating which, we shall tell all that remains to be told of the siege of Moultan.

Prior to this, on his first defection, General Whish had held a council of war, which was unanimously of opinion that the siege was no longer practicable. Our troops were in consequence withdrawn from their advanced positions to new ground, to await the arrival of such reinforcements as Lord Gough might send.

Though the siege was not resumed till the 17th of December, the intervening period was not one of idleness, as materials for the progress of it were prepared. Thus, when the time for action came, 15,000 gabions and 12,000 fascines had been provided. But Moolraj, on the other hand, was equally active in perfecting his defences and looking round for allies. In the selection of these he showed some political knowledge, for he addressed himself first to Dost Mohammed of Cabul, and the Candahar chiefs, to whom he made the tempting offer of having the Indus for their mutual boundary, after they should have expelled or extirpated the abhorred Feringhees!

In December the Bombay division came into camp, under Brigadier the Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville, and Commander-in-chief in Scotland), an officer who had served during the Canada insurrection of 1837; and the plan resolved on now, was not to reduce the city as a preliminary, but to make a regular attack on the north-east angle of the citadel, and occupy only such portions of the suburbs as were required for actual operations. These were the mausoleum of Sawun Mull (the father of Moolraj, named the Wuzeerabad), and his own residence at Am Khus, and not a day was lost in effecting the capture of them. At the same time an attack, which was merely meant to be a feint, became a real one, and brought the assailants close to the walls of the city. On the 30th of December a chance shell from one of our mortars blew up the magazine under the dome of the great mosque—400,000 pounds of powder (the collection of five years)—and caused an extraordinary loss of life—500 men—shaking the earth for miles, and darkening the sky with smoke. By this time the grand musjid

and many of the principal houses were laid in ruins, and the granaries were totally destroyed. General Whish was now at the head of 15,000 British and native troops, with 17,000 of those of Bhawulpore, and 150 pieces of cannon.

By the 2nd of January, 1849, one breach in the city wall was declared practicable, and another sufficient to allow of its being assailed by a column. The latter proved very imperfect, for the stormers who approached it were subjected to a heavy cross-fire, and after passing through a deep intervening hollow, found to their bewilderment the old city wall in their front—about thirty feet high—unbreached and impracticable. They were thus compelled to retire. The other breach was carried with brilliant success, though the Sikhs are said to have fought with "the tenacity of men and the ferocity of wild beasts;" but the town was stormed by two columns, one of the Bombay, and the other of the Bengal army: the first British colours planted on Moultan being by the hands of a brave sergeant-major of the Company's Fusiliers. The city presented a melancholy spectacle after 120 hours' cannonade; every house was roofless; but the citadel, however, held out, and there was every prospect that it would be desperately defended by Moolraj, who had retired into it, at the head of 3,000 picked men; for as soon as he saw the city was lost, he closed the gates of the former, and left the rest of his troops to shift for themselves. By the 4th of January, a brigade of the Bombay division encamped on the north, communicating with a Bengal brigade on the east; the irregulars were on the west, and thus the investment was complete. Even the desperate courage of Moolraj now began to give way, and he made overtures to Herbert Edwardes—now deservedly major—in the hope of obtaining terms. He was referred to General Whish, who refused to receive any messenger but one who would announce when Moolraj would yield himself a prisoner.

The latter had not made up his mind to this humiliation, but continued his defence, and, on the night of the 12th, made a furious sortie on our trenches. By this time regular parallels of approach had been made, mines sunk, and the walls were incessantly battered by iron showers of shot and shell, direct and vertical. On the 14th our sappers crowned the crest of the glacis at the north-east angle of the citadel, with a cavalier only fifteen feet from the edge of the ditch; on the 18th the counterscarp was blown into the latter. By the 21st two practicable breaches were made, and the troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for a general assault.

But when the day of the intended storm dawned, Moolraj came forth, mounted on a beautiful Arab charger, magnificently caparisoned, and, while his chiefs and soldiers prostrated themselves in passionate devotion as he did so, he gave up his sword, which was returned to him. He was at once placed under guard, and the citadel was taken possession of. As his partisans in the country were numerous, it was deemed unsafe to leave him near the city; thus, when our army marched along the bank of the Chenab, to wheel off to the camp of the Governor-General by the road leading to Lahore, he was conveyed with it.

During the siege, which had lasted twenty-seven days, our losses were 210 killed, and 910 wounded. Moolraj was afterwards tried at Lahore, and sentenced to be hanged; but the court recommended him to mercy, so the award was commuted to banishment beyond the seas.*

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SECOND SIKH WAR.—THE BATTLES OF RAMNUGGUR, SADOOLAPORE, AND CHILLIANWALLA.

WHILE these events had been in progress, others transpired at Lahore and elsewhere which revealed the volcano that had been under our feet. It was discovered that the Maharanee, a woman of great ambition and indefatigable intrigue, had been busily plotting against the British Government at Candahar, Cabul, Cashmere, and Rajpootana, and the whole Lahore cabinet, save two, were confederated with our foe. By a skilful manœuvre our Resident had secured her person, and transferred her to the Resident at Benares, whom Marshman styles "the warder of the disinherited princes and princesses of India."

The insurrection of Chuttur Sing, in Hazareh,

* Despatches; *Ann. Reg.*, 1848-9; Burt's "Annals of India," 1848, Bombay, &c.

where, as he said, he "devoted his head and his arms to God and the Khalsa," threatened to become more formidable in consequence of his alliance with Dost Mohammed, to whom he offered Peshawur as the price of a joint crusade against the Feringhees. The proposal was too tempting to be resisted, and he agreed to join with his contingent; though Peshawur, which Chuttur had thus sold to the Afghans, was under the political charge of Major (afterwards Sir) George Lawrence, and was garrisoned by 8,000 Sikh troops, upon whose fidelity little dependence could be placed, as the atmosphere of the whole Punjaub was pervaded by the spirit of revolt. On the 24th of October these troops mutinied, and Major Lawrence, after seeking in vain to recall them to a sense of duty, thought only of consulting his own safety, and escaping with his assistant, Lieutenant Bowie, to Kohat, thirty-six miles from Peshawur. It belonged to the brother of the Dost, the Sultan Mohammed Khan, whose conduct during the Afghan war had proved him to be a compound of the most complete villany and heartlessness; but there was no choice left to the major, who now learned that Mrs. Lawrence, whom he had sent towards Lahore at the beginning of the revolt, had been carried off to Kohat; so he had no alternative but to join her, and place himself and his assistant in the power of Sultan Mohammed, who, after promising by the most solemn oath to treat them as honoured guests, sold them as prisoners to Chuttur Sing, as part payment of the promised grant of Peshawur.

The latter's revolt, and the defection of Shere Sing before Moultan, made it seem beyond all doubt that the entire Sikh nation was preparing for another trial of strength with us, while the veterans of Runjeet Sing, now scattered throughout the country, were burning with impatience once more to take the field for their beloved Khalsa. Hence, Lord Dalhousie set out for the North-west Provinces, after instructing Lord Gough to assemble an army at Ferozepore. On the 10th of October, Lord Dalhousie, before proceeding to the scene of operations, had a farewell entertainment given him at Barrackpore, and said, in the course of his speech, "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!"

Lord Gough marched towards the Chenab on the 22nd of November. His army consisted of four British and eleven native battalions of infantry; three noble regiments of British cavalry, and ten of native and irregular horse; thus, he was manifestly weak in infantry. Shere Sing had taken up a position near Ramnuggur, a town on the left bank of the Chenab, stretching to a mile and a half from that river. An island is situated in the middle of the latter, at a bend in it, opposite Ramnuggur. This Shere Sing occupied by a brigade, and, with batteries erected there, he commanded a ford. Besides the forces here and on the right bank of the stream, the Sikhs were in strength on the left bank, from which Lord Gough thought they should first be dislodged.

The strength of the enemy's main position was very great; but to dislodge or capture both the troops and guns on the left bank, Lord Gough directed Brigadier Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde), with a brigade of infantry, a column of cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery, under Brigadier Cureton, to advance for this purpose in the dark, on the morning of the 22nd. Pushing on to Ramnuggur, from which the enemy retired, they continued their march towards the Chenab. From some unaccountable oversight, or the difficulty of obtaining accurate information, our artillery, inspired more by courage than prudence, pushed on through deep sand to open fire upon the enemy, but found themselves opposed to a cannonade from twenty-eight heavy pieces of ordnance, placed in three batteries on a bend of a river, thus completely raking them by a cross and front fire point blank; they were now compelled to retire, leaving one gun and two tumbrils behind them. Supported by the 5th Corps of Native Cavalry, H.M. 14th Light Dragoons were ordered to charge. The latter were led by Lieutenant-Colonel William Havelock, K.H., elder brother of Sir Henry, a veteran of the campaigns in the Peninsula and Flanders. Most impetuous was the charge; "and so energetically did Havelock and his troopers ply their swords, that the bank was swept in a few minutes of all its swarthy occupants, who, running hastily across the sand, threw away their standards in their flight. Not contented with having driven the enemy from this position, Havelock, animated by that fiery spirit which glowed within him, instantly resolved to exceed the limits of his mission, and renew the offensive, contrary to the real wishes of the Commander-in-chief, by continuing the charge on the discomfited enemy, and driving them back across the river."

The Khalsa infantry, however, gathered fresh courage, re-formed, and opened a terrible fire of matchlocks, while the horses of our cavalry became exhausted by the deep sandy soil. In their last laborious and third charge, just as Cureton arrived with Lord Gough's order to retire, Havelock fell, pierced by two matchlock-balls.

In the last charge, according to General Thackwell, he suddenly disappeared; "and the latest glimpse of that daring soldier disclosed him in the midst of the savage enemy, his left arm half severed from his body, and dealing frantic blows with his sword, so soon doomed to drop from his hand. His last words were—'Follow me!' Some days after the action a mutilated corpse was discovered, which the chaplain of the army, Mr. Whiting, recognised to be that of the gallant but ill-fated sabreur. Such a death was worthy of William Havelock."

Captain Fitzgerald was also mortally wounded. Shere Sing held his position on the right bank of the Chenab, at the head of 35,000 men; and as the unfortunate result of the recent combat showed how difficult it would be to dislodge by a front attack, it was resolved to take him in flank.

Sir Joseph Thackwell was therefore dispatched with 8,000 men of all arms, on the 1st of December, to Wuzeerabad, thirty miles higher up the Chenab, which he crossed next day, and marched down thirteen miles, towards the encampment of Shere Sing, who, on hearing of the movement, at once abandoned Ramnuggur, and left Lord Gough to expend his shot and shell on the empty intrenchment.

Sir Joseph Thackwell, K.C.B., Lieutenant-Colonel of H.M. 3rd Light Dragoons (with the local rank of Brigadier), who lost his left arm at Waterloo, was not allowed to proceed, as he was encountered at Sadoolapore, a small town near the river Tistna, by a large force, which Shere Sing had dispatched with the hope of overwhelming him; and there ensued a conflict which was rather a series of demonstrations and an artillery duel than a battle, though it was called one. Thackwell was now menaced on his own flank by guns and cavalry at a time when his orders fettered him. Nothing had been left to his discretion, though he was quite as competent as Lord Gough to handle troops in the face of an enemy. His orders allowed him little more than to reply to the enemy's cannonade; yet he made such dispositions as deceived them, both as to the amount of his troops and his intentions; so the Sikh force fell back upon its main body. Thackwell reported the enemy's loss to be severe, but ours small—only seventy-three men and forty-eight horses killed and wounded. It was midnight when the Sikhs gave way, and the barking of dogs in their rear announced their retreat.

Shere Sing, with his artillery perfect, and his troops unbroken in spirit, continued to retire, till he took up a position of remarkable strength on the Jhelum, with his rear resting on that stream, his main body posted in ravines, strengthened by field-works, and his front covered by a broad and dense jungle. His strength had now increased to 40,000 men, with sixty-two guns.

For six weeks our troops remained inactive between the Jhelum and the Chenab. It was deemed proper to continue this attitude till the fall of Moultan permitted a juncture with the army which had been serving there; after which the war was brought to a glorious termination, but not before more strife ensued. On the 12th of January, 1849, our troops arrived at Dingee, and found Shere Sing posted in its vicinity, with his right flank resting on the villages of Lukneewalla and Futteh Shakechuck, the main body at the village of Lollianwalla, and his left at Russool, on the Jhelum. All these were on the southern extremity of a low range of hills.

On the 13th, our engineer department, while examining the front of the position, and the quartermaster-general, when marking out a camp, were both fired on by the enemy's horse artillery. "I immediately ordered them to be silenced," says Lord Gough, "by a few rounds from our heavy guns, which advanced to an open space in front of the village. The fire was instantly returned by that of nearly the whole of the enemy's field artillery, thus exposing the position of his guns, which the jungle had hitherto concealed. It was now evident that the enemy intended to fight, and would probably advance his guns, so as to reach the encampment during the night. I therefore drew up in order of battle; Sir William Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by Brigadier Pope's brigade of cavalry, which I strengthened by the 14th Light Dragoons, well aware that the enemy was strong in cavalry upon his left. To this were attached three troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Grant. The heavy guns were in the centre. Brigadier-General Campbell's division formed the left, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brind. The field batteries were with the infantry divisions."*

From the tenor of his own words, there can be little doubt that Lord Gough intended to delay giving battle till he had made a careful reconnaissance, when the shots from the advanced guns of the Sikhs roused that spirit of defiance and antagonism which were so natural to him, overcame his sober judgment, and made him issue orders for the uncasing of the colours, and immediate action.

* Despatches.

The continuous peal of fire from the thick jungle in front was so incessant and uniform that nothing was offered as a mark for our artillery amid the dark greenery but the red flash and whirling smoke of the enemy's guns. This lasted for an hour and a half; and it was three in the afternoon, with only an hour or two of daylight left, when Brigadiers Campbell and Pennycuick were ordered to begin the deadly game, and the beginning ended in a fatal repulse at first.

The two leading officers of the right brigade of the left division brandished their swords overhead, as they rose in their stirrups, to cheer on their men. Somehow, this act was mistaken for a signal to advance at a double-march. The consequence was that H.M. 24th Foot, chiefly composed of very young soldiers, outstripped the native corps, who could not keep pace with them, and on arriving at a belt of jungle were completely blown and got into confusion; or, says Marshman, with such ardour that Shere Sing, to whom they were opposed, was on the point of retiring, when he perceived them rushing breathless, and panting, as he described it, like dogs in a chase, upon his guns, between which Lieutenant-Colonel Brookes, who led the 24th, was killed.

"At this moment," says Lord Gough, "a large body of infantry, which supported these guns, opened upon them so destructive a fire that the brigade was forced to retire, having lost their gallant and lamented leader, Brigadier Pennycuick, and the three other field officers of the 24th, and nearly half the regiment before it gave way; the native regiment, when it came up, also suffering severely."*

The colours of the 2nd Warwickshire fell into the hands of the enemy, but not before 23 officers and 459 non-commissioned officers and soldiers had been killed and wounded.

Colin Campbell, who with his brigade had been victorious in front, now came to the rescue, and the Sikhs were borne tumultuously back, and the victory snatched from them. The division of General Gilbert succeeded by the most brilliant gallantry in putting the Sikhs in their front to flight; but pursuit into a jungly forest, where no man could see twenty yards before him, was impossible, and every leafy vista was rendered more obscure by the smoke of the battle. While halting to collect their wounded, a body of Sikhs, who had turned Gilbert's left flank unperceived, suddenly opened a terrific fire, and he was only rescued from destruction by the field battery of Major Dawes. The struggle at that moment was dreadful, and an eye-witness said, "it seemed as if the very air teemed with balls and bullets."

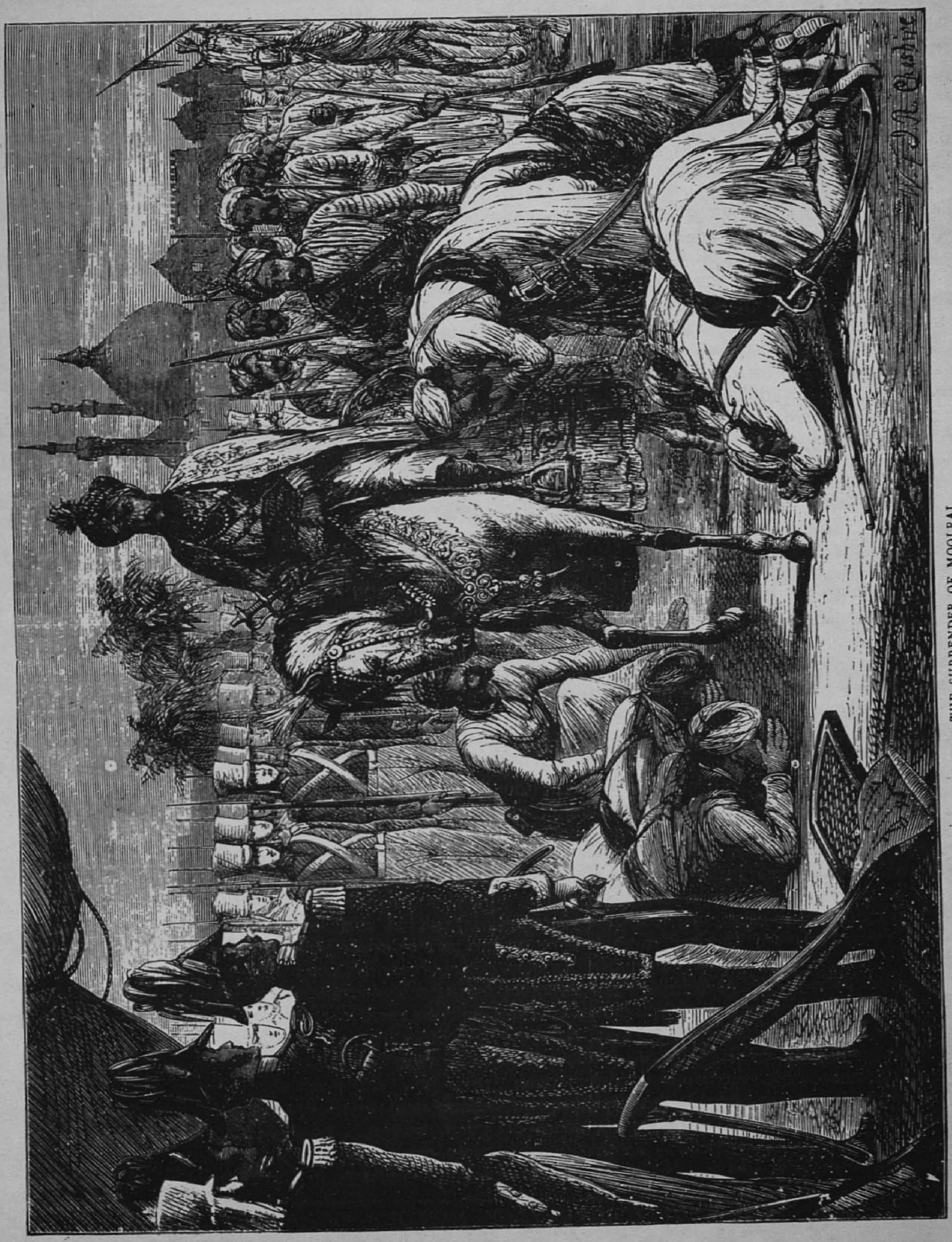
Most disastrous and humiliating were the adventures of our cavalry in the field. Lord Gough had thrown forward four regiments of cavalry in the first line, and these found themselves, when, as cavalry, they were practically useless, opposed to an unapproachable fire of artillery and the entanglements of an almost impenetrable forest, while the troops of artillery attached to them, being in their rear, could not open a gun. Moreover, this helpless brigade was led by a superannuated general, who was unable to mount his horse without assistance, was irritable, and wedded to notions of cavalry manœuvres old as the days of the Duke of Marlborough.

Of all this, Lord Gough quietly says: "The right brigade of cavalry, under Brigadier Pope, was not, I regret to say, so successful. Either by some order, or misapprehension of an order, they got into much confusion, hampered the fine brigade of horse artillery (Colonel Grant's) which, while getting into action against a body of the enemy's cavalry that was coming down on them, had their horses separated from their guns by the false movements of our cavalry, and notwithstanding the heroic conduct of the gunners, four of their guns were disabled to an extent which rendered their withdrawal at the moment impossible. As soon as the artillery was extricated and the cavalry reformed, a few rounds put to flight the enemy that had occasioned this confusion." The actual details of all this were as follow:—

When our line of cavalry advanced, it was broken up by clumps of trees and jungle bushes into small sections that were forced to cover each other in succession to the rear; and while in this useless order, a body of Sikh horsemen, maddened with intoxicating drugs, rushed on their centre in one wild galloping mass, inspiring utter terror among the native cavalry; and at this crisis, it is said, that one of our 14th Light Dragoons cried "Threes about!" on which the whole regiment wheeled in obedience and made rearward in confusion, and, while the exulting Sikh horse pressed on, galloped in helpless panic through the cannon and wagons posted in their rear. Entering the line of artillery with our own dragoons, the Sikhs captured four guns, and then night put an end to this indecisive conflict.

Our troops were half dead with fatigue, and suffering dreadfully from want of water, which could not be procured nearer than Chillianwalla, two miles distant, to which Lord Gough was thus compelled to withdraw the army, and thus virtually

* Despatches.



THE SURRENDER OF MOOLRAJ.

abandon the field of battle. During the night the Sikhs and bands of armed peasantry traversed the forest which had been chiefly the arena of the conflict, mutilating the slain, cruelly murdering the wounded, and rifling both; while all the guns which had been secured during the engagement were carried off, with the exception of twelve, which had been brought into camp. Our losses were severe; 26 European officers and 731 soldiers killed; 66 officers and 1,446 men wounded; but the carnage, though greater on the side of the Sikhs, did not break the spirit of these hard-fighting warriors, who retired to another position four miles from the field, which they name, not the battle of Chillianwalla, but of Russool.

To us, it was the nearest approach to a defeat which we had met with in India. Four British guns were captured, the colours of three regiments were lost, the reputation of the British tarnished, and the Sikhs proportionately elated. The Governor-General officially announced it as a victory, and fired salutes in honour of it; so did Shere Sing. "By the community in India it was considered a great and lamentable calamity. The intelligence of the combat was received in Britain with a feeling of indignation and alarm. British standards had been lost; British cannon had been captured; British cavalry had fled before the enemy, and a British regiment had been annihilated. These disasters were traced, and justly, to the wretched tactics of Lord Gough, and he was recalled with the full approval of the Duke of Wellington."* Prior to this, however, he had the good fortune to win a battle at Goojerat; but there was one unhappy episode connected with Chillianwalla, which made a deep impression soon after.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Wallace King (formerly of the 5th Dragoon Guards) who succeeded to the command of the 14th Light Dragoons, when William Havelock fell at Ramnuggur, was much censured. His defence was that he did his utmost, but in vain, to rally his men, who were of under stature, mounted on light horses, and opposed to cavalry who were more numerous, physically more powerful men, splendidly mounted, all cuirassiers and armed with long and superior swords, while those of the 14th were of the wretched material usually supplied to our troops, and which bent or broke when they met those of the enemy.

When Sir Charles Napier arrived to command the forces in India, he inspected the 14th, and addressed them with reference to the allegations against them, and telling them that "they were fine, stalwart, broad-chested fellows, that would follow anywhere that they were led." Colonel King took these remarks so much to heart that, retiring from the parade of inspection, he shot himself. Sir William Napier, in the London newspapers, denied that his brother meant to reflect on the conduct of Colonel King. But the whole British army condemned the remarks of Sir Charles, who in his place of power cast a censure on an unfortunate officer, whose sensitive honour preferred death to the endurance of it; hence his fate excited the deepest commiseration at home as well as in India.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DEFEAT OF THE SIKHS AT GOOJERAT.—GILBERT'S PURSUIT.—ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAUB.—SIR CHARLES NAPIER AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

THE best proof that Chillianwalla was indecisive is the fact that the enemy, instead of being compelled to cross the Jhelum, kept possession of his post, and Lord Gough deemed it imprudent to attempt to force him. Pressed by want of provisions, the Sikhs ultimately quitted their intrenchments, and made a retrograde movement towards the Chenab, by the Goojerat route. Their intention is supposed to have been to ravage the country, and then retire upon Lahore; but General Whish, coming on from Moultan, was able to baffle this intention by guarding the fords above and below Wuzeerabad, and, at the same time, by means of a bridge of boats to effect a junction with Lord Gough, whose army thus amounted to 25,000 men, while that of the enemy was now estimated at 60,000 men, of whom 1,500 were Afghan horse, under Akram Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, who had obtained possession of Peshawur, and openly become an ally of the Sikhs. Our troops, though inferior in numbers, were superior in discipline, as they were

* Marshman.

in artillery, for we had 100 pieces of cannon, while the enemy had but 59.

The troops under the command of Lord Gough were:—*Cavalry*—H.M. 3rd, 9th, and 14th Light Dragoons; the Bengal 1st, 5th, 6th, and 8th Cavalry; 3rd and 9th Irregular Cavalry, with detachments of the 11th and 14th Irregular Cavalry, and Scinde Horse. *Artillery*—Nine troops of horse, and four light field-batteries. *Infantry*—H.M. 10th, 29th, and 32nd Foot; 2nd Bengal European Regiment, and 16th battalion of Bengal Infantry. In addition to this, there was a strong brigade under Major-General the Hon. H. Dundas, including 1st Bombay European Fusiliers, and several native regiments.

After the last conflict, the two armies lay encamped within a few miles of each other for twenty-five days; the Sikhs near Russool, and the British near Chillianwalla. Evading Lord Gough, on the 6th of February, 1849, Shere Sing marched unperceived round the British camp, and established his head-quarters at Goojerat; and the last brigade of Whish's army having come in on the 20th, Lord Gough moved towards the enemy, then holding the town above-named, which stands in the province of Lahore. General Cheape, of the Bengal Engineers, who had directed the siege of Moultan, with equal professional skill and success, joined the army a week before the conflict that ensued, and, with unwearied industry, applied himself to the task of obtaining the most trustworthy information as to the enemy's position, neglect of which had produced such lamentable effects elsewhere.

On the 21st of February it was seen that the enemy's camp nearly encircled the town of Goojerat, lying between it and the deep dry bed of the Dwarra, which, bending here, encompassed two sides of the whole place, and then diverging to a considerable distance, intersected the British camp. This nullah greatly strengthened the position of Shere Sing, as he placed his guns immediately in rear of it, with his infantry in front, under cover of the bank. His left flank was covered by a deep but narrow stream, which runs eastward of the town, and turns south to fall into the Chenab. The interval between the two watercourses was an open plateau of nearly three miles, and, as it presented no obstacle to military manœuvres, it was selected by Lord Gough as the point of his chief attack.

The army, invigorated by rest and food, was in full motion by half-past seven. The morning was clear and cloudless, and the brilliant sun shone on the long lines of fixed bayonets and drawn swords. "On the extreme left," says his lordship, "I placed the Bombay column, commanded by the Hon. H. Dundas, supported by White's brigade of cavalry and the Scinde horse, under Sir Joseph Thackwell, to protect the left, and prevent large bodies of Sikh and Afghan cavalry from turning that flank. With this cavalry I placed Captains Duncan's and Hush's troops of horse artillery, whilst the infantry was covered by the Bombay Horse Artillery, under Major Blood. On the right of the Bombay column, and with its right resting on a nullah, I placed Brigadier Campbell's division of infantry, covered by No. 5 and No. 10 light field batteries, under Major Ludlow and Lieutenant Robertson, having Brigadier Hoggan's brigade of infantry in reserve. Upon the right of the nullah, I placed the infantry division of Major-General Sir W. Gilbert; the heavy guns, eighteen in number, under Majors Day and Horsford, with Captain Shakespeare and Brevet-Major Sir Richmond Shakespeare, commanding batteries, being disposed in two divisions on the flanks of his left brigade. This line was prolonged by Major-General Whish's division of infantry, with one brigade of infantry under Brigadier Markham, as support in a second line; and the whole covered by three troops of artillery—Major Fordyce's, Captains Mackenzie and Anderson's, and No. 17 light field-artillery, under Captain Dawes, with Lieutenant-Colonel Lane's and Captain Kinleside's troops of horse artillery in a second line in reserve, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brind. My right flank was protected by Brigadiers Hearsey's and Lockwood's brigades of cavalry, with Captain Warner's troop of horse artillery. The 5th and 6th Light Cavalry, with the Bombay light field-battery, and the 49th and 69th Regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, most effectually protected my rear and baggage."*

To be brief, the army advanced in two parallel lines, with cavalry on the flanks, and eighty-four pieces of cannon in front. Lord Gough began the action by employing his superior force of artillery, and certainly used it with success, causing great havoc in the ranks of the enemy, while dashing to pieces the gun-carriages and tumbrils along their line. Our oldest officers had never witnessed a cannonade like this for magnificence and effect. He was resolved on this occasion, by no precipitancy, as elsewhere, to give advantage to the foe; but to meet him on the strictest principles of military science, so that no more unfavourable critiques and comparisons might be made of his generalship at home. Meanwhile, Shere Sing was

* Despatches.

endeavouring to make the most of that arm in which he excelled—his cavalry—and strove to outflank Lord Gough. Vast bodies of Sikh cavalry were thrown out on either wing, and all the skill, energy, and valour of ours were required to the utmost, to prevent the design proving successful. But the mind of Shere Sing was disturbed and anxious; hence on this momentous day he failed to display his usual skill as a leader. He omitted to conceal the exact position of his batteries, as he had done at Chillianwalla; but by opening fire at too long a range, when our lines had temporarily halted, betrayed their arrangement ere that fire could be effectual.

This fault was soon without remedy. His guns were ere long nearly silenced by those of Lord Gough, who out-manœuvred his cavalry on the flanks, and attacked with his infantry by hurling the whole strength of his right against the left centre and right of the enemy's left. The chief difficulty proved the passage of a deep, dry nullah, in doing which our troops were under a fire from the enemy's guns, while their own had to cease cannonading. Many brave fellows perished here; but success attended the movement, despite the hissing showers of grape and canister, and the rolling fire of musketry poured from lines in rear of the guns. Shere Sing now began to see that after his flank movements had failed, if our infantry passed the nullah, his artillery and the fortune of the day would be lost together. On the other bank of the nullah being ascended, the British cheer rang out as the keen bayonets were brought down to the charge, and dashing forward, our troops penetrated the line, separating the left and centre; and this movement, though it did not end the struggle, virtually decided the fate of the battle.

Scarcely had our right achieved the purpose for which it had advanced, than our left also cleared the nullah, and, turning the enemy's right wing, hurled, simultaneously, the flanks in confusion on the centre. Even then, the huddled and clamorous masses of the gallant Sikhs did not despair of victory. Their cavalry, in glittering squadrons, charged the flanks of our now victorious infantry; but were mowed down like grass by the close rounds of grape and canister from the guns of our horse artillery, and then their shrinking squadrons were furiously charged in turn by our cavalry. Left free thus to follow their own course, the British infantry of both wings wheeled round the village of Goojerat, pouring incessant and independant file-firing, into the shapeless masses of the Sikh infantry, inflicting the most dreadful slaughter among them. The battle was won! Colin Campbell and Henry Dundas with their infantry, and Gilbert with his infantry and artillery, with relentless vengeance pursued, and pushing on, repaid the enemy for the slaughter at the nullah of Ramnuggur and on the slopes of Russool.

The enemy was utterly and hopelessly broken now; and our cavalry were let loose. Onward they rushed with loosened reins and uplifted swords, riding over and trampling down the flying and scattered infantry of the Sikhs, then "a shapeless mass of fugitives;" and it was not till half-past four, after they had advanced fifteen miles beyond Goojerat, that the cavalry drew bridle, when the trumpets sounded to halt and retire. Over all that distance of fifteen miles, the track was strewn with killed and wounded, and "their arms and military equipments, which they threw away to conceal that they were soldiers." *

As an army, the force of Shere Sing was annihilated. His whole camp, many standards, and fifty-three pieces of cannon, being, save six, all he had in the field, were ours; and what made this signal success more pleasing was, that our losses were only ninety-two killed and 682 wounded. The battle of Goojerat was undoubtedly one of the noblest achievements of our army in India; and as it was gained chiefly by a judicious use of that arm which had a preponderating power, it was, not inaptly, named by our soldiers "The Battle of the Guns." So, well might Lord Dalhousie write thus to the Secret Committee:—"Under Divine Providence, the British arms have signally triumphed. On the 21st of February an action was fought, which must ever be regarded as one of the most memorable in the annals of British warfare in India; memorable alike from the greatness of the occasion, and from the brilliant and decisive issue of the encounter. For the first time Sikh and Afghan were banded together against the British power. It was an occasion which demanded the putting forth of all the means at our disposal, and so conspicuous a manifestation of the superiority of our arms as should appal each enemy, and dissolve at once their compact by fatal proof of its futility."

On the 22nd, Sir William Gilbert, at the head of 15,000 men, with forty guns, continued the pursuit of the fugitives in the direction of the Jhelum, but on reaching Noorungabad, he found that Shere Sing had already crossed, and with only 8,000 men, the relics of his once splendid army, was encamped on the right bank. Some state his force at 16,000. Major George Lawrence, who, as we have elsewhere narrated, had been taken prisoner, was now

* Despatches.

sent by Shere Sing to make terms with us, and to own his submission without that of other chiefs in arms. Meanwhile, the veteran Gilbert, having crossed the Jhelum, turned all his attention to the Afghans, now in full flight towards the Indus. He nearly overtook them at Attock, which they had just quitted, before they had time to destroy the bridge of boats. He was therefore able to take over his troops and enter Afghanistan; but as there was no hope of reaching the fast-flying Afghans before they entered the Khyber Pass, of fatal memory, he prudently halted and retraced his steps, while of the fugitives, it was sarcastically said by the natives, that "those who rode down the hills like lions, now ran back into them like dogs."

On the 12th of March, Shere Sing and Chuttur Sing gave up their swords to the general, at the celebrated monument of Manikgla, once deemed a trophy of Alexander the Great; thirty-five subordinate chiefs, and the gallant Khalsa soldiers, advanced one by one, and after clasping and kissing their weapons, cast them on the growing pile, all with heavy sighs, and many with unconcealed tears. A gratuity of a rupee was given to each; and then those brave men, who had fought so nobly and so well for their country, set out for their homes, resigned to a feeling of proud submission to a power that had proved stronger than themselves.

During the war, the Sikhs lost 160 pieces of cannon, and 20,000 stand of infantry arms. Our guns taken at Chillianwalla were all restored.

After double aggression, and the indefeasible right of double conquest, the Punjaub was completely at the disposal of the British Government, and Lord Dalhousie annexed it to the dominions of the Company, in a proclamation which stated that, "as the only sure mode of protecting the Government of India from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, he was compelled to resolve on the entire subjugation of a people whom their own Government had long been unable to control, and whom no punishment would deter from violence, and no acts of friendship could conciliate to peace." The Governor-General lost no time in acquainting the Lahore Council of Regency that the Sikh dominion was at an end. Aware that resistance was futile, the members of it contented themselves with endeavouring to obtain favourable terms, and all who had taken no part in the war against us, and were assured that they would be liberally dealt with, consented to a treaty, which, though made in the name of the Maharajah, and signed by him, could scarcely be deemed his, as he was only in his eleventh year. By it he renounced for ever all right to the sovereignty of the Punjaub, surrendered to the Queen of Great Britain the famous gem called the Koh-i-noor, or "Mountain of Light," which had been taken from Shah Sujah-ul-Moolk by Runjeet Sing, and agreed to reside wherever the Governor-General might select, stipulating only, that he should retain the title of "Maharajah Dhuleep Sing Bahadour," with a pension of not less than four lacs of rupees. And we may here add, as an interesting fact, that the young prince subsequently embraced Christianity.*

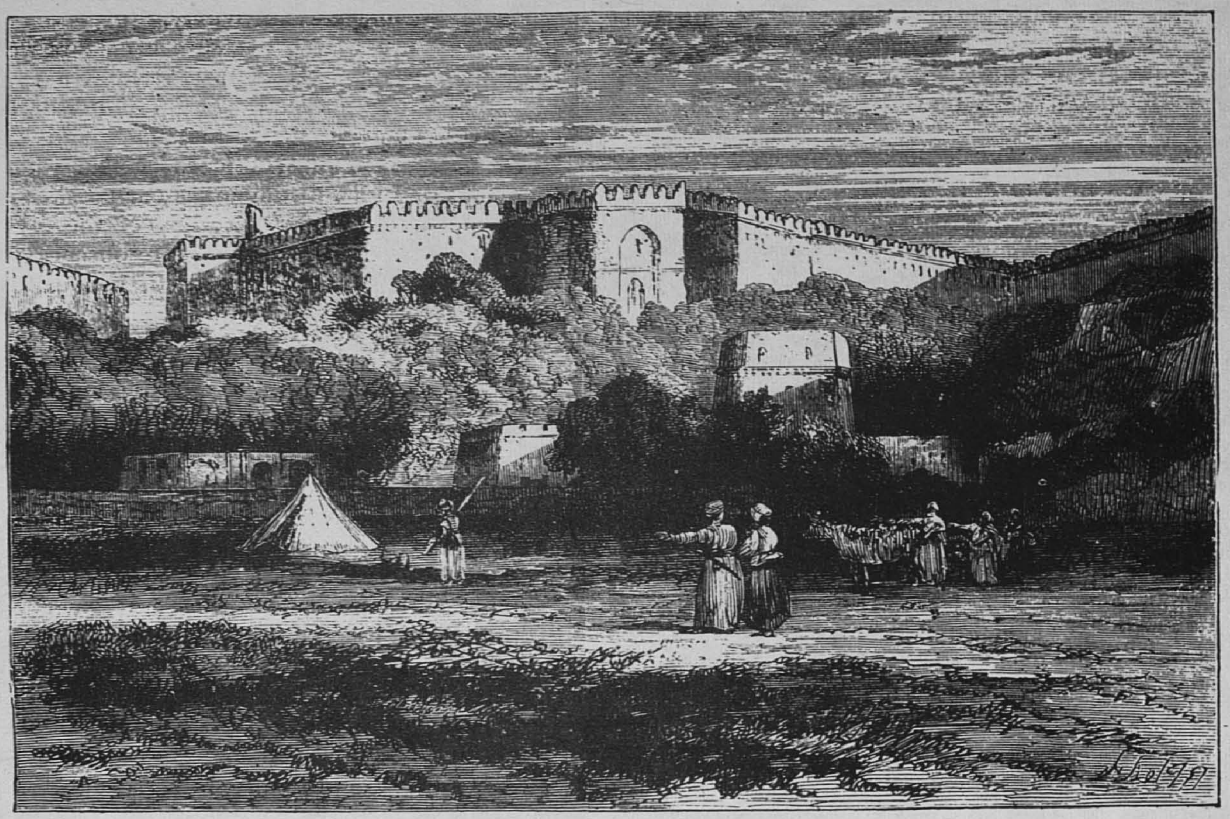
On the 29th of March the British colours were hoisted on the ramparts of Lahore, and a royal salute announced the fulfilment of old Runjeet Sing's prediction, that "the Punjaub would one day become red," in allusion to the colour which, on the maps of India, distinguishes our possessions there. The jaghires of the leaders of the revolt were confiscated, and they retired into obscurity on small stipends. Moolraj was tried, but evaded the fulfilment of his sentence by dying in prison. Lord Dalhousie was created a marquis, and the reproach of Chillianwalla was forgotten amid the glory of Goojerat.

In the Punjaub a noble field was open for the construction of an administration free from the errors that had been committed elsewhere, when our rule was in its infancy. A board was constituted, with ample powers, at the head of which was placed a fitting representative of Munro, Ochterlony, and Malcolm—Sir Henry Lawrence, and with him was associated his brother John, who subsequently was Governor-General, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Montgomery; and it has been said that a more efficient board it would have been difficult to construct even in India. The administration was formed on a new system, and intrusted to fifty-six gentlemen, half of whom were military officers, the other half civilians, "the flower of the service, men of mature experience, or of noble aspirations for distinction." The system of government was, by its simplicity, well suited to the requirements of our new acquisition. For the voluminous regulations, which lay like an incubus on the older provinces, a clear and concise manual, adapted to the habits of the people, who courted justice and dreaded law, was compiled by Robert Montgomery, and comprised in a few sheets of foolscap.†

* He resides now (1877) in Britain, and is a frequent visitor at Court. He is a pious Christian and fond of retirement, though on public occasions he wears a gorgeous Oriental costume. He has a shooting lodge in Scotland, and when there, often appears in a dress which would have astonished the old Lion of Lahore—the garb of old Gaul.

† Marshman.

Our north-western Indian frontier was, by the annexation of the Punjaub, removed to the mountain-chains beyond the Indus, inhabited by roving clans, whose vocation from the days, perhaps, of Alexander the Great, had been the levy of black mail among the lowlanders. To protect the latter from their fierce inroads, a line of forts was built, connected with each other by a series of roads. For duty on this frontier nine special exterminated. The reduction of the land-tax, and the mode in which leases were granted, sometimes for thirty years, gave such an encouragement to agriculture, that more than 30,000 soldiers of the Khalsa turned their swords into ploughshares. The vexatious duties on the transit of goods from district to district and town to town, were swept away as useless barriers to free-trade; the loss was replaced "by the scientific selection of new taxes,

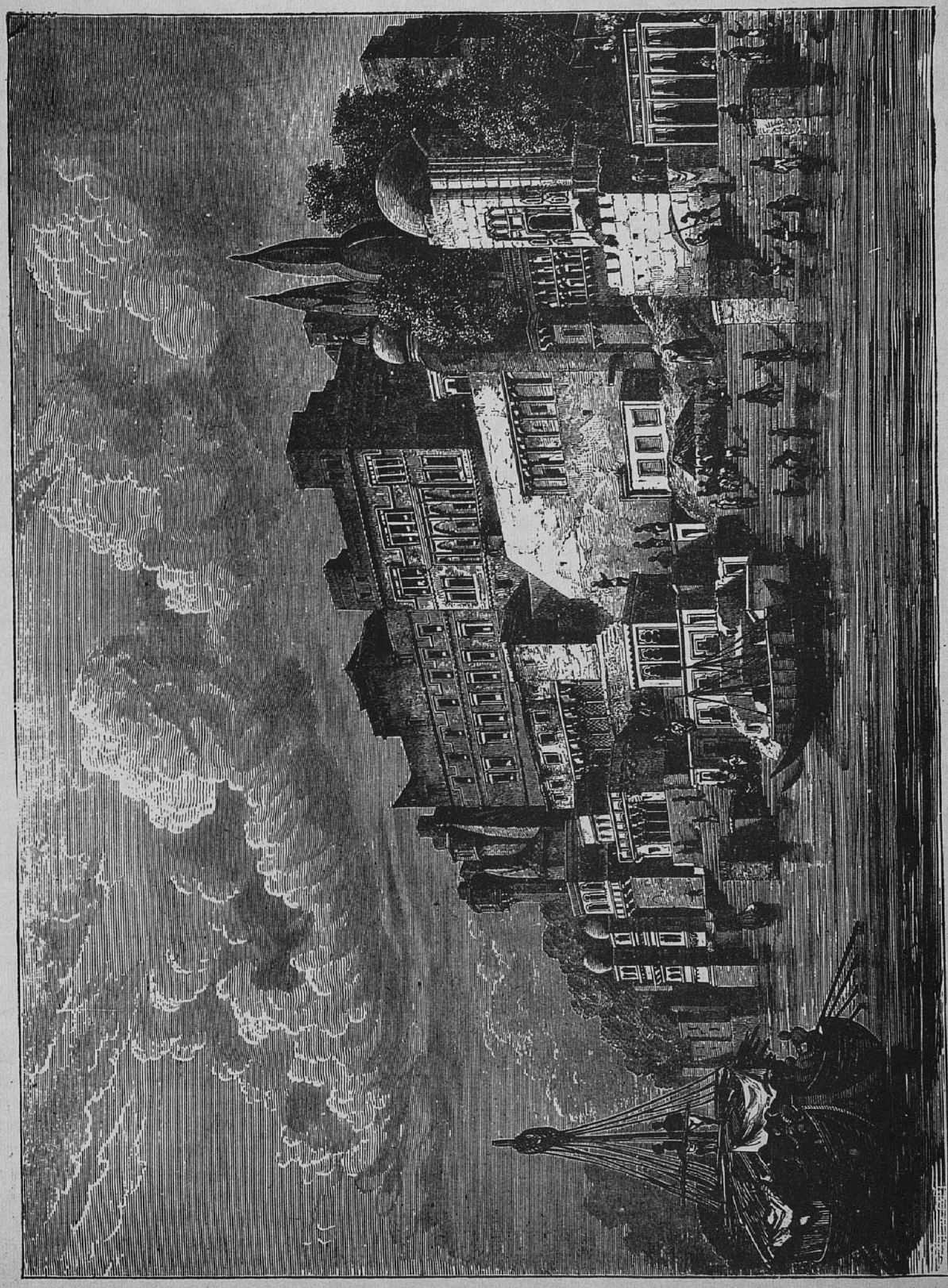


VIEW OF FORT RHOTAS NEAR CHILLIANWALLA.

regiments were raised; and within a few months, Lord Dalhousie had disarmed the Punjaub, and collected therefrom 120,000 different weapons of every character, and some of great antiquity.

A military police, consisting of six foot battalions and twenty-seven troops of horse, was raised; the ancient village watches were reconstituted; and within three years after the battle of Goojerat, no province of British India was more free from crime than the Punjaub. The sale of children was put down by the Board of Administration, and thus was domestic slavery abolished. The Thugs and Dacoits, who had fled hither when driven out of Hindostan and the Deccan, when Colonel Sleeman brought the full terrors of the bayonet and gibbet upon them, were likewise traced out and finally four of which yielded a larger return than forty-eight of Runjeet Sing's clumsy imposts."

When the result of Chillianwalla reached London, it was fully regarded by the British public as nothing less than a defeat; and, in the fear of others yet to come, all eyes turned to Sir Charles Napier as the man best qualified to handle our armies in India; and the demand for his appointment to the office of Commander-in-chief was so loud and persistent, that the conqueror of Scinde, who thought he had bidden adieu to that land for ever, embarked for it once more on the 24th of February, 1849, in supersession to Lord Gough, who, however, received additional rank in the peerage, with a pension of £2,000 per annum from the East India Company.



VIEW OF THE QUAY OF BENARES.

the last of the Peishwas, the famous Bajee Rao, died an exile at Benares, when his pension of £90,000 per annum fell to the Company.

In that year, meetings of Hindoos were held at Calcutta to protest against the Government patronage of the Christian religion, and the proselytising nature of the Government schools. It was sufficiently evident that the executive were using the public treasure of India for the propagation of opinions opposed to those of the people from whom that treasure came; although it was obvious that Mohammedan and Hindoo institutions were supported by the same funds; but the emotions which pervaded the native assemblage at Calcutta were intensely and savagely bigoted.

Attempts were made now to disconnect the Government with any endowment of Mohammedan or heathen institutions, though many Europeans, to conciliate the natives, were not unfavourable to supporting them as a matter of policy. But the minds of the Bengalese became much inflamed by an unwise transaction on the part of the executive, which was calculated to uproot their confidence in the British, and destroy faith in their officials. In various public accounts, deficiencies had been discovered, and in order to draw attention from the Europeans, a plan would seem to have been formed among the officials, to incriminate wealthy natives who transacted business with our Government. The progress of these proceedings, in 1848-49, as we find them in a history of the time,* portrays the scandal with great force and brevity, clearness and point.

A wealthy native banker, named Jotee Persaud, who had been long wont to enter into great monetary transactions with the Company, and had ample means and organisation at his disposal, maintained the British armies during the wars in Afghanistan and at Gwalior; and this he did by native agency, remote from any efficient system of check or supervision. Irregularities in detail may have occurred, as at the close of that disastrous strife all his accounts, it was alleged, were not clear, distinct, or sufficiently well vouched for. When peace came, Jotee Persaud claimed a balance of half a million sterling, which demand was disputed, and, of course, left unpaid. Jotee Persaud was too much of a Hindoo to be baffled thus; but years of dispute and debate followed, till he grew actually weary of the affair. The war in the Punjaub broke out, and the British authorities had the effrontery to seek his monetary aid again. Persaud refused to be again connected with their commissariat; but every effort was made to induce him to yield, and eventually he did so, on the double and distinct conditions that his past arrears should be liquidated, as soon as the new contest should be over, and that some title of honour should be conferred on him.

On this being promised, he accepted the new contract, and maintained our armies during the war in the Punjaub. When it ceased he applied to the Indian Government to fulfil their stipulations, but was bitterly disappointed. Instead of the old Afghan balances being paid up, his new accounts were subjected to keen scrutiny and examination; and ultimately, a native, employed in the commissariat, on the 30th of March, 1849, made a deposition, accusing Jotee Persaud of corruption, embezzlement, and forgery. An investigation was ordered, and Major Ramsay, who made it by order of the Government, declared Persaud to be blameless, and reported such to the military board. Two of the members agreed with him, and the case was about to be relinquished, when a third recommended it to the consideration of the Marquis of Dalhousie and the Council.

Jotee Persaud had been threatening to bring an action in the law courts for his demands, but now, while at Agra, he was compelled to find bail to abide a trial on the criminal charges brought against him by the Government. Mr. Long, of Meerut, became responsible for him; but Persaud, when at liberty, went to Loodiana, and from thence to Calcutta, believing that when within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court there he would be safe from the authority of that at Agra. So a warrant was served upon him at Calcutta, and he was conveyed back to Agra for trial, while his bail was estreated, and he himself roughly handled by the authorities. Mr. Long, a barrister of spirit and talent, defended Jotee Persaud with ardour; and eventually the court—though composed of a judge, jury, and prosecutor, appointed by Government—acquitted the defendant.

His trial lasted twelve days, in the March of 1851, and excited an interest unparalleled in and around Agra. All India was ransacked for witnesses through whom to procure a conviction; but the case failed in every way. During the defence, Mr. Long brought forward many high Government officials to speak of Jotee Persaud's character and services; and after his acquittal the enthusiasm of the natives burst forth, and they proposed to carry him in triumph from the court-house. The Government of India endeavoured to clear themselves of the blame which these proceedings afforded for imputing to them injustice, by not settling the creditor's just claim, and ingratitude for not dealing liberally with one whose services were undoubtedly

* McKenna's continuation of Taylor.

great; breach of faith for not fulfilling the stipulations entered into with Persaud, as an inducement to undertake the supply of the troops; and more than all, a vindictive anticipation of his legal proceedings against them in the Queen's Court, by the concoction of criminal allegations which they were unable to prove. "It is impossible," says Nolan, "to come to any conclusion favourable to the authorities in this affair. It is more than probable that Jotee was not more honest than European commissaries are reported to be. That he had his own way of making a profit both by the Government and the unfortunate soldiers, and that way not commendable, is also very likely; but he was acquitted of fraud by the very persons whom the Government appointed to investigate the charges which they brought against him. Before the matter came into a court of law, his accusers appointed his judges on the tribunal of investigation, and they declared him innocent. A large debt was due to the man, and the officials who had the honour of their country in keeping, endeavoured to confiscate his claim. They, resolutely bent on this course, nevertheless made fresh bargains with him, when their own official helplessness made him indispensable. They then openly violated their new compact, and to uphold the iniquity of their proceedings, endeavoured to ruin the man by resorting to subornation of perjury."

It is remarkable that the Marquis of Dalhousie, who was accustomed to look personally into almost everything, omitted to see justice done to Jotee Persaud, and to stop the legal authorities, as by the violation of simple honour and common honesty they sought to disgrace and ruin him; but, says the writer above quoted, "when faith is so often violated in contracts by Government at home, in sight of the English public, and under the lash of Parliament and the press, we cannot wonder that the like should occur in India, were it not for the destruction to the interests of the nation which is created there, by destroying confidence in British honour in the native mind."

During the administration of Lord Dalhousie there occurred but little in the general government of Madras to give trouble. Certain attempts made to restrict the liberties of European residents had excited some opposition during the rule of Lord Hardinge and the presidential government of General the Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T. The latter, who had been aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington during the Peninsula war, and had been wounded at Busaco, held the chair at Madras from 1841 to 1847, during which time he personally favoured civil and religious liberty; yet one of his measures provoked much discussion and discontent among the natives of India.

In 1847, a minute of Council, introduced by him, made the Bible a class-book in all Government schools. This disturbed the feelings of the natives, and this emotion was increased in the same year by the decision of a law court on the question of religious liberty. A young native girl avowed herself a Christian, under the teaching of our missionaries; but her mother demanded that she should be given up to her, with the admitted intention of coercing her in the matter of conscience. The natives debated the matter fiercely, and treating it as a question of creed and right, brought it before the Supreme Court.

The girl, being of age, was by the court permitted to decide for herself. This gave dire offence to the obtuse natives, who insisted that she should return to the heathenish creed of her forefathers. They hated liberty, civil and religious alike, as Brahminism and Mohammedanism had taught them to do. Religious intolerance and bitter fanaticism agitated deeply the minds of the people of the Madras presidency in particular. There was a lofty and arrogant tone adopted by them, and many spoke and wrote, and even acted, as if they had both the right and power to compel the Government to set at defiance the rights and scruples of the Christian population; and yet Mohammedan and Brahmin hated each other as bitterly as both hated the Christians. At Gumsoor, in the Northern Circars, among the Koles and Gonds, human sacrifices were again attempted, and the whole country became so convulsed that military intervention was necessary; but the era was one of progress, and was marked by an extension of greater religious freedom to the army of Madras, though the baptism of four native girls—a petty, if real, conversion—there, increased the religious ferment produced by previous affairs. "The Marquis of Tweeddale left in 1847, having completed many reforms, removed vexatious taxations, improved Madras, and opened the gate wider for the free labours of the missionaries. On the question of religious liberty, however, in Madras, as elsewhere in India, *adhuc sub judice lis est.*"

On the departure of the Marquis of Tweeddale, Mr. Henry Dickinson, the senior member of Council, held the government till the arrival of Colonel Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., who landed on the 7th of April, 1848. In that year there was an insurrection at Calicut, on the Malabar coast; but it was chiefly among the Moplas, who were only put down after some very dreadful slaughter. The

custom of these Mohammedan fanatics was to commit some cruel outrage upon Christians or Hindoos, after which they would shut themselves up in a mosque or temple, and defend it with the resolution to sell their lives as dearly and desperately as possible, and pass, sword in hand, to paradise and the presence of the prophet. Many alleged conversions were made among the natives after the arrival of the new Governor, who regarded them somewhat dubiously. In 1850 it chanced that a young native embraced Christianity, on which his friends, and those of his wife, by force withheld her from joining him, and he applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*. By the intervention of the judges she was restored to him.

The natives viewed this act of simple justice as an invasion of their assumed right to persecute. In the vocabulary of the Anglo-Indians, Madras is termed "the benighted presidency," yet there are more Christians in it, and it contains many more native schools, than any of the other presidencies.

During the early part of Viscount Hardinge's administration, Bombay was governed by Sir George Arthur, Bart., K.C.H., an amiable man, an enlightened gentleman, and good soldier, formerly colonel of the York Chasseurs; and under his successors in office, Sestock Robert Reid, Esq., and Sir George Russell Clerk, the province of Bombay grew in prosperity and peace.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE PORTUGUESE, DUTCH, AND DANES IN INDIA.

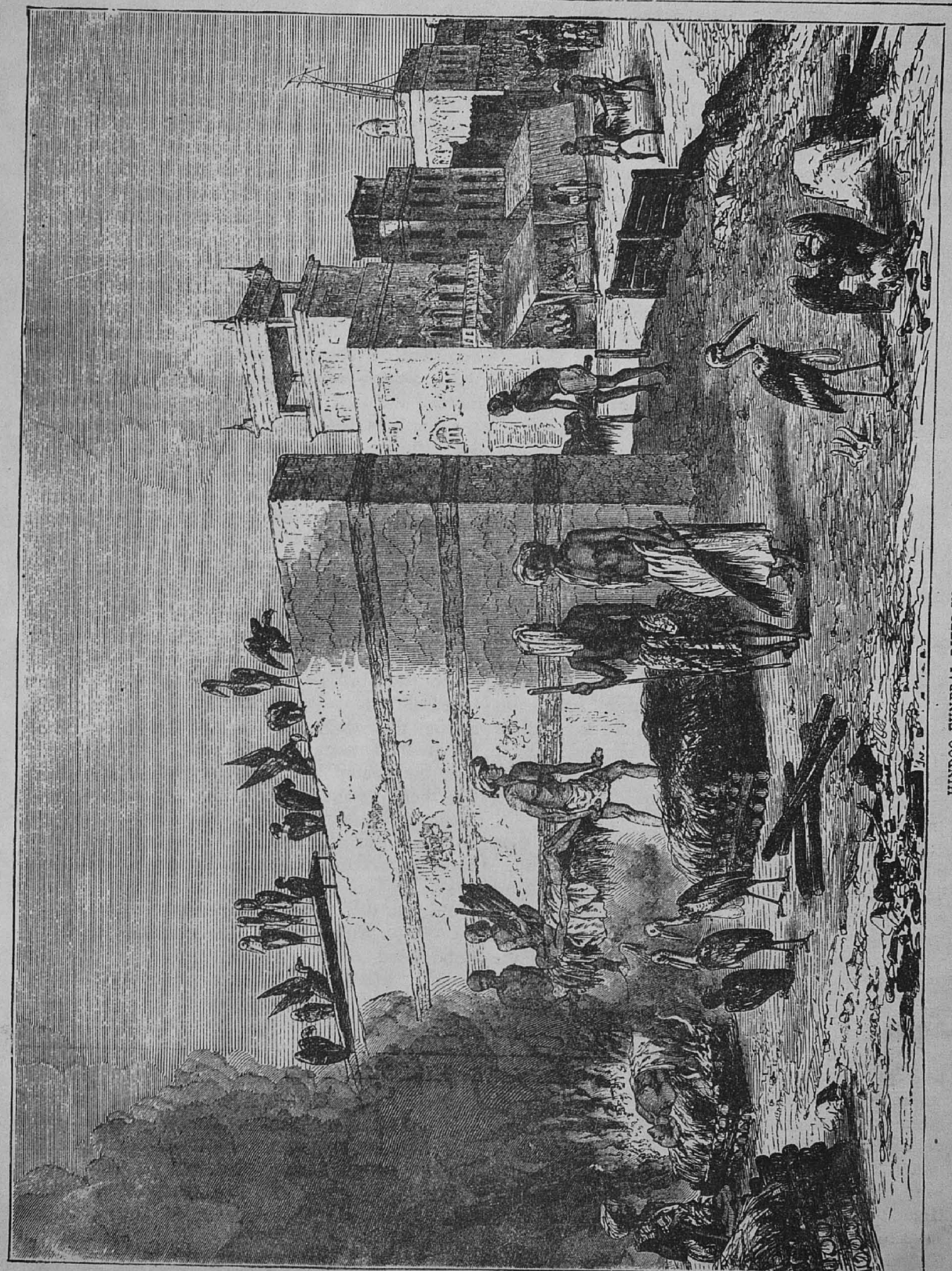
IN the history of an empire so vast and varied as ours in India, digressions are unavoidable; hence, as we have referred briefly to the Scottish and French East India Companies, it may not be out of place—before narrating the Burmese war, and the close of Lord Dalhousie's brilliant administration—to make a short reference to the affairs of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Spaniards in the East, or to their settlements there, which, by absorption or otherwise, are intimately connected with the history of British India.

To take them seriatim we shall begin with the Portuguese. The spirit of maritime adventure became strongly developed in Europe during the fifteenth century, and nowhere so much as in the little but enterprising kingdom of Portugal, where great progress had been made in the science of naval architecture. Its sovereigns warmly encouraged the growing spirit, and sent out successive expeditions, which gradually made their way along the coast of Africa into latitudes hitherto unknown, till John II., in 1486, sent three vessels, under Bartholomew Dias, to discover the limits of Southern Africa. He was the first who doubled the Cape, which he named *Cabo Tormentoso*, from the tempestuous weather he experienced there, and the idea that there was no passing beyond it "very much retarded the prosecution of further designs."*

* Locke's "Hist. of Navigation."

John II., hoping, however, to reach the realms of Prester by this route, called it more appropriately *Cabo da Bueno Esperanza;* and soon after, the great Genoese, Columbus—convinced that India was to be discovered by sailing westward—offered his services to the king, but they were not accepted; so, under the auspices of Spain, he set forth on that adventurous expedition which ended in the discovery of America.

It was not until eleven years after Dias had doubled the Cape that Emanuel, the successor of King John, fitted out three ships, under Vasco de Gama, his brother Paul, and the two Nunez, who, after many solemn religious ceremonies, sailed from Lisbon on the 8th of July, 1497, for the hitherto unexplored Indian Ocean; and after traversing 3,000 miles, with only sea and sky visible, he sighted Malabar in May, 1498, and joyfully cast anchor off Calicut, whither the Mohammedan arms had not come as yet, and where there reigned a Hindoo prince named the Zamorin, as we have mentioned in a previous part of this history. He at once granted De Gama the privilege of trade throughout his dominions. The commerce of the Malabar coast had hitherto been a monopoly among the merchants of Egypt and Arabia, who viewed the new arrivals with jealousy, and persuaded the Zamorin that they were not what they represented themselves to be, but were ocean robbers, who had



HINDOO FUNERAL RITES IN CALCUTTA.

escaped from their own country, and would fill the eastern seas with peril.

Thus influenced, the Zamorin became so hostile to the Portuguese, that De Gama set sail for Lisbon, where he arrived on the 29th of August, 1499, and was received with admiration by the king, the court, and the people, who crowded the beach to behold the three little caravels which had performed this astounding voyage, the first of its kind in the annals of the world; a voyage in which a way by sea had been discovered to India, the land of fable and of fabulous riches. The Portuguese monarch lost no time in following up the enterprise of De Gama, and fitted out an expedition consisting of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, the command of the whole being given to Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who was accompanied by eight friars, with orders to carry fire and sword among all who would not listen to their teaching. He sailed on the 8th of March, 1500, but meeting with violent storms, was driven so far from the coast of Africa that on Easter Eve the fleet gladly sought for safety a port which they named Seguro, and the country Santa Cruz, which is now known to us as Brazil. Other storms were encountered, and such were the casualties, that the admiral arrived with only six vessels, on the 20th of July, at Mozambique. On the 13th of September he reached Calicut, and was graciously received by the Zamorin, to whom he restored some hostages that had been taken away by De Gama, and obtained in return permission to erect a factory. As the Mohammedan traders prevented him from getting any cargoes, Cabral, in revenge, captured one of their richest vessels, and set her on fire after transferring her cargo to his own ship.

For this they attacked the factory, and slew fifty of his men. Cabral was not slow in resenting; he captured and burned ten other vessels, after securing their cargoes. He then cannonaded the town, and sailed to Cochin, where he formed an alliance with a chief who was a feudatory of the Zamorin, and then sailed for the Tagus. The king, having obtained from the Pope a bull conferring on him the sovereignty of all the countries visited by his ships in the East, assumed the title of "lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, and India," in consequence of which a third expedition, consisting of fifteen vessels—some say twenty—was fitted out under Vasco de Gama. No new discoveries were made by him; but he secured trade with Cochin and Cananore, took and destroyed several ships of Calicut, to avenge the insult offered to Cabral, and returned home with nine ships richly laden, leaving Vincente Sodre, with five others, to scour the coasts of India. He also, most singularly, left Pacheco with a little party to protect the factory at Cochin, where they were attacked by the Zamorin of Calicut; and though the latter's forces outnumbered the mail-clad Portuguese by fifty to one, they were ignominiously defeated; "and the superiority of the European to the Asiatic soldier—which has ever since been maintained—was now for the first time exhibited, and the foundation was laid for European ascendency in India."

So early as 1500, says Voltaire, there was no getting even pepper at Calicut but at the expense of human blood.*

In 1505 the King of Portugal sent out Don Francisco de Almeyda, with the title of Viceroy of India, though he did not possess a foot of land there. He had with him twenty-two ships and 1,500 men, with whom he built a fort at Cananore; but he found a new opponent in the Venetians, who had hitherto monopolised the Indian trade by the way of Egypt, where they enjoyed a paramount influence, and prevailed on the Sultan to send a fleet down the Red Sea, to drive all interlopers from the shores of India; while the maritime King of Gujerat, equally alarmed by the growing power of the Portuguese, sent his ships to co-operate with those of Egypt, and together they defeated a portion of the Portuguese fleet in the harbour of Choul. The son of Don Francisco was killed in this battle, and to revenge his death, finding that Dabul, on the Concan coast—one of the greatest marts in those days—had taken part with the enemy, he utterly sacked and ruined it. He then proceeded in search of the combined fleets, and finding them in the harbour of Diu, obtained a victory, and put all he captured to the sword to avenge the fall of his son. This was in 1508.

Prior to this he had been superseded as Viceroy by Alfonso Albuquerque, a man of great spirit and unbounded ambition, who attacked the town of Calicut, before which a fourth of his force perished. He then came to the conclusion that the Portuguese, instead of wasting their strength in desultory attacks, should found a permanent establishment on the coast, where they could have a harbour for their shipping, and a citadel for their retreat and protection. He accordingly fixed on Goa, or the island of Sissoari as the natives call it, which is twelve miles in length, by six broad, in the province of Bejapore. He had 1,400 fighting men and nineteen ships. It thus became the metropolis of the Portuguese possessions in the

* "Essays on Universal Hist."

East, and every effort made from time to time by native princes for its recapture has proved unavailing. Albuquerque now assumed the position of an Indian prince, and received embassies with pomp and ostentation. Proceeding to the distant provinces of the Malay archipelago, he established his authority, and carried his commercial enterprises to Java, Siam, and Sumatra. Turning westward, he next obtained possession of Ormuz, the great emporium of the Gulf of Persia, and within nine years created a great European power in the East. The Venetians, who were as much interested as the Egyptians in opposing the progress of Portugal, proposed to cut the isthmus of Suez at their own expense, and dig a canal to join the Nile at the Red Sea. By this they hoped to command the commerce of India, but difficulties arose, and the grand project proved abortive.

Though his power throughout the Indian waters was irresistible, and his authority supreme along 12,000 miles of coast, on which he had planted thirty factories, many of which were fortified, he did not seem to care much for territorial possession. But his last days were darkened by the ingratitude of his country. Amid his eastern triumphs he was superseded by mean and artful court intrigues, which broke his gallant heart, and he expired as his ship was entering the harbour of Goa. So he found his last home in the great settlement he had given to Portugal, amid the sorrow of the Europeans and natives, by both of whom he was beloved.

During the following century the maritime power of Portugal became more than ever formidable in the Eastern Ocean. She took possession of Ceylon, and in 1517 established at Macao the first European factory ever known in the Celestial Empire. In 1513 she equipped an armament of 400 vessels, having on board 22,000 men, of whom 3,600 were Europeans, and captured Diu, which, though lost for a time, she afterwards regained. One of the most memorable events in the annals of the Portuguese in India was the league formed by the Kings of Ahmednuggur and Bejapore with the Zamorin of Calicut for the siege of Goa, which lasted ten months, and which they were compelled at last to relinquish, after losing 12,000 men. The Portuguese established a factory at the Gola, now called Hooghley, and completely absorbed the provincial trade from the town of Satgong, which for fifteen centuries had been the great commercial emporium of Bengal; around this factory grew a flourishing town, strongly fortified, and adorned with many churches. When the Moguls attacked it with their armies, they failed to carry it by storm, and had recourse to mining.

In 1683, in revenge for an attack upon their territories by the Mahrattas, the Viceroy of Pedro II. collected at Goa an army of 1,200 Europeans and 10,000 native troops, and having crossed the river, advanced into the interior, and laid siege to Poonah, while a fleet of his vessels swept the Mahratta coast. The troops carried fire and sword into the very temples; and the Inquisition is said to have burned some of the prisoners. The siege of Poonah was pressed with great vigour; and three breaches were nearly practicable, when Sambagi, a Mahratta chief, advanced with 22,000 horse and foot to its relief. The Viceroy being without proper intelligence, was surrounded in his trenches, but was resolved bravely to hew a passage through the enemy.

The distance the Portuguese had to march was thirty miles, at every pace harassed by cavalry; and ere the conclusion of the first day's retreat, they had to abandon their baggage and heavy cannon, with the loss of 1,200 men. Ultimately, the rest reached their boats, and were transported to Cumboreen, an isle which lies between Goa and the mainland. In country craft the Mahrattas followed them, and landed on the isle 3,000 strong; but the Portuguese opened a fire of swivel-guns upon them, cut off their retreat, and killed or captured them all. After this they formed an alliance with Aurungzebe, who sent an army to their assistance; but that force, though it drove out the Mahrattas, greatly injured the Portuguese territory by requisitions and plundering; and on a treacherous attempt of the Mogul admiral to seize Goa, the alliance was dissolved. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the greatness of Portugal was at its zenith in India, it was encountered and supplanted by a European rival in the Dutch, who, having thrown off the yoke of Spain, began a career of maritime enterprise with singular ardour and success.

During a portion of our long war with France, Goa was partly garrisoned by British troops; but its population about that time was computed at only 20,000, of whom very few were genuine Portuguese, the remainder being people of colour, many of whom were darker than the darkest natives of India.

In the days of its glory the walls of Goa were six miles in compass, and its bazaar was famous through all the Orient, while its population amounted to 150,000 Christians, and 50,000 Mohammedans and Hindoos; but now, the villas around it are in ruins, its palaces are falling to pieces, its barracks,

hospitals, and custom-house are shapeless fragments, and its streets and squares can only be traced by their foundations. "I went down to the cathedral," says a traveller, "there were ten canons in their stalls, the dean officiated, the sacristans, the vergers, and the choristers were all in their places. As for congregation, there was only one person present, an elderly Portuguese gentleman, besides four African slaves, the bearers of the dean's *mancheela* (litter). You may enter seven large churches within a two miles' walk. The black robe, the white robe, the brown; the cowl and the skull-cap; the silk cassock, the laced surplice; the glittering vestments—you see them all. Pastors abound; but where are the flocks? I found in one about 150 Indian-born Portuguese; in another a few common-black Christians, with crosses and beads. 'Goa the Golden' exists no more! Goa, where the aged De Gama closed his glorious life, is now but a vast grassy tomb; and it seems as if its thin population of priests and friars were spared only to chant requiems for departed souls." *

The Dutch, though they did not attempt a passage to India by the Cape so early as the English did, were more wary in their mode of setting about it, and on the 2nd of April, 1595, fitted out in the Texel four ships, armed with fifty-eight guns, and the crews of which mustered 247, with 1,030 tonnage in all. The commander was Cornelius Hootman. The 10th of January, 1596, saw him off the coast of Madagascar, in distress for want of supplies; and so reduced were his crews by sickness, that only twenty men were fit for duty. He visited Bantam, but his injudicious conduct provoked quarrels. The attempt to trade proved a failure; and narrowly escaping death, with all his people, he reached Holland, with three ships and only eighty-nine men, on the 14th of August, 1598. Though almost a failure, his voyage was hailed with acclamations, and new expeditions were at once projected. Three merchants of Middleburg fitted out two ships under Hootman for the East; but he was again unfortunate, and lost his life by an act of treachery on the part of the King of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, in 1598. Already the Dutch trade with the East might be considered as established. It had its origin in private enterprise; and had the times been those of peace, it might have been carried on with success; but the Spaniards and Portuguese did not conceal their determination to cling to the monopoly at all hazards, and compel the Dutch to meet force by force. At first, the States-General of Holland were content to grant authority for that purpose; but it soon became necessary that the various Dutch companies trading to the East would be better and stronger if united against the common foe; hence, on the 20th of March, 1602, a general charter was granted, incorporating the Dutch merchants into one great association, with the exclusive privilege of trading in India.

By 1609 they had pursued it with such success that they made no secret of their intention—as soon as they could establish their supremacy in the Spice Islands, to exclude all other nations from trading to them. Captain William Keeling, in the English ship *Dragon*, found it impossible to resist their arbitrary proceedings, and was compelled to carry on a precarious trade under a species of ignominious sufferance, but succeeded in obtaining a cargo of pepper, cloves, and other spices; and returning to Bantam, placed the English factory there on a more satisfactory footing before setting out on his homeward voyage.

Of the Dutch opposition, the mutual complaints, and the jealousies which culminated in their barbarous massacre of Englishmen in the castle of Amboyna, in 1622, mention has already been made in a previous chapter. Among those who perished there, as being in the pretended plot to seize the Dutch fortress, was Captain Gabriel Towerson, the English agent at Amboyna. While endeavouring to defend these proceedings, Dutch writers dwell particularly on the uniformity of the confessions made by the sufferers, but carefully omit to mention the barbarous tortures, by means of which those confessions were wrung from the dying men; and that those confessions thus extorted were always retracted in the intervals before death.

During 1631 most protracted discussions ensued with the Dutch, who, emboldened by the growing difficulties of the English Court, refused all redress for what was known as "the bloody deed of Amboyna," which excited great indignation in England, and, between 1651-2, petitions against the Dutch were pressed upon the Parliament of that country; but though the vigour and success with which the war against Holland was prosecuted by Cromwell threatened her commerce in Europe with total destruction, in India—where her maritime and commercial ascendency had long been established—her shipping swept the seas, and, in 1654, would have annihilated the settlement at Surat but for a dread of the Great Mogul. After menacing it, their fleet set sail for the Persian Gulf, where it not only destroyed the lucrative trade which the Company had long carried on with Surat and elsewhere, but captured three of their ships, and drove a fourth on shore, where she was totally lost. This only served

* "Sketches of India."

to rouse the energies of the Company anew; and they petitioned Government to lend them five or six frigates, to be manned and equipped at their own expense, for the purpose of reprisals; but after a negociation, during which the Dutch became sensible that they would be compelled to submit to any terms Cromwell might dictate, a peace was ratified at Westminster on the 5th of April, 1654.

The claims of the Company were not forgotten by the Protector in the treaty drawn up on this occasion, in which it was agreed, that "the States-General of the United Provinces shall take care that justice be done upon those who were partakers or accomplices in the massacre of the English at Amboyna, as the Republic of England is pleased to term that fact, provided any of them be living." Four commissioners were to be named, to arrange about the injuries and losses on both sides, to the year 1611, and afterwards, to 18th May, 1652; and in case of non-agreement, the Swiss Cantons were to be the arbiters. At the first meeting, held in August, 1654, the English Company stated their damages to be £2,695,999 15s.; but the Dutch East India Company made out theirs to be £2,919,861 3s. 6d. This demand was supported by a series of accounts on which no dependence could be placed; and the chief findings of the commission were, that the island of Polaroon, one of the Moluccas captured by England in 1617, should be restored to the Dutch, who were to pay the London Company £85,000, and to the heirs of the sufferers at Amboyna £3,615.

In 1634 the Dutch had taken possession of the island of Formosa, in the Chinese seas, where they erected factories, and built Fort Zealand; but they were, in 1662, driven out for a time by a Chinese pirate, named Coshinga, who made himself monarch of the place, and who had originally been a tailor. The Dutch were destroyed in great numbers, and the survivors were sent to Batavia;* but the ancient Dutch church and factory of those days are still standing.

The mixed Dutch breed of Topasses, which had also Portuguese and Indian blood in them, were named Mardikers in Batavia; a term derived, says Colonel James, from the place called Mardyke, four miles from Dunkirk; for when the Dutch took Batavia, the leading adventurers came from that quarter.†

After the Dutch made peace with the Portuguese, they spread their conquests in the East; captured Contang, on the Malabar coast, in 1663; compelled some places between Calicut and Cochin to submit to them; and for the re-capture of Formosa they equipped seventeen sail, which beat the Chinese fleet of eighty junks, and utterly routed Coshinga, after which they possessed themselves of Amoy and other places.*

In 1673, Rickloff van Goen, the Governor-General of Dutch India, made his appearance off the coast (during our war with Holland and alliance with France), at the head of twenty-two sail, with 1,000 troops on board. Bombay was evidently the point menaced; but he lost time by endeavouring to secure the co-operation of Sevajee on shore; and when the hour for action came, he lost heart on seeing the arrangements made for his reception. The President Aungier was then at the head of 400 European troops and 1,500 militia, besides a marine force, and had a little squadron in order of battle in the harbour;† so Van Goen, after simply reconnoitring, bore away to sea.

On the Coromandel coast the Dutch excited similar alarms; but our French allies not only kept them in check, but made themselves masters of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, and took San Thomé, near Madras, by storm. The latter event gave the Company more alarm than satisfaction; thus, they were not displeased when, after a brief occupation, the French were dispossessed, and San Thomé was restored to the King of Golconda; but a subsequent event caused them greater anxiety. Ten of their richly-laden and homeward-bound ships, on the 22nd of August, 1673, fell in with the Dutch fleet, which had been engaged at San Thomé. A running fight ensued off the coast of Masulipatam, which ended in the capture of two of the Indiamen, and the sinking of a third. The other seven, greatly damaged, got into Madras Roads; while in the Indian archipelago, where the Dutch superiority was still more decided, it was impossible for the Company to traffic with advantage, though fully alive to the importance of carrying their trade further east, and seeking mercantile intercourse with China; but the strife was ended, in 1674, by the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary Stuart.

By 1693, during the hostilities with the Mogul, the blunders of the Company were turned to good account by the Dutch, and also by the French, both of whom almost monopolised the Indian market. The Dutch thus acquired advantages which were not eventually serious, because of the strict alliance between Great Britain and Holland; but the case was different with the French, who had

* "Atlas Geograph.," vol. iii., 1712.
† "Military Dict.," 1805.

* "Hist. United Provinces," 1705.
† Orme, &c.

not only established factories at Surat and at the mouth of the Ganges, but had acquired that commanding settlement, to which we have so often referred, at Pondicherry, eighty-five miles from Madras. Even when France and Britain were allies, the Company had a jealous fear of the growing power of the former in the East; and when war was declared, one of the first instructions sent to the authorities at Surat was to wrest Pondicherry from the French. But this was more than they were then able to do. However, Tegnapatam, twelve miles south of Pondicherry, was purchased from a native prince, and converted into the important settlement of Fort St. David; and it has been considered remarkable that the French, with whom we were then at war, should have permitted the Company quietly to fortify themselves in their immediate vicinity, while the Dutch, our allies, manifested the utmost jealousy, and declined to recognise the right, which the Company claimed in virtue of their purchase, to levy harbour-dues and customs.

How Clive opposed and defeated their naval and military armaments, sent to Bengal in 1759, we have already told; and the Dutch remained quiet in India till, on the commencement of our hostilities with them in 1781, they concluded a defensive treaty with Hyder Ali, when, in return for the cession of Nagpore, they undertook to assist him in maintaining his ground in Tanjore. But the most crushing operations ever undertaken against them in the East were those in the time of Lord Minto, when, in 1810, the British colours waved supreme over Java and their settlements in the Moluccas.

The chief settlement of the Danes is at Tranquebar, a seaport town in the Tanjore district of the Carnatic, at the mouth of the Cauvery river. This they acquired by purchase from the King of Tanjore, when it was a village, in 1616. They erected a fort and mission-house; and the genial, quiet, and correct bearing maintained by them soon attracted population and commerce. The latter is chiefly carried on with the mother country, the Isle of France, Ceylon, and Bengal. According to agreement, the Danes still continue to pay a ground-rent of 2,000 pagodas per annum. The fort, which is called Danebourg, is finely kept, and all the buildings being white, the settlement can be seen at a great distance from the seaward. It was captured by the British in 1787, but was restored to Denmark at the peace.

The possessions held in Hindostan by other European nations are as follow:*—

French territory	530 sq. miles;	178,000 pop.
Danish ,, ...	93 ,,	35,000 ,,
Portuguese ,, at Goa, Diu, and Damao	1,200 ,,	350,000 ,,
Total	1,823	563,000

Thus, we see that while Denmark, France, and Holland achieved in early times a footing in India, Scotland, which made a vigorous effort to do so, failed, partly through the jealousy of the English East India Company, but principally through the ignorance of the projectors and the incompleteness of their preparations; though the subsequent union of the kingdoms rendered that failure of no consequence, as there was no part of the empire where Scottish enterprise, civil or military, found a more ample field than British India.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SECOND BURMESE WAR.—OPERATIONS AT RANGOON.—CAPTURE OF MARTABAN AND BASSEIN, PROME AND PEGU.—ANNEXATION OF THE LATTER.

THE Government of Ava had for several years been on unfriendly terms with that of India; and early in 1852, the ignorance, arrogance, and stupidity of the Burmese led once more to an appeal to arms for the settlement of differences that might have been more quietly adjusted.

Under our treaty with Burmah, British subjects trading to its ports were entitled to the most perfect protection and security; but a new Governor, who had taken up his residence at Rangoon, was inspired by a keen hatred of the British, and a resolution to avenge the disasters of the last war. His conduct, at first, was merely insulting, and was borne somewhat meekly by our traders, who were loth to incur the trouble of another Burmese

* Fullarton's "Gazetteer of the World," vol. vii.

war; but this tame endurance of affronts provoked their repetition and aggravation until they became intolerable.

Commodore Lambert, of H.M.S. *Fox*, forty-two guns, was therefore ordered to proceed with a squadron to Rangoon, and demand reparation, but in doing so to use the utmost caution. He was first to address a letter to the Governor of Rangoon, briefly setting forth the circumstances of the case. If compensation was granted, the matter was to go no further; but as it seemed rather improbable that any amicable settlement would be come to, he was furnished with a letter to the King of Ava, which was to be forwarded only in the event of a refusal by the Governor of Rangoon, recommending the removal of that officer as essential to the continuance of peace. But the commodore was received with much hauteur, and acts of violence still continued. Finding that the charges made by our people against the governor fell far short of the actual truth, Commodore Lambert, believing it futile to hope for any arrangement with such an official, at once dispatched the letter to the King of Ava, together with one from himself to the prime minister. These documents he transmitted through the Governor of Rangoon, whom he addressed briefly thus :—

"I shall expect that every dispatch will be used for forwarding the same; and I hold you responsible for an answer being delivered in these waters within five weeks from to-day."

The Marquis of Dalhousie was of opinion that Commodore Lambert had acted well and wisely in appealing to the king at once, but again cautioned him not to resort to hostilities till every other method had failed. On the 1st of January, 1852, the Court of Ava returned an answer which gave hopes of a peaceful adjustment, as it announced that the obnoxious governor had been displaced, and that his successor would make all necessary reparation. Encouraged by this appearance of friendship, the commodore sought to open a communication with the new governor, and sent Commodore Fishbourne, of H.M.S. *Hermes*, a six-gun steamer, Captain Latter, the chief interpreter, and some other officers, ashore to deliver a letter; but their reception was insulting in the extreme; and after being subjected to very ignominious treatment, they were obliged to return with it undelivered, and without seeing the governor, who, they were told, was asleep,* and not to be disturbed, whereas he was watching them through a Venetian blind, and laughing at the mortifications to which they were subjected. This treatment was properly at once resented by the establishment of a blockade, as the missive, according to Marshman, had been intrusted to one of Cromwell's ambassadors, "a frigate which spoke all languages, and never took a refusal." Operations were begun by the *Hermes* capturing a ship of the King of Ava, while the squadron set sail for the mouth of the river. When the *Hermes* was seen with her prize, known as the *Yellow Ship*, in tow, the Burmese opened a fire upon her from a stockade. The *Hermes* returned it most liberally with shot and shell, together with the *Fox*, and the enemy's works were demolished in a few minutes.

Prior to this, all British residents in Rangoon were requested to take shelter on board the flagship, and their embarkation is thus described in a paper of the time :—"The *Proserpine* steamer ran close into the main wharf (of Rangoon), and eight or ten of the boats from the frigate and steamers came to the shore to receive and protect the fugitives. Meanwhile, the streets were filled with armed Burmese, and Burmese officers were moving to and fro on horseback, threatening all who gave assistance to the foreigners, in consequence of which not a coolie could be procured. All classes of foreigners—Moguls, Mussulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English—were seen crowding down to the river with boxes and bundles, and whatever they could carry; but they were generally obliged to abandon all they possessed. Mr. Kincaid, the American missionary, left his library of more than 1,000 volumes, the collection of twenty years, behind him to be destroyed, too happy, however, to find his wife and children safe under the British flag." *

On the 8th of January the *Proserpine* left for Moulmein, with about 400 fugitives and their families, whose number is not stated.†

At this time Lord Dalhousie was in the North-Western Provinces, and apprehending that his Government was fast drifting into another war, he hastened down to prevent it; and it was not until his third application for redress had been treated with contempt that he resolved to appeal to arms by land and sea.

"The Government of India," he wrote in his minute, "cannot, consistently with its own safety, appear for one day in an attitude of inferiority, or hope to maintain peace and submission among the numberless princes and people embraced within the vast circuit of the empire, if for one day it give countenance to a doubt of the absolute superiority

* Lieut. Laurie's "Second Burmese War."

* *Friend of India.* † *Bengal Hurkaru*

of its arms, and of its continued resolution to maintain it."

The Commander-in-chief being in Scindé, Lord Dalhousie was thus obliged to be his own war minister; and the singular genius he displayed for military organisation astonished all India, but the task he had in hand was one of no ordinary difficulty. It was the 10th of February before the declaration of war was issued, or the preparations for the campaign were made, and it was of the most vital importance that Rangoon should be occupied before the rains came on in May.

The British forces now detailed for service consisted of two separate armaments from Calcutta and Madras. The former, under the command of General Godwin, who, as lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, had served in the former Burmese war, and to whom the whole expedition was now entrusted, sailed from the Hooghley on the 28th of March, and on the 2nd of April was off that mouth of the Irawaddi on which the town of Rangoon is situated.

The troops were on board six steamers. Among them were the 18th Royal Irish, 35th Royal Sussex, 51st Light Infantry, 80th, or Staffordshire, with some native infantry, Madras Artillery, and Sappers and Miners, making a total of 4,388 men to invade Burmah. In all, there were nineteen vessels, carrying 159 guns, manned by 2,200 seamen and marines. Admiral Austin led the naval portion of the expedition. Both the leaders were considerably advanced in life, were inactive in their habits, and naturally enfeebled by years and service. "This circumstance excited much painful comment, to the effect, that notwithstanding all the nation had suffered from partisanship and routine in the selection of commanders, the system remained the same, as if incurable by any amount of calamity or experience." *

Admiral Austin's flag was on board H.M.S. *Rattler*, six-gun steamer. The Madras division had not as yet arrived; but, as delay was deemed inexpedient, it was resolved forthwith to attack Martaban, on the south-east coast, near the mouth of the Salwein, opposite to Moulmein. It was considered by the Burmese of great importance. "And there can be no doubt that it is so," says Lieutenant Laurie; "in a military point of view it is capable of making a very formidable defence. On the river appears the usual array of houses; then, as you recede, trees extending to a hill, at the top of which is a pagoda. Then other hills stretching further away, adding dignity and grandeur to the landscape." †

* Nolan. † "Second Burmese War."

The attack was made on the 5th of April at daybreak. The admiral, notwithstanding the many shoals and currents which obstructed his progress, moved up with five steamers, and placed the *Rattler* within 200 yards of the city wall. Under cover of a heavy cannonade, the troops landed, and a storming party was then detailed, under Colonel Reignold, of the Royal Irish, who attacked the chief position under a fire of cannon and musketry, and in a few seconds Martaban was ours, with a loss scarcely worth mentioning.

On the 8th there came from Moulmein the right wings of the 18th and 80th Regiments, with some Bengal Artillery and Madras Sappers. Loud cheers from the squadron greeted the two steamers, and with the band playing "St. Patrick's Day," the right wing of the Royal Irish steamed into position beyond the vessel containing the left, as the admiral moved up the river, and came to anchor close off Rangoon. On the 11th of April, the fire which the enemy had opened from both banks was silenced by the guns of the steam-frigates, which were turned to Rangoon on the right and Dalla on the left, when both were utterly destroyed. The large stockade south-west of the stupendous Shwedagon pagoda—a gilded temple, devoted to the worship of Gautama—was set in flames by one well-directed shell, which caused the magazine to explode, "and then all the work became filled with black smoke and vivid flame—up, up to the bright skies ascending, till the scene became one of extreme beauty and awful grandeur. At this crisis," adds Mr. Laurie, "an occasional gun was heard from the shore. Two or three pieces were observable in the burning stockade; but as no Burmese were visible, some conjectured it to be the flames firing them off without orders."

On the 12th the troops, after landing, began to advance. They had not proceeded far when, on reaching some rising ground to their right, guns opened upon them, and soon after skirmishers showed themselves in the jungle. This was so entirely a new mode of fighting with the Burmese—no instance having occurred during Sir Archibald Campbell's campaign, or their making flank attacks, or leaving the shelter of their stockade—that the new tactics excited some surprise. Though they increased the number of our casualties, they proved unavailing, as the Burmese were driven under cover of their wooden defences, from whence they kept up a fire of musketry so steady and effective, that they were not stormed without a severe loss, and such a complete exhaustion of the storming party, that though the hour was only eleven a.m., the general resolved to halt where he

was, after concentrating his slender force in the strongest position he could find.*

Because the heavy guns were not forwarded, the troops were unable to move until the morning of the 14th. Old Rangoon having been destroyed by fire in 1850, a new city had been formed, about a mile and a half from the river. "It is nearly square," says the general's despatch, "with a bund or mud wall, about sixteen feet high and eight thick; a ditch runs along each side of the square, and on the north side, where the pagoda stands, it has been very cleverly worked into the defences, to which it forms a sort of citadel. The distance from the pagoda to the south entrance of the town is about three-quarters of a mile, and it—the town—is something more than that in breadth from east to west. The old road, from the river to the pagoda, comes up to the south gate, running through the new town, and it was by this road the Burmese had settled that we should attack it, and where they had made every preparation to receive us, having armed the defences with nearly 100 pieces of cannon and other missiles, and with a garrison of at least 10,000 men."

To have made an assault at the point where the foe expected it, would have cost Godwin half his force, at least; he resolved, therefore, to force a passage into the great pagoda, the key of the whole position, by adopting a route which entirely turned all the defences of it. Marching to the north-east through a thick jungle, he found the stockaded town, and got to the east side of the pagoda, which was 294 feet in height from its platform, and the capture of which was his main object. A battery of heavy guns was immediately erected, and opened with so much effect, that the assault, which was to have been made at noon, took place an hour sooner.

The storming party was formed by a wing of the 80th Regiment, under Major Lockhart; two companies of the Royal Irish, under Lieutenant Hewitt; two of the 40th Bengal Native Infantry, under Lieutenant White; the whole commanded by Colonel Coote, of the 18th, and Captain Latter leading. Under a galling fire from the lower walls and gun-platform, or triple terraces of the pagoda, our troops rushed to the assault with all the resolution of British infantry. Lieutenant Doran fell, pierced by four balls; Colonel Coote also fell wounded; but the troops swept onward to the upper terrace; a deafening cheer rent the air; the Burmese fled in all directions, with all the speed of which their great gilded hats and grotesque and flowing habiliments would permit; and once again the great pagoda of Gautama was ours, and the capture of the town was a complete success.

A red jacket which the Burmese had adopted caused some confusion to our troops, who at times mistook them for our own skirmishers. Their arms were all old British flint muskets, which had been sold as "condemned," with a *dah*, or sharp square-pointed sword with a long wooden hilt, and with other weapons, such as British bayonets stuck on spear shafts. Their balls were iron as well as lead, and, not being cast or moulded, varied in size.

The next capture was Bassein, situated about sixty miles above the mouth of the river so named, which forms the western branch of the Irawaddi; it was deemed by Sir Archibald Campbell as the key of the Burmese empire. In the afternoon of the 19th of May the steamers were ranged opposite the fortifications of Bassein, having accomplished a voyage of sixty miles without a pilot up an unknown river, lined with stockades, without an accident, or a shot having been fired.*

In the attack, the conduct of H.M. 51st Foot is described as having been equally magnificent and cool. After a fifty minutes' conflict with 5,000 of the King of Ava's picked soldiers and 2,000 men of Bassein, the place was ours, with eighty-one guns and jingals. We had six officers wounded, but the enemy left 800 dead behind them. Leaving a small garrison in Bassein, the general returned, with the rest of the troops, to Rangoon.

The Burmese, although they had now lost three of their most important towns, and sustained defeat in every encounter, were so far from showing the least aspect of submission, that on the 26th of May they made a bold attempt to re-take Martaban, against which its late governor, Moung-Bwosh, who had to conquer or lose his head, advanced with 600 men, while 1,000 remained near a small white pagoda, 2,000 formed a reserve at the distance of half a mile, and a fourth force kept up a fire at the distance of 150 yards. Our slender garrison, under Major Hall, by signal gallantry held their ground till reinforced by two companies of H.M. 51st Light Infantry and 26th Bengal Native Infantry.†

In this repulse such confidence and daring were shown by the Burmese, that it was evident that most decisive measures would be necessary to humble them. It was therefore proposed to menace the capital of Burmah—the city of Ava, or Umerapoora—by advancing up the main branch of the Irawaddi, and making an attempt upon Prome. With this view, Commander Tarleton, of H.M.S. *Fox*, had been dispatched, early in July, with five

* Gen. Godwin's Despatch.

* *Friend of India.* † *Moulmein Times.*

steamers, to examine its defences and position; and while on this service he did much more than was expected, as he not only forced his way up the river, in spite of every obstruction, but by the selection of a navigable channel, different from the one by which the Burmese, to the number of 10,000, awaited him, he reached Prome on the 9th of the same month, and found it ungarrisoned. He was unable, however, to do more than to capture a few guns, spike the rest, destroy the stores, and get once more under weigh.

As a more determined resistance was now anticipated on the part of the Burmese, the Marquis of Dalhousie came in person to Rangoon, which he reached on the 7th of July. During his visit, which lasted ten days, he arranged to forward extensive reinforcements, and to raise a force that should bear the title of the Army of Ava, as it would be 20,000 strong; but so much time elapsed ere these succours came, that it was not until the 9th of October that our troops were before Prome, where the Burmese made little or no resistance. When our advanced guard reached the pagoda there, it was found to be abandoned, as well as the heights beyond it, leaving in our possession an empty town, "overgrown with thick and rank vegetation, and abounding in swamps." *

The general was puzzled by the facility with which this place, on which he had advanced with equal caution and hesitation, fell into his hands, as he had been for some time aware that 18,000 Burmese, in strong stockades, were well posted about ten miles to the eastward of it.

Early in June a force had been dispatched to Pegu, situated on the river of that name, some fifty miles above its junction with the Rangoon. It consisted of one company of H.M. 80th Foot, the Rifle Company of the 67th Bengal Native Infantry, and a detachment of Madras Sappers and Miners, under Lieutenant Macintosh, Lieutenant Mayne as field-engineer, with Major Cotton, of the 67th, in command of the whole. He was accompanied by a small naval brigade, under Commander Tarleton. All were embarked on board the steamer *Phlegethon*, which had in tow the boats of the squadron. Ere nightfall, Major Cotton was joined by a body of Peguese, who were distinguished by wearing small white flags in their caps.

On the morning of the 3rd the whole expedition was before Pegu, which is an ancient city, fortified, and of a quadrilateral form, measuring a mile and a half on each of its faces. A brick rampart, thirty-five feet thick, with towers at every 300 yards, forms its defence; but all these were in ruins, and so were the streets, as the destruction of the city, which once had 150,000 inhabitants, was achieved in 1757 by Alompra, the Burman conqueror of Pegu.

Our Peguese allies were ordered by Major Cotton, in case of accidents, to keep at a distance, until required, during our operations. However, as heavy firing between them and the Burmese was soon heard on the right bank of the river, the troops instantly landed; but only a few of the enemy could be seen, and these were retreating as fast as they could; so the boats, with the naval force under Commander Tarleton, were sent further up the river, to cut off all who might attempt to cross; and during this service some of our boats were captured and re-taken.

As the heat was overpowering, Major Cotton prudently postponed till three o'clock an attack on the garrison in the great pagoda. Composed of brick and mortar, this edifice is conical in form, and at the base measures 162 feet each way. It is 360 feet in height, and is crowned by a gilt umbrella fifty-six feet in circumference. It was founded more than 2,000 years ago, and around it are innumerable images of Gautama.

About one p.m. the enemy, emboldened by Cotton's apparent inactivity, were seen coming down the bank of the river, about 1,400 strong, led by thirty chiefs on ponies, some of whom carried gilt umbrellas and sung a vaunting song. The bugles sounded; the Rifle Company stood to arms, on which the Burmese instantly fled, even before the longest shots could reach them; so the whole place fell into our possession, and the next day was occupied in destroying the granaries, and carrying off nine pieces of cannon.

In Pegu, 400 men were placed under Major Hill, whose slender force was unable to prevent the Burmese, who soon after came on in strength, from possessing themselves of the ruinous town, and making a daring attack upon the pagoda, which they completely invested on every side, shutting up his detachment within it. Their first attack he repulsed with vigour; but on a second of a formidable character being made, Major Hill, who was scarcely able to hold the position, made an urgent application for instant succour. On this, General Godwin set out for Pegu, with 1,350 men. "During his passage up the river," says Beveridge, "he paid the penalty of his former negligence by the state of fearful suspense in which he was kept, while scarcely venturing to hope that his small garrison had been able to hold out against their numerous and persevering foes. His intense anxiety was not relieved till he obtained a distant view of the pagoda.

* Gen. Godwin's Despatch.

and ascertained by his telescope that a single individual observed upon it was a Madras Lascar."

He highly complimented Major Hill and his brave little band in orders for their defence of the pagoda, "for so many anxious days and nights, cut off as they were from the succour of their comrades by the works of the enemy in the river, as well as by distant communication with the head-quarters of the army."

The King of Ava having refused to hold any communication with the Marquis of Dalhousie, the latter had only to consider the course to be pursued. The inhabitants of Pegu were anxious to be released from the iron yoke of their Burmese conquerors, and entreated to be taken under British protection; thus, he determined at once to accede to their prayer, and annex the province, once one of the most ancient kingdoms of Asia. The breadth of it, towards its northern frontier, is about 180 miles, and its length, from north to south, about 230; and on the 20th of December, 1852, Lord Dalhousie issued the following proclamation:—"The Court of Ava having refused to make amends for the injuries and insults which British subjects had suffered at the hands of its servants, the Governor-General of India in Council resolved to exact reparation by force of arms. The forts and cities on the coast were forthwith attacked and captured; the Burmese forces have been dispersed wherever they have been met, and the province of Pegu is now in the occupation of British troops. The just and moderate demands of the Government of India have been rejected by the king; the ample opportunity that has been afforded him for repairing the injury that was done, has been disregarded; and the timely submission, which could alone have been effectual to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom, has been withheld. Wherefore, in compensation for the past, and for better security in the future, the Governor-General in Council has resolved, and hereby proclaims, that the province of Pegu is now, and shall be henceforth, a portion of the British territories in the East. Such Burmese troops as may yet remain within the province shall be driven out; civil government shall be immediately established, and officers shall be appointed to administer the affairs of the several districts. The Governor-General in Council hereby calls upon the inhabitants of Pegu to commit themselves to the authority, and to confide securely in the protection, of the British Government, whose power they have seen to be irresistible, and whose rule is marked by justice and munificence. The Governor-General in Council having exacted the reparation he deems sufficient, desires no further conquest in Burmah, and is willing to consent that hostilities should cease. But if the King of Ava shall fail to renew his former relations of friendship with the British Government, and if he shall recklessly dispute its quiet possession of the province it has now declared to be its own, the Governor-General in Council will again put forth the power he holds, and will visit with full retribution, aggressions which, if they be persisted in, must of necessity lead to the total subversion of the Burman state, and to the ruin and exile of the king and his race."

In his minute on this subject, Lord Dalhousie said:—"In the earliest stage of the present dispute I avowed my opinion that conquest in Burmah would be a calamity, second only to the calamity of war; but I have been drawn, most reluctantly, to the conclusion that no measure will adequately meet the object which, in my judgment, it is absolutely necessary to secure—the establishment of our security now, and its maintenance hereafter—except the seizure and occupation of a portion of the territories of the Burman kingdom." In this opinion the Court of Directors and the Ministry fully concurred; and then, owing to the strict naval blockade of the mouths of the Irawaddi, trade with the interior was entirely ended, and provisions speedily rose to famine prices in the Burmese capital.

The old monarch, to whose obstinacy and pride the war was generally attributed, or the protraction thereof, became very unpopular, and was dethroned by his brother; but not without a struggle. Soon after overtures for peace were made, and on the 5th of April, 1853, British and Burmese commissioners met at Prome to arrange the terms. The conference lasted only two hours, as the officials of the enemy seemed anxious for a state of amity, and at once offered to sign a treaty in accordance with the proclamation, annexing Pegu, provided the frontier was not fixed at Meeaday—as we, who had captured that place, proposed—but lower down the river, in the vicinity of Prome. This point was conceded; and then they receded from their previous declarations, and, on the 9th of May, had the effrontery to announce that no treaty would be consented to which involved the cession of territory.

On this they were summarily dismissed, and it seemed as if the sword must be drawn again; but eventually it appeared that the objection was not so much to the cession of Pegu as to the humiliation of doing it by a formal treaty; and the king, who was well aware of the impending ruin in case the war was renewed, managed to avert it by



THE "BUND" OR DAM OF THE LAKE OF BARWA, JHANSI.

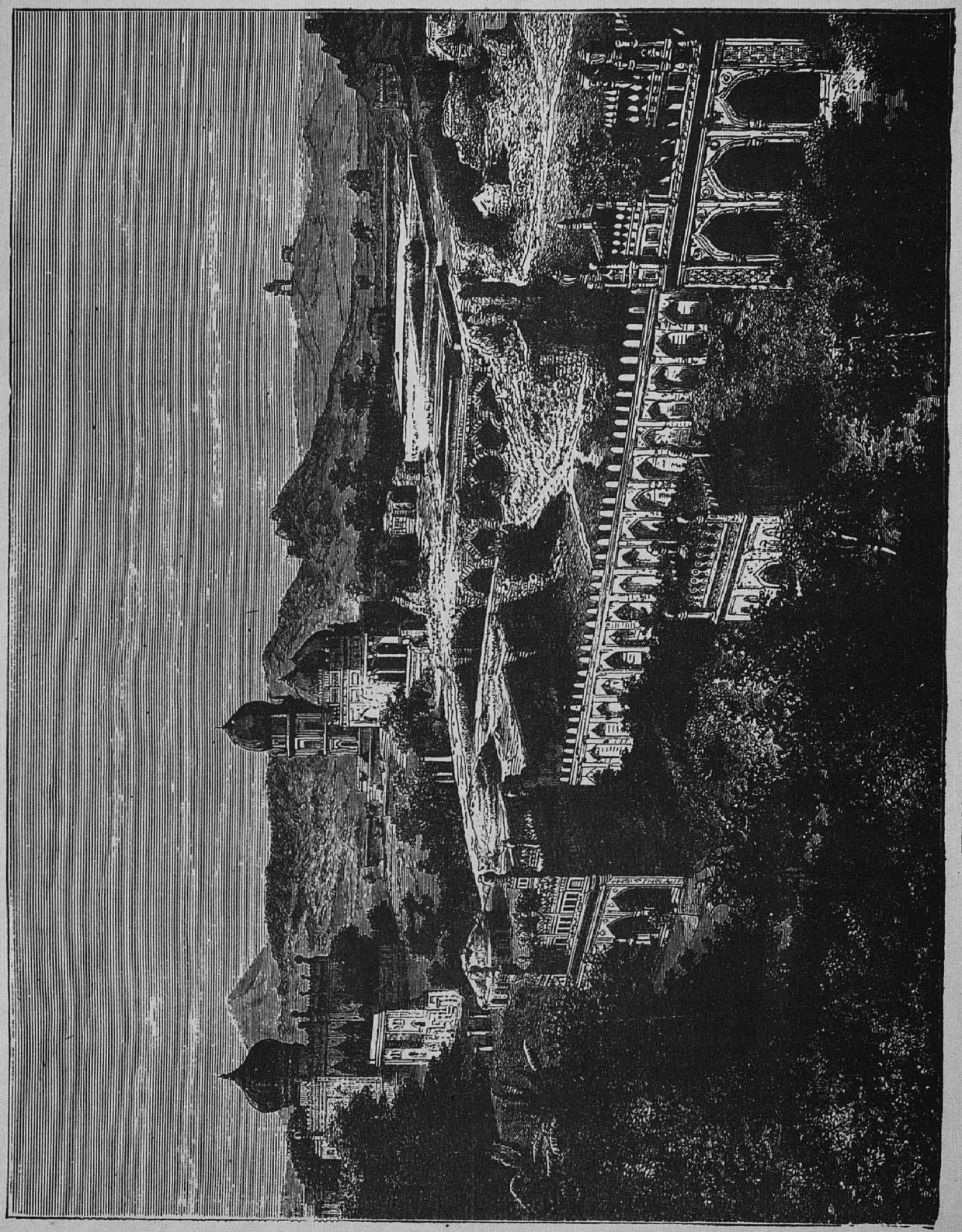
addressing a letter to the Marquis of Dalhousie, in which he granted all that was required of him. This equivalent was accepted, and on the 30th of June peace was proclaimed.

Thus ended a war which, though barren of glory or brilliance, added to our Eastern empire a province containing 40,000 square miles, with a population of fully 3,000,000 souls. Such had never before been gained in so short a period by annexation. The export and import traffic has since increased from a few lacs to nine crores of rupees; the people are contented and happy, and would consider a change of masters the greatest of calamities. The first Burmese war entailed an expenditure of thirteen crores; the second cost little more than one crore.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ANNEXATIONS OF SATTARA, NAGPORE, AND JHANSI—THE AFFAIRS OF HYDERABAD (DECCAN).

AFFAIRS in Burmah had once more raised in the ascendant the policy of annexation which had been so long discountenanced by the home authorities, on the plea that our Eastern empire was already unwieldy enough; though many in India at that time thought that, having once moved inland, it would be difficult to stop short of the Sea of China. "No fear of our empire," wrote one bold son of progress, "falling to pieces from its own size, were it extended from the Caspian to the wall of



THE ROYAL NECROPOLIS AT GOLCONDA, HYDERABAD (DECCAN).

China, so long as the country is rich enough to meet its own charges, and is possessed of a defensible frontier." *

The annexation of the Punjaub and of Pegu—like those made during the preceding fifty years, to the territories of British India, from the principalities of Mysore, Holkar, Scindia, Nagpore, and the Peishwa—followed the success of our troops in war, and was the natural result of unprovoked hostilities and dangerous and unsuccessful combinations against us; but the absorption of Sattara, Nagpore, and Jhansi, which we are about to narrate, proceeded from another cause: the failure of heirs, and the assumed—it may be, usurped—prerogative of our being the paramount power in India. The "annexation policy" of the Marquis of Dalhousie occasioned some animadversions at the time; but in tracing this policy to its origin, it is to be observed that, seven years before his arrival, the Governor-General and Council, in 1841, placed on record their unanimous opinion that our line of policy was "to persevere in one clear and direct course of abandoning no just or honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of right are scrupulously respected." †

In these views of his predecessors, Lord Dalhousie, after assuming office, recorded his entire concurrence; but added, that we were not bound "to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatever, or from the failure of heirs natural; but whenever a shadow of doubt can be shown, the claim should be at once abandoned."

The first case of importance to be acted on, or in which the principle of annexation was fully avowed and acted on, was that of Sattara, a district and town now in the presidency of Bombay, which forms a part of the table-land of the Deccan, and lies between the parallels of 15° 40′, and 18° 30′, with a coast line of about twenty miles north of Goa.

The rajahs of this district, after being recognised as the nominal heads of the Mahratta confederacy, had gradually been deprived of all power by the Peishwas or prime ministers, and at last reduced somewhat to the position of state prisoners. When the power and rule of the Peishwa was extinguished, in 1818, by the Marquis of Hastings, the principality of Sattara was created in favour of a descendant of Sevajee, and endowed with a revenue of fifteen lacs yearly. Pertaub Sing, for alleged violations of the treaty, was deposed in 1839, and succeeded by his brother, who died in 1848, leaving no issue. He had repeatedly applied to the Resident for permission to adopt an heir, but had been informed it was not in his power to grant it; but two hours before the death of the prince, a boy, who, though distantly related, was unknown to him, was brought in by hap-hazard; the ceremony of adoption, with the usual rites, was performed, and the last sound in the ears of the dying rajah was the salute of cannon in honour of it. "This adoption having been made in a regular form, was recognised as binding, so far as to give the adopted son all the rights which his adoptive father could convey to him; but it was denied that the succession to the raj was one of those rights. Sattara, it was said, was a British dependency, and adoption could have no validity until it was sanctioned by the paramount power."

Sir George Clerk, K.C.B., the Governor of Bombay, while admitting that the consent of that power was required by custom, maintained that the Government could not, without much injustice, object to it. His successor, Viscount Falkland, concurred with the other members of the Government in taking quite an opposite view of the case; while Mr. Willoughby, a most able member of Council, alleged that the confirmation of the paramount power was essential to the validity of adoption in India; and with this opinion Lord Dalhousie, when the question was submitted to him, entirely concurred. The adopted son of the dead rajah was thus put aside, and Sattara was annexed to the British dominions on the principle thus given in a letter from the home authorities, dated 24th of January, 1849:—"That 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; that we are under no pledge, direct or constructive, to give such consent; and that the general interests committed to our charge are best consulted by withholding it."

It has been questioned whether the British Government had the legal right it asserted, to seize upon and appropriate, or annex Sattara as a lapsed principality; and also whether, under all the circumstances, it was expedient to declare this right. Be all that as it may, Sattara was annexed, and ceased to exist as a separate state. "It is necessary, however, to remember," says a historian, on this point, "that the questions of right and expediency are perfectly distinct, and that cases might occur where the one was answered in the affirmative, and the other, without any inconsistency, in the negative."

* Laurie's "Burmese War," p. 201.
† Marshman's "India."

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As an illustration of this we may cite the very next case that occurred—that of the Rajah of Kerowly, a small Rajpoot state, about eighty miles from Agra, in a south-westerly direction. He died without heirs, yet, though a mere youth, he had an adopted son, without obtaining, therefore, the permission of the British Government. Hence the Marquis of Dalhousie, who was bent on carrying out his policy of annexation, would at once have absorbed this state as he had done Sattara; but, in this instance, the Directors took a more equitable course, and on the 26th of January, 1853—six months after the young rajah's death—they announced their decision, that the succession of the adopted son should be sustained, on the principle that there was a marked difference between this case and that of Sattara. The latter had been a creation of the British Government, and a gift to its late rulers, "whilst Kerowly was one of the oldest of the Rajpoot states, which has been under the rule of its native princes from a period long anterior to the British power in India. It stands to us only in the relation of a protected ally; and perhaps there is no part of India where it is less desirable —except on the strongest grounds—to substitute our government for that of the native rulers."

Five years after the case of Sattara, a similar one occurred at Nagpore, when Ragojee Bhonsla, the Rajah of Berar, or, as he was more frequently named from his capital, the Rajah of Nagpore, died on the 11th of December, 1853. We have elsewhere shown how that kingdom was forfeited by the Marquis of Hastings. The rajah, who was childless, resisted the earnest advice of the Resident to adopt a son; thus, when he died at the date given, he was without any heir or successor, lineal, collateral, or adopted, so that the question of lapsing occurred here in its most simple form, and the marquis placed on record an elaborate minute on the subject.

"We have not now," he wrote, "to decide any question which turns on the right of a paramount power to refuse confirmation to an adoption by an inferior. The rajah has died, and deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. The state of Nagpore, conferred on the rajah and his heirs in 1818 by the British Government, has reverted to it on the death of the rajah without an heir. The Government is wholly unfettered to decide as it may think fit." The Court of Directors signified their entire concurrence in the annexation, stating, as the ground of their doing so, that Nagpore was a kingdom granted after conquest by British favour to the late rajah on hereditary tenure. "He had left no heir of his body; there was no male heir who, by family or hereditary right, could claim to succeed him; he had adopted no son; there was not in existence any person descended in the male line from the founder of the dynasty; and they had no doubt of their right to resume the grant." *

As if all this were not sufficient, there was a member of the Council extravagant enough to defend the policy of general annexation, on the principle that it had been decreed by heaven. "So far as we can foresee the ultimate destiny of this great empire," said Mr. Dorrin, the member in question, "its entire possession must infallibly be consolidated in the hands of Great Britain. Thoroughly believing in this dispensation of Providence, I cannot coincide in any view which shall have for its object the maintenance of native rule against the progress of events, which throws undisputed power into our possession."

The fourth case which came under consideration was that of Jhansi, the little Bundela state in the north-west of Bundelcund, comprising about 2,600 square acres, with a population of 25,000 souls. By its chief, Sheo Rao Bhao, it was held as a tributary of the Peishwa, on the extinction of whose power, Lord Hastings granted Jhansi to the former, with the title of Soubahdar, as a reward for his fidelity, and declared the fief to be hereditary in his family, with a succession, "confirmed in perpetuity" to his grandson, Rao Ram Chund. The latter, who succeeded under this treaty in 1832, was permitted to change the title of Soubahdar to that of Rajah, and as such held the Government till 1835, when he died without issue. A competition of the succession now ensued, and the decision of our Government was in favour of Rao Ragonath, a son of Sheo Rao Bhao, and consequently uncle of the late rajah; but, as he was a leper, and thus unable to rule, our Resident in Bundelcund had to assume the administration till the death of Rao Ragonath in 1838. He, too, left no issue; and after another competition, his brother, Baha Gunghadur Rao, then the sole male descendant of Sheo Rao Bhao, was preferred. For a time after this, our minister still managed the government, and the revenue, which previous misrule had impaired, began to flourish. In 1843 the native administration was restored, and Baha Gunghadur Rao ruled till his death, on the 21st of November, 1853, when once more the question of succession was resumed. The whole male line of Sheo Rao Bhao was extinct; but Gunghadur Rao had striven to secure a nominal succession to his family by the adoption of a distant relation on the day before his death; and his widow, a woman of talent and resolute spirit, demanded

* Marshman

the succession of the boy; but Colonel Low, a member of Council, recorded in his minute that "the native rulers of Jhansi were never sovereigns; they were only subjects of a sovereign, first of the Peishwa, and latterly of the Company, and the Government of India has now a full right to annex the lands of Jhansi to the British dominions."

To this the widow, who would have been entitled to the regency during the adopted son's minority, urged, with some plausibility, that the original Persian terms, interpreted "heirs and successors," meant, not merely heirs of the body, or otherwise, but "successors in general," which implied, that any one whom he, Gunghadur Rao, "adopted as his son, to perform those funeral rites over his body necessary to ensure beatitude in the future world, would be acknowledged by the British Government as his successor, and one through whom the name and interests of the family might be preserved."

But this proved without avail, as Lord Dalhousie stated that the last rajah having left no heir of his body, and there being no male heir of any rajah, or chief, who had ruled the principality for half a century, the right of the British Government to decline acknowledging the present adoption was unquestionable. The Court of Directors took the same view of the case, and Jhansi was incorporated in our territories; but when the dark day of the Mutiny came, the disappointed ranee took a fearful revenge by the murder of the wretched European men, women, and children, who, by her orders, were butchered in cold blood.

It was during the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, and with his full concurrence, that the dignity and privileges of the Nabob of the Carnatic were suppressed by the Madras Government. It may be remembered that in 1801, when that province was annexed to the Company's territories by Lord Wellesley, with a yearly sum for the support of the nabob and his household, he was excluded from allusion to heirs and successors. He enjoyed a titular dignity, received royal salutes, and was placed above the law, but distinctly as a mediatised prince with a personal settlement. Two nabobs of the Carnatic had successively left heirs at their deaths, respectively in 1819 and 1825; and the Government had permitted these heirs to succeed to the title, with all its accompanying privileges.

The last nabob died, without issue, in 1853, on which his uncle, Azim Jah, claimed the dignity and immunities attached to this nominal throne; but Lord Harris, then Governor of Madras, in an elaborate minute to Government, pointed out that we were not bound to recognise an hereditary succession to this dignity, even of direct heirs, and still less so, that of those who were merely collateral heirs.

He averred that the perpetuation of this nabobship in the Carnatic was prejudicial to the public interests, while there existed a separate authority in the capital not amenable to the law, and which combined the vicious habits of an Indian palace with the accumulation of an idle and dissipated population. The palace was already mortgaged, and the debts of the late rajah amounted to half a crore of rupees; Lord Harris therefore suggested that the pensions of the Arcot family should cease, and that the Government should undertake to settle its debts and make a proper allowance to the uncle, Azim Jah. In these views the Marquis of Dalhousie fully concurred, and the Court of Directors declared that the rights of the family to rule, were restricted to the prince who signed the treaty with Lord Wellesley in 1801.

The much vexed question of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Contingent was brought to a satisfactory conclusion by the tact and firmness of Lord Dalhousie and the good judgment of Colonel Low, the Resident at the court of the Nizam. The origin of this force took place in past wars, and it was always over-officered and under-paid. The contingent became a severe expense to the revenues of the state, yet the Nizam would not hear of its being reduced; so its allowances had fallen so repeatedly into arrears, that it became necessary for the Resident to make advances from his treasury, which the Nizam acknowledged as a debt, bearing interest. His territory was sufficiently rich to meet all the demands of the administration; but it was impossible to prevail on the prince to attend to business. His debts amounted to three crores of rupees, and the exorbitant interest he had to pay, together with the expense of maintaining a useless horde of 40,000 mercenary troops, consumed his resources. In 1851, Lord Dalhousie requested that he should give up to our Resident at Hyderabad a portion of his territories, equal to the yearly value of £370,000, until his debt due to the Company was fully cleared off; and the Resident was empowered to occupy the required tract of country with troops, in case the Nizam declined to accede to the demand.

At this time, the relations of the latter with the Indian Government were extremely delicate, and much dissatisfaction prevailed at Calcutta concerning the mode in which the Nizamat was governed. His state was a tributary one, and he was held responsible for the good administration of it, according to the standard of British ideas; but to

these, neither he nor his people showed much desire of conforming. Unable to cultivate any independent relations on one hand, he dared not, on the other, make any alliance or treaty without the permission of the Governor-General. He was compelled to maintain a contingent, which was to be at our disposal, in virtue of a treaty which, too probably, he never intended to observe; and, like most Indian princes, he acted without seeing, or caring to see, the obligations to which it bound him.

From 1850 to 1852, a remarkable number of pamphlets and books were written in defence of the annexation policy; and one of the advocates thereof, Mr. Horace St. John,* wrote boldly in terms that so completely accorded with the measures of Lord Dalhousie, that one might have almost thought that its general application had been fully resolved on as a future system.

A population of nearly 11,000,000 is under the sway of the Nizam, says this writer; "his finances are in irretrievable confusion; his ministers prey on him, he preys on the people; and daily the process of disorganisation and decay is going on, while the prince sits on a throne that would not last a year without the assistance of the East India Company. Anarchy and oppression consume the resources and desolate the face of a beautiful province, with an area of nearly 100,000 square miles. This is an organised crime against humanity. It is for the British Government to redeem the state of Hyderabad from the demoralisation and poverty with which it is afflicted, and to spare its reputation the reproach of conceiving an authority exercised only for the vilest of purposes. Corruption, profligacy, and oppression, practised in all the departments of the Nizam's administration, enfeeble and impoverish the country; and it is a shame that the British nation should lend itself to the support of a government so irretrievably weak and immoral, or to the further injury of a people already debased, degraded, and undone. Charity may ascribe to the Nizam the virtue of good intentions; but it is scarcely wise to adopt the Jesuit principles of dividing his motive from his acts, and judging of him by the philosophy of Escobar. When a sovereign is set up by British authority, one question alone is to be answered—Is he fit or able to reign? If he is not, every aid extended to him is an offence against the people he oppresses. The Nizam's dominions, however, will inevitably, sooner or later, be absorbed in our own, and humanity will bless the occasion which rescues a fine country and a large population from the double curse of a tyranny at once feeble and destructive."

The Nizam had, from time to time, made a few payments towards defraying his debts, especially those incurred by the contingent; but by 1853 they had attained such a magnitude, that the Marquis of Dalhousie lost all patience, and resolved to put the matter to a stern issue. He proposed a draft treaty: to place the contingent on a defined and permanent footing, to provide for its punctual payment and the liquidation of arrears, by the cession of the territory referred to, which was to yield about thirty-six lacs yearly—which was less than the annual claim on the Nizam by about six lacs.

By this arrangement he was relieved of debt to the amount of half a crore; yet he displayed a strong reluctance to agree to the arrangement; and it was only by the importunity of his ministers, and more particularly through the influence of a favourite valet, whom they bribed, that he was induced to consent to it.

The districts which he was compelled to cede, and which were occupied by our troops, were those in Western Berar, which the generosity of Lord Wellesley had accorded to his ancestor for the somewhat doubtful assistance he had given us during the strife in 1803 with the Mahrattas.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION.—ANNEXATION OF OUDE.

THE last most important, and, as it proved eventually, most fatal act of annexation, was that of the kingdom of Oude; yet it proceeded on grounds very different from those we have narrated, and the opinions of the highest authorities were divided on the subject, some condemning it as a gross breach of public faith, and others lauding it as a masterstroke in politics. And here it may be necessary to remind the reader of our early relations with that fruitful source of discord—Oude.

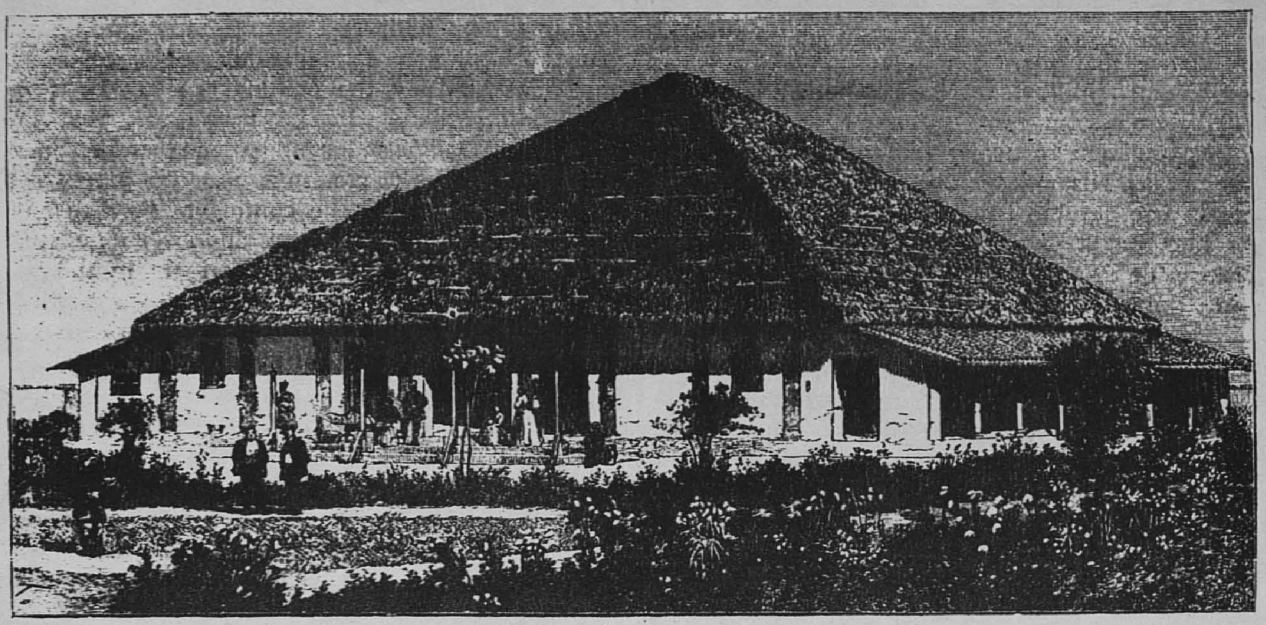
When the empire of the Moguls was falling to

* "Hist. of the British Conquests in India," 1852.

pieces, about 1760, Shujah-ud-Dowlah, its hereditary vizier, holder of the Soubah of Oude, seized upon the latter, and became virtually an independent sovereign, while affecting a nominal allegiance to the emperor. Making common cause with Meer Cossim, he deposed the Nabob of Bengal, but was defeated by our troops, and deprived of Allahabad, yet left in full possession of Oude. In the beginning of the present century, its nabob, Sadut Ali, assumed the title of King of Oude, and though he ably administered the government, our troops were frequently required in the suppression of rebellion and disorder; thus, our relations political, military, and monetary, were a somewhat tangled skein for generations; and a succession of debauched princes made these more complicated still.

When we engaged in the Afghan war and the great military operations subsequent thereto, an increase of troops, which we undertook, by a previous treaty, to maintain in Oude, at the estimated expense of sixteen lacs yearly, did not take place; and much of the consequent misrule that prevailed in Oude was attributable to this, but more to the degraded court of the king and the conduct of his profligate ministers, whose general bearing justified the harshest measures that could be taken against them.

Day by day local abuses and oppressions became more urgent; but so much was our Government occupied by other affairs, that the musnud of Oude had twice become vacant by death, and been re-occupied, before the last crash came. In 1842, Mohammed Ali was succeeded by his son, Soorya Jah, and he again, in February, 1847, by his son, Wajid Ali Shah who, by his natural indolence, permitted the administration of affairs to fall completely into the hands of worthless favourites. Hence it was that, in the first year of his reign, Lord Hardinge, when visiting his capital of Lucknow, caused a memorandum to be prepared and carefully explained to him. That document, after citing all our treaties made with his predecessors in past years, deduced therefrom the fact that the British Government was bound by them to secure a good administration in Oude, and could not permit the continuation of a flagrant system of misrule without being guilty of participation in it.



VIEW OF A PLANTER'S HOUSE AT ALLAHABAD.

"If his Majesty," concluded the memorandum, "cordially enters into the plan suggested by the Governor-General for the improvement of his administration, he may have the satisfaction, within the specified period of two years, of checking and eradicating the worst abuses, and, at the same time, of maintaining his own sovereignty and the native institutions of his kingdom unimpaired; but if he does not—if he takes a vacillating course, and fail, by refusing to act on the Governor-General's advice—he is aware of the other alternative and the consequences. It must, then, be manifest to the whole world that, whatever may happen, the king has received a friendly and timely warning."

Two years passed after this, and no change for

LYERS OF LUCKNOW.

the better took place in the luckless kingdom of Oude; hence the new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, directed our Resident, Colonel (afterwards General Sir W. H.) Sleeman, to make a tour through the country, and after personal inspection, to make a report upon its actual state.

The account he furnished was a continuous record of crime, misery, and oppression in Oude, under a king who surrounded himself exclusively with eunuchs, fiddlers, poetasters, and all manner of parasites. The fiddlers had the control of the administration and of civil justice; the eunuchs administered the criminal law and had charge of public works; while everything else was managed by similar people.

Never was a nation more cursed by utter disorganisation. Colonel Sleeman reported that there were 246 forts or strongholds in Oude, armed with only 476 guns, and held by the landholders, who were chiefly Rajpoots, and who converted large tracts of the most fertile land into jungle, which became the haunts of lawless characters, who robbed or levied outrageous imposts upon all travellers and traders. One in particular, within sixteen miles of Lucknow, had turned thirty miles of rich land into wilderness thus, and erected four fortresses within that circuit. The favourite fiddler held the highest post at court, and the chief singer was *de facto* king. Every official, on appointment, had to pay a species of black-mail to the king, to his heir, to the prime minister, or whosoever had interest at court, and then reimbursed himself by extortions from the wretched people.

Colonel Sleeman—though an avowed enemy to annexation as a system—stated in his report that, with all his desire to maintain the throne of Oude in its integrity, fifty years of experience had destroyed in him the smallest hope that the king would ever carry out any system of government calculated to ensure the happiness of his people.

"He did not think," he continued, "that, with a due regard to its own character as the paramount power in India, and the particular obligations by which it was bound by solemn treaties to the suffering people of this distracted country, the Government could any longer forbear to take over the administration," and in perpetuity to make some suitable provision for the king when dethroned.

Regarding the King of Oude at this time, Mr. Horace St. John says:—"He is, as his predecessors have ever been, a feeble, cruel, and faithless despot, and we are the janissaries of his sanguinary power. We have lately been assured by an Indian official, high in the estimation of the Company, that he has seen the tax-gatherers in the territories of Lucknow lighting their way through the country with the flames of forty villages at one time, set on fire because the wretched inhabitants were unable to satisfy those vampires—the agents of the Oriental exchequer. It would be difficult, with the utmost licence of style, to draw an exaggerated picture of the anarchy and impoverishment which prevail in Oude, under a prince whose imbecility renders his subjects equally contemptible with himself—*fraco Re fa forta gente fraca.* Whenever the British Government determines, therefore, to be consistent in its justice, it will do what the king's want of faith gives it authority at any moment to resolve. It will withdraw its support from him; he will assuredly fall; and it will remain for the Company, instead of keeping up a standing army to defend a people which has been robbed of all that was worth protecting, to undertake the duty which attaches to an imperial power, and make late atonement to Oude for all the misery with which it has been afflicted under its native governors." *

After urging annexations, and the abolition everywhere of "the fiction of native sovereignty," this writer continues thus:—"The unhappiness of these populations is enhanced by contrast with the felicity of their neighbours. It is futile to muse over the pleasant vision of creating new Indian states, under kings of Indian blood, who may receive the lessons of civilisation from us. We cannot proselytise these princes to humanity. They will not embrace our ethics; we must recognise their crimes. We may be gentle and caressing to them, but they will be *carnefices* to their people. We have dreamed too long over this idea. We have no moral authority to uphold them, and they have no claim to be upheld, for the prescriptive right to plunder and oppress any community is a vile and bloody fiction. The regeneration of such powers is impossible. It is time to relinquish the fancy. The more we delay, confiding in a better future, the further will the chance be driven. 'The hope is on our horizon, and it flies as we proceed.'"

On every hand the necessity of interference in the affairs of Oude was admitted to be most urgent; but, occupied by the protracted war with Burmah, and preparations for a coming struggle with Persia, the Marquis of Dalhousie, though determined to annex Oude, was compelled to permit some time to elapse ere he acted. The days of his administration were drawing to a close, and well aware of all the doubts and difficulties

* "Hist. of Brit. Conquests in India."

that beset the question, he might, had he chosen, have bequeathed the annexation as a troublesome legacy to his successor; but the marquis was too manly and honourable a man to adopt such a course; and though his health was failing, and an early departure from India was most necessary, he intimated to the Directors that he would remain, and give, if they desired it, practical effect to the decision regarding Oude.

By the home authorities his offer was at once accepted, and he was left with ample discretionary power as to his mode of proceeding. Hence, annexation, involving the absolute extinction of Oude as a native government and the utter abrogation of all existing treaties with it, was decreed and announced to all the empire by one simple public proclamation.

In the statement given, it was said that the mutual obligations of the two Governments were based upon the treaties of 1801 and of 1837.

By the first of these, the British Government obtained in perpetuity the half of the territory of Oude, for undertaking to defend the remaining half from enemies, foreign and domestic; and by the last-named treaty it was stipulated that, in the event of a reformed administration not being established, the British Government might enter into possession of the disturbed districts, and hold them till they could be satisfactorily restored; any surplus revenue arising in the meanwhile to be paid into the exchequer of Oude. Many averred that all this was reducing to practice the classical fable of the Monkey and the Cheese, as there was nothing contained in either of these treaties which could countenance the annexation of Oude.

"The one," says a legal writer, "bound the Government of Oude to reform its administration; and the other defined and fixed the penalty to be inflicted in the event of failing to do so. When the treaty of 1837 was framed, there was no idea of annexation; and an important point was understood to be gained, when, by the insertion of a penalty, means were provided for giving gradual effect to the vague promise of 1801. Now, however, when annexation was to be resorted to, the treaty of 1837 was found to present a serious obstacle. Its very definiteness would not allow any other penalty than that which it prescribed to be exacted; and therefore, if annexation was to be persisted in, it became absolutely necessary to hold that the treaty of 1837 was not binding."

Some time prior to announcing the annexation, Lord Dalhousie, acting still with caution in a matter of such moment, had appointed Colonel (afterwards General Sir James) Outram Resident in Oude, with directions to make another thorough inquiry into the condition of the people. His report was that there was no improvement, and not the slightest prospect of any; and the duty imposed upon our Government by treaty would not longer admit of delay, in seeking to ameliorate the condition of 5,000,000 people, by ceasing to uphold an effete and incapable dynasty.

It was then that the Marquis of Dalhousie drew up a comprehensive minute, in which he analysed the evidence that had been adduced of the gross and shameful abuse of power that had existed for years in Oude, and of the opinions given by those who urged us to protect its people.

"Were it not for the presence of our troops," he wrote, "the people would long since have worked their own deliverance; inaction on our part could no longer be justified. But the rulers of Oude, however unfaithful to the trust conferred on them, have yet ever been faithful and true in their allegiance to the British power, and they have aided us as best they could in the hour of our utmost need. Justice and gratitude require that, in ameliorating the lot of the people, we should lower the dignity and authority of the sovereign as little as possible. The prospects of the people may be improved, without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory and the abolition of the throne."

He affirmed that he did not wish Oude made a mere province of Britain; hence he proposed that the king should retain the nominal sovereignty; and while the entire civil and military administration should be placed in the hands of the Company, an annual stipend should be given to him for the support of his rank. Of the Council, Mr. (afterwards Sir Barnes) Peacock agreed with the marquis, while Mr. Grant (afterwards Sir John Peter Grant, and Governor of Jamaica) recommended the entire absorption of Oude into our territories; and General Low, who had long been Resident at Lucknow, was of the same opinion.

The whole of these minutes, together with the reports of Generals Sleeman and Outram, were transmitted by Lord Dalhousie to the Court of Directors, with whom, and the Ministry, the decision rested. Two months of deliberation followed; and then they came to the determination to adopt that sterner resolution—from which Lord Dalhousie had thought to dissuade them—the entire absorption of the territory and abolition of the throne.

Hence the tenor of the proclamation issued by Lord Dalhousie.

But this was not the last we were fated to hear of Oude.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS.—REVENUE.—POSTAL REFORM.—GANGES CANAL.—RAILROADS.—TELEGRAPHS, ETC.

MEMORABLE indeed was the Marquis of Dalhousie's tenure of office, by the many reforms he effected, and by the material progress civilisation made in India under his brief rule; while there was scarcely a branch of the public service into which he did not penetrate for the purpose of examination. To all circumlocution and obstruction, to all boards that were cumbersome and forms that were useless, he had a great aversion; he abolished or re-constructed them all, as far as possible, and invigorated every department of the state by infusing unity of control, added to responsibility.

He did away with the Military Board; and, though a civilian, there was no branch of the public service in which his general reforms were more welcome and beneficial than those of the army. The Military Board had been weighted with the superintendence of public works, and by other multifarious duties that had been thrust upon it, and hence its failure in many of its duties had been palpable. Thus, he organised, in 1850, a department of public works, with separate officials and a secretary, not only to the Government of India, but to each of the three Presidencies. In a chief engineer, assisted by a body of subordinates, the responsibility of management was vested; while to ensure the steady progress of all public works—which previously had been done by sudden and often feeble efforts—a schedule of those that were to be executed during each year was submitted to Government at the commencement of it.

For ten years, without much, if any, intermission, the Government of India had been engaged in wars, which absorbed thirty crores of treasure, and entailed an annual deficit, which, however, ceased with the cause of it; and the revenues of India, during Lord Dalhousie's administration, increased from twenty-six to thirty crores. During eight years—between 1848 and 1856—the commerce of Bombay became developed to an extraordinary extent; that of Calcutta was doubled; and the coasting trade, after being freed from every obstruction, was rendered safer by the erection of light-houses on the headlands and bays.*

The necessity for having in India the priceless boon of that cheap and uniform postage, which Britain had enjoyed since the advent of Rowland Hill, was taken up by Lord Dalhousie with all that zeal and energy which were natural to him. He transmitted to Leadenhall Street a plan for establishing a uniform rate of half an ounce, or three farthings for every letter of a defined weight, without regard to distance, though it should be 2,000 miles; and the Court of Directors readily and liberally sanctioned this, as they did all his other great schemes for improvement. He next procured a reduction of the postage between Great Britain and India, and took a kindly national pride in an arrangement which, he said, "would enable the Scottish recruit at Peshawur to write to his mother at John o' Groats for sixpence." *

The Ganges Canal, that magnificent work which connects the Ganges with the Jumna by a navigable channel, and likewise furnishes irrigation to a tract of country between those two great rivers, having an area of 5,400,000 acres, had been commenced long before the arrival of Lord Dalhousie, but was advancing at a very sluggish pace, as the sum expended on it from the beginning did not exceed seventeen lacs of rupees. Aware of its vast benefit to India, he pressed on the work with unflagging ardour, permitting no exigencies of war, no financial difficulty, or other contingency, to interrupt its progress; and in six years the sum spent upon it exceeded a crore and a half of rupees. In March, 1854, the main stream was opened into it by Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra. This noble undertaking, which had been designed and completed by Sir Proby Thomas Cautley, K.C.B. (a native of Suffolk, and a distinguished officer of the Bengal Artillery), ranks among the highest efforts of civilisation. "It nearly equals in aggregate length all the lines of the four greatest canals of France, and is five times larger than all the main lines in Lombardy."

Some portions of this splendid work present architectural features of a most important kind, amongst which is the aqueduct of fifteen arches over the Solani river. The intention was that, when completed, it should be used for the whole or greater part of the hill produce, which had previously been rafted down the Ganges for centuries; the main articles being timber of different sizes,

* Marshman, &c.

* Ibid.

bamboos, firewood, charcoal, and the various grasses, used either in forming mats, or those which sell in the market for rope and other purposes.

In 1853 the Madras University was opened, during the rule of Lord Dalhousie; and the Grant College, at Bombay, founded in honour of a late governor, and built by subscription, promised soon after to be productive of great good. To the college at Fort William, founded long before, reference has already been made in this work.

The railroad system, which is working greater and more wonderful changes in the social, political, and mercantile interests of British India, owes much to the exertions of Lord Dalhousie. The first line of rail in that country was projected in 1843 by Sir Macdonald Stephenson, and it received the warmest encouragement from Mr. Wilberforce Bird, while temporarily officiating at the head of the administration; but the commercial disasters that ensued prior to 1847 made British capitalists reluctant to embark in a field so unknown in the annals of railway enterprise as India. This nearly baffled the undertaking; but Sir Macdonald was indefatigable, and succeeded at last in forming the East India Railway Company; and Sir James Weir Hogg, Bart. (afterwards M.P. for Honiton), a member of the Court of Directors, prevailed on his colleagues, but not without the utmost difficulty, to guarantee a rate of interest sufficient to raise the necessary capital.

Two short and experimental lines at Calcutta and Bombay were sanctioned; but as numerous applications for others elsewhere poured into the India House, the Directors wisely referred them all to the consideration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, who, from the first, had seen the advantages, in a military as well as commercial point of view, which must accrue from connecting the different main points of the splendid empire he governed, by means of a complete system of railways; and to whom the Court intimated a wish that, without loss of time, these should be got into operation.

In no better or more able hands could this important matter have been placed. The marquis had presided for some years at the Board of Trade, during a time that was the most active of British railway enterprise, and hence he had become completely master of the principles and even the minuter details of railway economy; and to this knowledge he added broad and comprehensive views of policy. On the 20th of April, 1853, he transmitted to the Court a most carefully drawn minute, which became the future basis of the Indian railway system, and in which he expressed a hope that the limited and experimental lines already sanctioned, would no longer be deemed the standard of railway works for Hindostan.

"A glance at the map," he said, "would suffice to show how immeasurable would be the political advantages of a system of internal communication, by which intelligence of every event should be transmitted to Government at a speed five-fold its present rate, and enable the administration, to bring the bulk of its military strength to bear upon any given point in as many days as it now requires months . . . . A system of railways, judiciously selected and formed, would surely and rapidly give rise in this empire to the same encouragement of enterprise, the same multiplication of produce, the same discovery of latent forces, and the same increase of national wealth, that have marked the introduction of improved and extended communications in the various kingdoms of the western world. With the aid of a railway carried up to the Indus, the risk involved by the extension of our frontier to a distance of 1,500 miles would be infinitely diminished. Peshawur would, in fact, be reached in less time and with greater facility than Moorshedabad, though only seventy miles distant from Calcutta, in the days of Clive."

In conclusion, he suggested the system of railways which should connect the three presidencies with each other by great trunk lines, and advocated the construction of these by public companies, which should be sustained by a State guarantee, and directly controlled by the Government of India, acting in the public interest, on the principle for which he had ever contended, though somewhat in vain, when at the head of the Board of Trade.

What the railway system of India may ultimately become it is impossible to conjecture, but the wonderful statistics of what it now owes to the energy and talent of Dalhousie may be briefly summarised thus:—

The guaranteed lines are—1. The East Indian Railway, from Calcutta to Delhi; from Allahabad to Jubbulpore, where it joins the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, with a length of 1,504 miles, of which 414 are double. 2. The latter line, which runs from Bombay to Jubbulpore, where it joins the East Indian Railway, and south-west to Raichose, where it joins the north-west branch of the Madras Railway, and the important branch-line to Nagpore; the whole length being 1,278 miles, of which 287 are double. 3. The Madras Railway from that city to Beypore, with a branch to Bangalore, and the north-west line, which joins the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, making 858 miles, with the branch from Coimbatore to the denser ranges

of the Neilgherry Hills, which are still inhabited by their three aboriginal races: the Kotas, the Burgas, and the Thodas, the worshippers of Ram. 4. The Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Railway, which runs from the first-named city due north to Ahmedabad, a distance of 407 miles, with an extension line of seventy-eight miles to Wurdwan. 5. The Scinde, Punjaub, and Delhi Railway, from Kurrachee to Kotra on the Indus, a distance of 110 miles, passing by Lahore and Umritsir, the holy city of the Sikhs, joining the East Indian Railway at Ghazeeabad, a distance of 533 miles. The stately bridge over the Sutlej, connecting the line between Delhi and Lahore, was opened on the 15th of October, 1870, thus establishing communication from Calcutta and Bombay with Moultan, so famous for its silks and brocades; the entire length being 676 miles, together with 500 more worked by steamers on the Indus. 6. The Great Southern Railway, from Negapatam to Trichinopoly, and from there to Erode, the ancient capital of the Naichs of Madura, where it joins the Madras Railway (south-west line), a distance of 445 miles, of which 168 were open in 1875. 7. The Carnatic Railway, merged in the South Indian, includes all the lines belonging to the former, commencing at Madras and running to Cuddalore, but not yet finished. 8. The Eastern Bengal runs north-east from Calcutta to Dacca, the third city in Bengal, and so famed for its muslins; it is 158 miles in length. 9. The Oude and Rohilcund Railway is designed to afford communication through these countries, and to make branches to various places on the East Indian Line. Its sanctioned length is 695 miles, of which 523 were open between Cawnpore and Lucknow in 1875.

In addition to these are five State lines: the Calcutta to Muttah Harbour, the Nalhatee, Kangaum, Oomrawuttee, and Patna; with eight not yet complete, including the Indus Valley and the British Burmah Line, Rangoon to Prome, 160 miles.*

The electric telegraph was another valuable boon conferred on India by Lord Dalhousie, in conjunction with the enterprising Mr. O'Shaughnessy, afterwards Sir William Brooke O'Shaughnessy, M.D., a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, who, while a medical officer of the Bengal army, published some "Memoirs" on electricity, and by the marquis was appointed superintendent of telegraphs in India, from whence he previously sent him to London, with a letter to the Directors, stating the success of an experimental line of wires he had succeeded in laying down from Calcutta to the sea at Kedgeree, which, by expediting the communication of intelligence, was found to be invaluable during the Burmese war. He impressed upon them his anxiety to bring the various points of the Indian empire in direct communication with each other by telegraphic wires, and earnestly and personally solicited authority for their construction. Sir James Hogg, then chairman, fortunately took the same interest in the promotion of the telegraph as the marquis, whose proposal was carried through the various official stages with a promptitude pleasing even to him; for, within a week after his communication arrived, a despatch, sanctioning the establishment of the telegraph, was on its way to India. Over all that vast peninsula has spread the network of wires to an extent that has fully answered the hopes of the enterprising Governor-General, who, even in his time, found the facilities for administration increased tenfold.

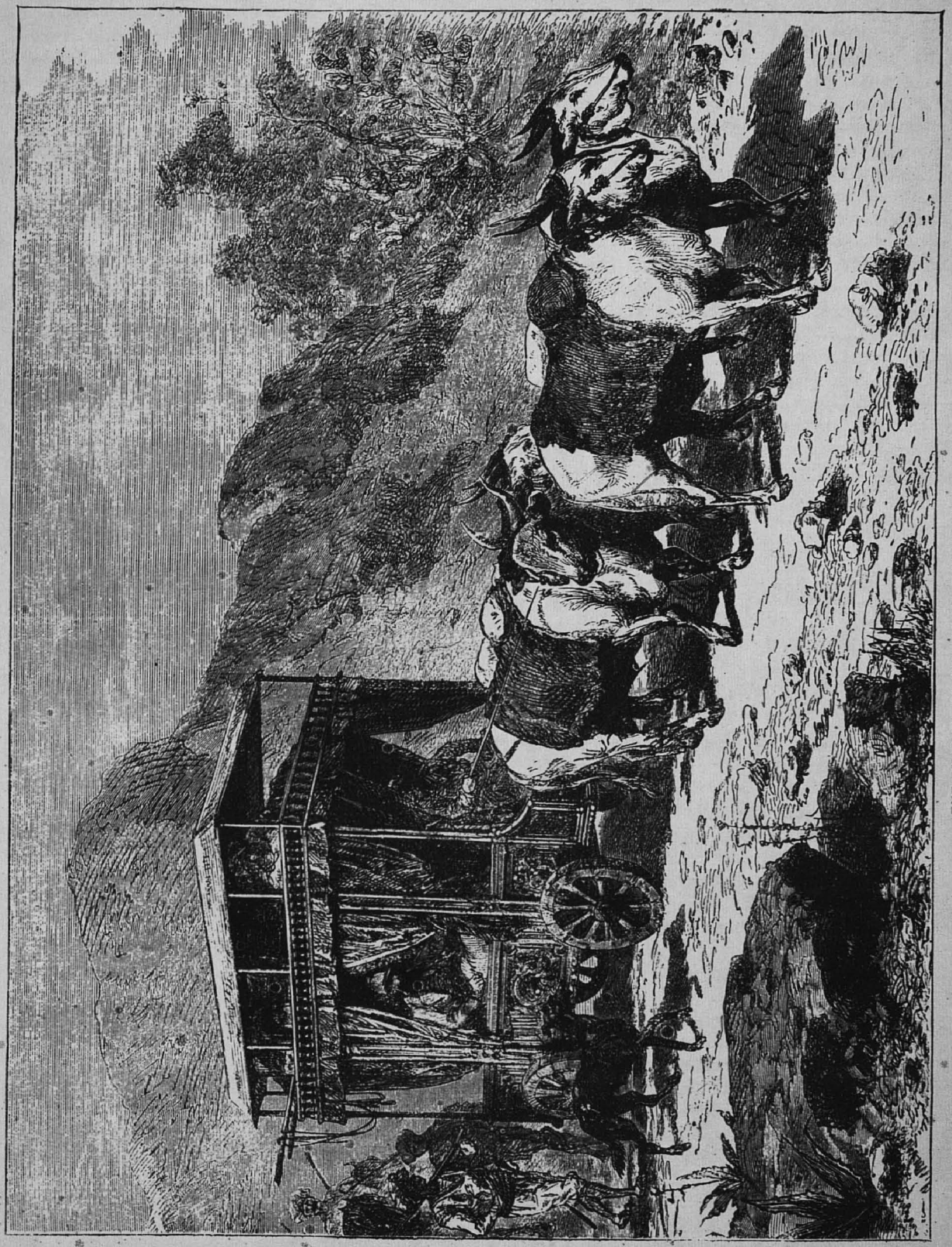
"It may yet be hoped," wrote this far-seeing Scot, "that the system of electric telegraphs in India may one day be linked with those which envelop Europe, and which already stretch across the Atlantic."

On this subject, Marshman, writing in 1873, remarks, "Not only is the Government of India in daily communication with the home authorities, but on a recent occasion a complimentary message from the Governor-General at Simla to the President of the United States reached Washington, and was acknowledged in three hours. It cannot, however, but be considered a fortunate, not to say a providential, circumstance, that the submarine telegraph was not in existence before the conquest of India had been completed, and Peshawur had become the frontier station of the empire. Considering the inveterate repugnance of the Court of Directors and of the Board of Control to any increase of territory whatever, it is manifest that if such facilities of communication had existed at a more early period there would have been no Indian empire to govern."

It is strange to find that, while modern civilisation was making such progress in India, much of its ancient barbarism lurked in secret among the people; for in June of 1852 a discovery was made in the Punjaub of a frightful system of Thuggee, or the remnant of it. Fully 500 murderers were detected, and the names of 320, who were distinctly Thugs, were obtained, and of these 120 openly confessed their crimes.

In the same year, the pirates of the Indian Archipelago committed many atrocities; and among these we may mention the murderous attack made on the British merchant schooner *Dolphin* by some

* "Madras People's Almanac, 1875," &c. &c.



THE CHOPAYA OR HINDOO TRAVELLING CARRIAGE.

Zaneen and Suloo sea-robbers in Malluda Bay, on the north-east coast of Borneo.

On the 8th of September, when the vessel was under weigh, two boats, manned by armed men, came alongside in the evening, and intimated their desire to trade, which Captain Robertson declined to do till day dawned on the morrow. At seven o'clock two men came on board, apparently to trade with Mr. Burns, the supercargo, to whom they showed some matting, pearls, and camphor. While he stooped to examine some of the pearls, a rolled-up mat was handed up from the boat, concealing a Malay kreese, with which the pretended trader by one slash severed the head of Mr. Burns from his body.

The Suloo man then rushed on Captain Robertson, who was standing on the quarter-deck looking aft, when he received across the chin a slash, intended, no doubt, for his neck. On this he sprang, bleeding fast, to the end of the jib-boom, when he begged his life, but was slain by spearmen in one of the native boats. No resistance could be offered, as all the arms were below. Three of the crew were next butchered; the rest leaped overboard, or rushed up the rigging, where they were bound with ropes. A native woman was cut nearly in two, and then thrown into the sea; after which, the pirates carried off the *Dolphin* to Labuk Bay, on the north-east coast of the isle of Borneo. The Honourable Company's steamer *Pluto* followed in pursuit, but the water then shallowed, and two paddle-box boats, each armed with a six-pounder, went in shore, under Mr. Hodge, of the *Pluto*, and Mr. St. John, the officiating commissioner. In consequence of the intricacies of the Benguin river, some difficulty was experienced in selecting the proper channel; but eventually the *Dolphin* was reached and boarded by the British seamen, to whom the chief of Benguin, under the influence of fear, gave up the murderers, some of whom were cut down, and others wounded. The *Dolphin* was then towed down the river to where the *Pluto* was at anchor, and by the commander of which she was sent to Singapore.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE PERSIAN WAR.—WHAT LED THERETO.—THE ARMY OF PERSIA DETAILED.—BATTLE OF KHOOSH-AB

THE origin of the already-forgotten war with Persia in 1856 was somewhat similar to that which led to the serious strife with Afghanistan; and certain minute and remarkable details of Russian policy towards Persia, and through that country towards British India, have been given in both instances as events preliminary to both wars.

Although we were, to all appearance, on the best of relations with the court of Persia, the desire there to invade Afghanistan was not relinquished; a secret bad feeling lurked at Teheran, and in the halls of "the Ark," or royal palace there, the counsels of Russia had the greatest influence. Without actually urging Persia into a war, she was anxious to keep open and rankling a source of contention, which she might turn to her own profitable account some day, and yet she had so wholesome a fear of the power of Britain as to avoid provoking her by operations in the Persian Gulf. Thus her instigations to hostility only took effect when too late, or when any movement on the part of Persia was rendered useless or feeble by the fall of Sebastopol and the proclamation of peace among the Western Powers.

Nevertheless the Russian policy was just what it had been at the time when our troops penetrated the dark passes of the Khyber Mountains, and it was expressed with clearness and decision by her ambassador, Hoossian Khan, in his letter to Prince Metternich, in 1839;-and that in straightforwardness it was more European than Oriental, the following extract will show:—"The Shah is sovereign of his country, and as such he desires to be independent. There are two great powers with whom Persia is in more or less direct contact—Russia and the British power in India. The first has more military power than the second; on the other hand, Britain has more money than Russia. The two powers can thus do Persia good and evil; and in order, above all, to avoid the evil, the Shah is desirous of keeping himself, with respect to them, within the relations of good friendship, and free from all contest. If, on the contrary, he finds himself threatened on one side, he will betake himself

to the other in search of the support which he shall stand in need of. That is not what he desires, but to what he may be driven, for he is not more the friend of one than of the other of those powers; he desires to be with them on a footing of equal friendship. What he cherishes, above all, is his independence and maintenance of good relations with foreign powers."

The policy of the Persian monarch is there put in its most favourable light; but the idea of having compensation on the Afghan side for territory lost on the Russian frontier strongly pervaded his court, where, the capture of Herat, whenever a fitting opportunity should present itself, was deemed a point of national honour; though, on the 20th of July, 1851, Colonel Shiel, the British Minister at Teheran, informed the Shah that our views were quite unchanged as to the independence of Herat. During the latter part of that year the country was so much convulsed by contentions, that the Khan asked the aid of Persia to uphold his authority. This aid the Shah promised, and began a negociation, which had for its object the extortion of certain Oriental forms, which would have constituted him lord paramount of Herat, with all its mountains, deserts, and hordes of wandering Turcomans—the dwellers in black tents; while, on the other hand, Dost Mohammed of Cabul threatened to pour his Afghan clans on Candahar, and undermine the policy of the Shah.

The spring of 1852 saw a Persian army marching against Herat. It was occupied, and many oppressions ensued, while several Afghan chiefs, resident there, were seized and sent as prisoners into Persia; and all this was done in the face of assurances of the most pacific nature given to the resident minister of Great Britain. Court falsehoods of the most disgraceful kind were unblushingly resorted to, to conceal the ultimate intentions of the Shah, who now annexed to Persia the hitherto independent state of Herat, which extended from Ouch on the east, to Ghorian on the west, about 120 miles, and in breadth, from Kurakh on the north to Izfazar on the south, about ninety miles.

When these transactions became known by the Cabinet in London, the Earl of Malmesbury, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, declined all intercourse with the ambassador of Persia. In that kingdom, Colonel Shiel offered such resistance, and so loudly menaced the Shah with the active displeasure of Britain, that he became alarmed, and without having the sword drawn against him, signed, on the 25th of January, 1853, a treaty, or document, renouncing all sovereignty over the state of Herat, and binding himself not to interfere by force of arms in its affairs; but reserving the right to march his armies into its vicinity if any other power did the same.

In making this sudden and peaceful concession, the Shah's minister had no other views than to throw the British, whom, in their arrogance, the Persians deemed half barbarians, off their guard; but the firmness of Colonel Shiel compelled them to observe the stipulations they never intended to perform. Enforced thus to act with apparent honour, the bearing of the Persian Court was the reverse of pleasant to the British ambassador and his suite, and there came to pass an episode which brought this out in plain colours.

On the 15th of June, 1854, Mr. Thompson, then our plenipotentiary, wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, informing him that he had chosen as his Persian secretary a person named Meerza Hashim Khan, who was learned, courtly in bearing, and every way suitable to the appointment, which the earl confirmed; and a persecution of Meerza by the Persian court, as the favourite of the British, at once commenced. The Honourable Charles A. Murray, C.B., second son of the Earl of Dunmore, on his succession as convoy at Teheran, also favoured Meerza; but the persecution of the latter by the Persian court became so bitter, that on some frivolous pretence, they seized his wife and threw her into prison. Mr. Murray spiritedly demanded reparation for this outrage upon a member of his staff, together with the instant release of the lady. His message was treated with insolent disdain; hence, to uphold the dignity of the empire he represented, on the 20th of November, 1855, he struck his flag.

To cover this conduct of his master's, the Persian prime minister circulated a malicious report, that both Mr. Murray and Mr. Thompson, his predecessor, had been guilty of intrigues with the wife of the khan, who owed to these his appointment; and on this allegation being made to Mr. Murray himself, in an official missive from the Persian Cabinet, on the 5th of December, after having endured many insults, he quitted Teheran.

The court of Persia, now greatly perplexed, endeavoured to transact business with that of Britain, through Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, our ambassador at Constantinople, where, on the 2nd of January, 1856, the Persian envoy laid before him a long list of complaints against Messrs. Thompson, Murray, Consul Stevens, and all connected with our mission at Teheran. In fact, it appeared that "the Persian court was as much opposed to the consul as to the ministers. The

Persian Ministry drew up a scandalous document for publication in Europe, incriminating the British ministers at their court with immorality. This document breathed a malignant hostility unusual between belligerent states, and was utterly disgraceful in its conception and expression. Had all the British ministers been immoral, the fact would not have affected the merits of the dispute. The sacredness of the persons and property of all persons, Persians or others, engaged in the service of the British embassy, and of their families, had been violated spitefully and without provocation, and for this wrong redress was demanded. It is probable that all these disturbances were got up by the Persian Government to cover their policy towards Herat, for at the end of 1855, Prince Sultan Moorad Meerza was sent with a force of 9,000 men against that place."

During the war with Russia the fall of Kars was circulated all over Asia, with immeasurable exaggerations and wild rumours; the fall of Sebastopol was not known for long after. The secret agents of Russia had ample means for producing this double effect; the consequences of which were, that, impressed by some vague ideas of our being weakened or humiliated, the effeminate Persians became emboldened, as were also the Zemindars of recently annexed Oude, and other enemies of Britain in the East; so the Shah thought that now or never was the time to accomplish completely, in spite of right or treaty, the long-cherished desire of his court, the conquest and annexation of Herat.

In July, 1856, by direction of the Earl of Clarendon, the ultimatum of our Government was delivered to the Persian *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople; while at the same time, the Marquis of Dalhousie was directed to collect forces at Bombay, for operations in the Gulf and on the coast of Persia, where our consul, Mr. Stevens, still remained at his post in Teheran.

By the terms of the ultimatum, the prime minister of Persia was required to write, in the service of the Shah, "a letter to Mr. Murray, expressing his regret at having uttered and given currency to the offensive imputation upon the honour of her Majesty's ministers; requesting to withdraw his own letter of the 19th November, and two letters of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 26th of November, one of which contains a rescript from the Shah respecting the imputation upon Mr. Murray; and declaring in the same letter that no such further rescript from the Shah as that enclosed herewith in copy, was communicated, directly or indirectly, to any of the foreign missions at Teheran. A copy of this letter to be communicated officially by the *Sadr Azim* (Premier), to each of the foreign missions at Teheran, and the substance of it made public in that capital. The original letter to be conveyed to Mr. Murray, at Bagdad, by the hands of some high Persian officer, and to be accompanied by an invitation to Mr. Murray, in the Shah's name, to return with the mission to Teheran, on his Majesty's assurance that he shall be received with all the honours due to the representative of the British Government; another person of suitable rank being sent to conduct him, as *Mehmandar*, on his journey through Persia. Mr. Murray, on approaching the capital, to be received by persons of high rank, deputed to escort him to his residence in the town.

"Immediately on his arrival there, the *Sadr Azim* to go in state to the British Mission and renew friendly relations with Mr. Murray, leaving the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to conduct him to the royal palace; the *Sadr Azim* receiving Mr. Murray, and conducting him to the presence of the Shah. At noon on the following day, the British flag to be hoisted under a salute of twenty-one guns, and the *Sadr Azim* to visit the mission immediately afterwards; which visit Mr. Murray will return, at latest, on the following day before noon. Satisfaction being thus given, and friendly relations restored, the settlement of the questions of Herat, of Meerza Hashim, remains to be stated. Should Herat be occupied by the Shah's troops, his Majesty to engage to withdraw them without delay. Should that city be in any way menaced, though not occupied, by the Shah's troops, his Majesty to engage not to allow them to occupy it on any account. In either case, the engagement being solemnly given, the British Mission to defer to his Majesty's wish, if renewed respecting Meerza Hashim, by not insisting upon his appointment at Shiraz; the Meerza's wife, however, to be restored to him, and himself to enjoy the security, emoluments, and position offered by the Persian Government in a former stage of the question. The whole of the correspondence respecting Meerza Hashim may then be mutually withdrawn and cancelled, it being to be understood that no objections will be made by the Persian Government to the appointment, as heretofore, of a British correspondent at Shiraz till that and other matters can be arranged by a suitable convention."

The friendly spirit of this document failed to effect its object, for fresh outrages and indignities were offered to all servants of the British Government who were rash enough to linger in Persia. The intelligence that our troops were mustering at

Bombay reached Teheran, but the Shah—the same Nazir-ed-Deen who visited Europe in 1873—was undismayed, and sent more troops to garrison his menaced provinces. To Mr. Stevens, our consul, the Ministry gave orders to quit Persia instantly; but to take the necessary measures to secure the liberty and property of British subjects.

The Shah, who was then determined to go to war with us, was born in 1829, and had succeeded to the throne in 1848. We are told that "he is well-versed in Persian and Turkish, is acquainted with history, and has a correct idea of the relations in which he stands to each of the European powers. Although endowed with considerable energy of character, he is mild and gentle in manners, and simple in the habits of his private life."

On the 24th September, 1856, the President of the Board of Control was directed to forward to India, by the next mail, instructions for the Persian expedition to move for the Gulf; and on the 17th of next month Ferukh Khan reached Constantinople as minister plenipotentiary of the Shah. He sought to negociate with Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe; and while consenting to terms of peace, raised such absurd obstructions to them subsequently in detail, that no reliance whatever could be placed on his political sincerity. Hence, on the 1st of November, the Governor-General of India declared war against Persia.

Three proclamations were sent forth by him, and these, when they reached Constantinople, caused Ferukh Khan to break off all further attempts at negociation, and treat his past agreements as null and void.

Major-General Outram, K.C.B., who had repaired to London after settling and leaving Oude, had been consulted by the Home authorities with reference to the Persian expedition, the command of which was assigned to him. He repaired at once to Bombay, and placed himself at the head of the second division of "the army of Persia," the first having already sailed under Major-General Foster Stalker, K.C.B. The brigadiers of this division were Colonels Wilson and Housen; Brigadier Trevelyan commanded the artillery and Brigadier Tapp the cavalry. When the second division reached the Gulf, Outram, having now the rank of Lieutenant-General, reserved it for Brigadier Havelock, C.B., Deputy Adjutant-General of H.M. Indian forces, who arrived soon after. Brigadiers Hamilton and Hale had the brigades of that division. Colonel Stuart of the 4th, or Queen's Light Dragoons, commanded the cavalry of the second division; but those of both were placed under the orders of Brigadier Faral, C.B.; while the entire command of the artillery was given to Brigadier Hill.

The whole force under Sir James Outram on this occasion was as follows:—3rd Bombay Cavalry, 243; Poonah Horse, 176, making only 419 sabres; H.M. 64th Regiment, 780; 2nd Bombay Europeans, 693; 78th Highlanders, 739, making 2,212 European infantry; Sappers, 118; 20th Native Infantry, 442; 4th Rifles, 523; 26th Native Infantry, 479; Beloochees, 460, making 2,022 coloured troops; total, 4,653. 3rd troop of Horse Artillery, six guns; 3rd and 5th Light-Field Batteries, twelve guns. Camp Followers—376 Europeans, 1,466 natives; one company of European Artillery, with fourteen guns. Total number of pieces, thirty-two. Such were the forces destined for the Persian campaign, of which an interesting narrative was published by Captain Hunt, of the 78th Highlanders.

The general rendezvous of the sea and land forces was at Ma'mer on the Persian Gulf, and after the arrival of Outram, active operations at once ensued, by the army commencing its march around the head of Bushire Creek, on a heavy road lying through loose sand. When the troops halted to bivouac in order of march, on the second day, there burst forth a dreadful thunderstorm. The rain fell in blinding torrents, mingled with heavy hailstones, drenching all to the skin, as the troops were without the shelter of either tents or trees. A piercing wind, that blew from some snow-clad mountains over the sandy waste, added to their misery; but the ardour of our troops was only equalled by their love for, and confidence in, the gallant Outram.

The dawn of the 5th of February stole into that comfortless bivouac, where it then became known that the Persians were halted nine miles in front, and in considerable strength. All loaded arms were discharged, and re-loaded, so that none should miss fire, after the rain, and then the march was resumed. About mid-day, the grey masses of the Persians were seen in possession of a strongly-intrenched position, so Sir James Outram ordered the bugles to sound a halt, while the regiments deployed from column into line; but the formation was barely complete when, to the annoyance of all, by the wavering and uncertain gleam of their arms, the enemy were discovered to be in full retreat, a movement during which our light cavalry overtook, and cut up their rear-guard. The Persians behaved with considerable spirit. One officer and several of our men were wounded, while Brigadier Housen had a narrow escape from a ball, which

pierced his saddle. Here the military governor of Bras-joon was made prisoner.

In the abandoned camp, of which we immediately took possession, great stores of grain and ammunition were found. An examination proved that we might have forced this position with ease, whereas Bras-joon, an adjacent village, had it been fortified, might have given us infinite trouble. For two entire days Outram's troops were occupied in destroying the enemy's military stores, and searching for buried cannon and treasure.

On the morning of the 7th of February the march was resumed, but in the direction of Bushire, the Persians having been observed to be still retreating into the fastnesses of the distant mountains. All remained quiet during this retrograde movement until midnight, when suddenly the army was startled by a volley of musketry flashing out of the gloom in its rear, accompanied with the discharge of two pieces of cannon. For half an hour this continued to increase, till the whole force became involved in a singular and indescribable skirmishing fire. Making every possible noise, and vociferously blowing their trumpets, the Persian cavalry galloped furiously to and fro, while a Persian bugler in the dark got close to the ranks of the 78th Highlanders and sounded the British bugle-calls, "cease firing," and then "incline to the left;" but the Highlanders, whom he failed to mislead, remained steady. The yells, shouts, and bugle-calls ceased after a time; the enemy, satisfied with the *alerte* they had given, drew off, and in silence the British remained under arms awaiting the dawn, before which five heavy guns were opened on us by the Persians with great precision. They had the range accurately and succeeded in killing and wounding several officers, soldiers, camp-followers, and baggage animals; and when day fully broke, the enemy were seen in front to the number of 6,900 men, with eighteen pieces of cannon.

Their detailed strength in the field was as follows:—Guards, 900; two Karragoozloo battalions, 1,500; the Shiraz regiment, 200; the corps of Tabriz, 800; the Arab regiment, 900; Kaskai, 800 = 5,100; Sufengchees, 1,000; cavalry of Shiraz, 300, of Eilkhanee, 500 = 800 sabres. The infantry were all clad in dark blue, with conical caps of black fur. Their knowledge of our bugle-calls is to be accounted for from the circumstance, that European discipline had been first introduced into the Persian army by two Scottish officers during the early part of the present century. The first Persian artillery corps was organised by Lieutenant Lindsay, of the Madras army, who had every difficulty thrown in his way by the prejudice and ignorance of the Mohammedans. Though the Shah gave him unlimited power over his soldiers, it was only on the article of shaving off beards that the prince was inexorable, nor would that sacrifice ever have taken place had it not happened that, on firing the guns before him, a powder-horn exploded in the hand of a gunner, whose long beard was blown away from his chin. Lieutenant Lindsay lost no time in proving his argument on the encumbrance of beards to soldiers, and immediately produced the scorched and mutilated gunner before the Shah, who was so struck with his woeful appearance that the military beard was at once abolished. "The *Serbaz*, or infantry, were then placed under the command of Major Christie, of the Bombay army, an officer of the greatest merit, who inspired his troops with an *esprit de corps* that manifested itself on many occasions."* Another Scotsman, Dr. Campbell, was head of the medical staff, when, in 1816, Prince Abbas Meerza encamped the Persian army in the plain of Yam, in Azerbijan.

But to return from this digression, on the morning of the 8th of February, when the mist drew up like a curtain, the Persian army had its right flank resting on the village which gave its name to the conflict—Khoosh-ab. In its front lay several dry water-courses, which were lined with skirmishers, and a cannonade on both sides preluded the closer strife. Sir James Outram now changed his front, and advanced with such speed that our loss was small when the weight of the Persian fire is considered.

The latter was soon silenced by our batteries, while our cavalry, headed by the 3rd Bombay, in one brilliant charge swept theirs out of the field like chaff before the wind; and when the line closed up there were only three battalions of Persians that stood their ground at all, or retired like trained troops. The following is an abridgment of Sir James Outram's despatch to Lieutenant-General Sir H. Somerset, Commander-in-chief, Bombay, dated from the camp near Bushire, 10th of February, 1857, detailing the defeat of the Persian army, under Shooja-ool-Moolk:—

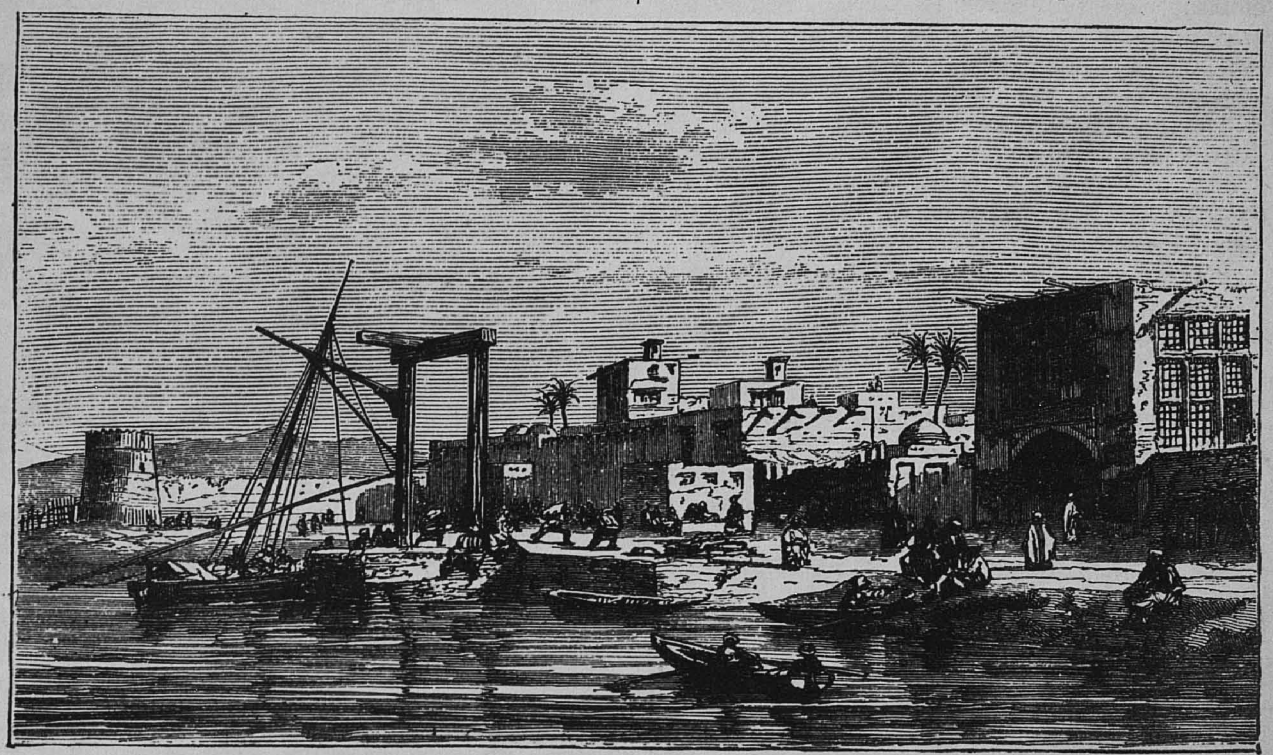
"The enemy's loss in killed and wounded must have been very great. It is impossible to compute the amount, but from the number of bodies which strewed the ground of contest, extending several miles, I should say that fully 700 must have fallen. Two brass nine-pounder guns, with their carriages and horses, eight mules laden with ammunition, and several hundred stand of arms were taken; and the Persian commander-in-chief, with the remainder

* Morier's "Travels."

of his army, only escaped annihilation owing to the numerical weakness of our cavalry. . . . . I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant Frankland, 2nd European Regiment, who was acting as brigade-major of cavalry, and was killed in the first cavalry charge; Captain Forbes also, who commanded, and most gallantly led, the 3rd Cavalry, and Lieutenant Greentree, 64th Foot, were severely wounded. . . . . I myself had very little to do with the action, being stunned by my horse falling with me at the commencement of the contest, and recovering only in time to resume my place at the head of the army shortly before the close of this action.

* * * * *

"At daybreak the Persian force, between 6,000 and 7,000 men, with some guns, was discovered on our rear left (north-east of our line of march) in order of battle. Our artillery and cavalry moved rapidly to the attack, supported by two lines of infantry, a third protecting the baggage. The firing of the artillery was most excellent, and did great execution; the cavalry brigade charged twice with great gallantry and success; a standard of the Kaskai Regular Infantry was captured by the Poonah Horse; the 3rd Light Cavalry charged a square, and nearly killed the whole regiment; indeed, upon the cavalry and artillery fell nearly the whole brunt of the action, as the enemy moved away too rapidly for the infantry to overtake them. By ten o'clock the defeat of the Persians was complete. . . . . The number of wounded could not be ascertained, but it must have been very large. The remainder fled in a disorganised state, generally throwing away their arms, which strewed the field in vast numbers, and nothing but the paucity of our cavalry prevented their total destruction, and the capture of the remaining guns. The troops bivouacked for the day close to the battle-field, and at night accomplished a march of twenty miles over a country almost impassable by the heavy rain which fell incessantly. After a rest of six hours, the greater portion of the infantry continued their march to Bushire, which they reached before midnight, thus performing another most arduous march of forty-four miles under incessant rain, besides fighting and defeating the enemy during its progress, within the short period of fifty hours. The cavalry and artillery reached camp this morning. . . . . The rapid retreat of the enemy afforded but little opportunity for deeds of special gallantry. I have already alluded to the successful charges made by the 3rd Cavalry and Poonah Horse, under Captain Forbes and Lieutenant-Colonel Tapp, and to the very efficient service performed by the artillery



VIEW OF THE FORT OF BUSHIRE.

under Lieutenant-Colonel Trevelyan. The brigadiers commanding the infantry brigades—Wilson, Sisted, and Housier—with the several commanding officers of regiments, and, indeed, every officer and soldier of the force, earned my warmest approbation."

In the charge of the 3rd Cavalry, Lieutenant A. Moore won the Victoria Cross. He was the first man within the square of infantry. His horse was shot under him, and he was on the point of being bayoneted, when Lieutenant John Grant Malcolmson, of the same regiment, rode to his assistance, cut down the Persians on right and left, and by dragging him out of the enemy's square, also won the much-prized Order of Valour.

The grand total of our killed, wounded, and dead from wounds, was only seventy-seven of all ranks.

For their bravery on this occasion, the 78th Highlanders have on their colours and appointments the word "Khoosh-ab."

"There is a fine spirit in this regiment," wrote Havelock, in his confidential report. "I am given to understand that it behaved remarkably well at the battle of Khoosh-ab, near Bushire, which took place before I reached the army; and during the naval action on the Euphrates, and its landing here (in Persia), its steadiness, zeal, and activity, under my own observation, were conspicuous. . . . . It is proud of its colours, its tartan, and its former high achievements."

As stated in the despatch, the troops rested on the field and refreshed themselves; but when they resumed their line of march again, the chilling torrents of rain began to fall. Great were the sufferings of our soldiers, but greater still were their patience, endurance, and heroic fortitude. The cold to which they were exposed was intense; and the season was especially severe, although the winter in that part of Persia is generally cold and wet, with dreadful tempests of hail. On the night after the battle our men bivouacked in what was literally half-frozen mire. It was knee-deep, and nearly reached to the kilts of the Highlanders; yet rain continued to fall, while a sharp and biting wind swept in gusts over the treeless waste. Our troops came into Bushire without the loss of a straggler, bringing with them all the wounded, and even the dead, whom Outram resolved to bury within our lines with all the honour due to British soldiers.

For several days the rain continued to fall at Bushire, on the ramparts of which the British flag flapped heavily in the sea-breeze above the Persian Lion. A few fine mornings, however, enabled the troops to take exercise, and during this interval it was, that Brigadiers Havelock and Hamilton arrived from India to assume their commands. After the 14th of February the lines were again deluged with rain; but so excellent were the arrangements of Outram, that the health and spirit of the troops never drooped. Reinforcements arrived, but the furious surf that burst upon the shore prevented them from landing. A good arrangement of the commissariat—a piece of fortune rarely known in British armies—prevented the inconvenience which thus arose from getting the sea supplies for the men and cattle.

On the night of the 22nd of February the camp-fires of the Persians were seen to dot, as it were, with red flaming spots, the dark ranges of the distant hills; and though their cavalry patrols avoided all encounters and demonstrations by day, they never omitted an opportunity by night of cutting off any straggling camp-follower. Outram fortified the British lines by the erection of strong redoubts, which he armed with heavy sixty-eight-pounders; and matters remained thus till the 4th of March, 1857, when an amelioration of the weather suggested to Sir James the embarkation of his forces for an expedition against Mohammerah.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE WAR IN PERSIA.—EXPEDITION TO MOHAMMERAH ON THE EUPHRATES.—THE AFFAIR OF AKWAZ.—PEACE WITH PERSIA.—RESIGNATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE.

For the Mohammerah service the arrangements of General Outram were as follows:—General Stalker was to remain in command at Bushire, with Brigadiers Wilson and Tapp, with two field-batteries, the mountain trains, the entire cavalry of the first division, and three companies from H.M. 64th and from the Highlanders, the 4th Rifles, the 20th Native Infantry, and the Belooch Battalion.

* For the circumstances attending the embarkation, and the arrival of the troops before that place, we are chiefly indebted to the pages of one who was an eye-witness and participator in the events of the war we waged on classic ground—Captain George Henry Hunt, of the Ross-shire Highlanders, together with Townsend's "Persian Campaign," &c.

Sir James was to proceed himself with the remainder, mustering about 4,000 men of all arms, those left for the defence of Bushire being about 3,000. The accounts of the Persian force in Mohammerah varied; some averred that it was held by from 10,000 to 13,000 men, with a numerous cavalry force in its vicinity, and had seven of the Shah's best regular regiments as its garrison. The works of the forts, or batteries, were described as formidable parapets of earth, eighteen or twenty feet thick, with heavy guns pointed towards the river. To encounter these until the troops should arrive and be in readiness to storm them, were the broadsides of the *Clive* and *Falkland* sloops; the *Ajdaha*, *Feroze*, *Semiramis*, *Victoria*, and *Assaye* steam frigates, which were to encounter the enemy's fire at 100 yards' distance.

The supposed general difficulty of the undertaking, only seemed to make the gallant Outram more resolved to accomplish it, and rumour affirmed that a mis-timed remonstrance from the Turkish Government against our attacking a place so near their own possessions only hastened his operations. On the 6th of March the *Falkland* sailed for the Euphrates; and about the same time H.M. 64th Regiment embarked in the *Bride of the Sea* transport, while the *Feroze*, *Pottinger*, and *Pioneer* entered the roads, bringing a troop of horse artillery and the long-looked-for Scinde Cavalry.

At the same time there came tidings that a new Persian general had assumed the command of the army recently beaten at Khoosh-ab; that he had brought with him considerable reinforcements, intending to advance; and that strong hopes, if not actual expectations, were entertained that he might be induced, when the departure of so large a portion of our force became known, to attack the camp, and try the strength of our new redoubts, and thus give the troops remaining behind an equal opportunity of honour and distinction with those who were departing.*

On the afternoon of the 6th, the *Kingston*, with four other transports, worked out of Bushire Roads, and early next morning were off the desolate-looking and rocky isle of Karrack—the *Icarus* of Alexander—which a detachment of the 4th Rifles held as a coaling station for the Indian Navy. By daylight on the 8th, the mouth of the Euphrates, that famous stream of classical and sacred antiquity, was in sight—"the river of Desire"—rolling into the Gulf of Persia as it rolled in the days of Xenophon.

With the *Falkland* sloop leading, under a cloud of canvas, the eight or ten vessels that had now made for the same point, the anchorage was reached in the course of the day, and the cavalry patrols of the Persians were seen hovering near the beach, but though quite within gun-range, no shot was fired at them. A considerable body of their irregular cavalry and infantry occupied the village of Mahamur, opposite the anchorage, and had posted pickets in some ruinous buildings within rifle-range. The Persian cavalry along the bank of the great stream were seen, from time to time, indulging in feats of horsemanship, not unlike many seen only in a circus in Europe, while flourishing their swords and poising their lances, as if to impress the British with ideas of the dangers that were before them.

But now, while the troops were impatiently waiting to be led against Mohammerah, General Stalker committed suicide at Bushire. It would seem that this unfortunate officer, on finding that, by the departure of Sir James Outram, he was to have sole command in Bushire, became overwhelmed by a sense of responsibility, though in reality a most efficient and highly-honoured soldier; and, most singular to say, Captain Ettensey, the naval chief of the expedition, influenced, doubtless, by the event, perished by his own hand, from a consciousness of incompetency for the great task that devolved upon him.

Until the 23rd of March, the squadron, with the troops on board, remained at anchor. With their field-glasses, the officers from the tops reconnoitred the shore with ease; and on the night of the 24th, a boat, with muffled oars, having on board some of the staff, stole in to select a position for a mortar battery, and, unseen and unheard, passed under the cannon of Mohammerah; but as the darkness was great, not much was effected in the way of a reconnaissance. Meanwhile, the enemy were trenching hard at their works; and a Captain Maisonneuve, of *La Sibylle*, a French man-of-war, then on a cruise of observation in the gulf, under the pretence of a display of alliance, made energetic representations to the British of the vast strength of the enemy's position, and the incompetence of Outram's force to attack it, in the hope that the latter would yield to his opinion, and incur the disgrace of abandoning the enterprise.

Our active preparations continued until the dawn of the 25th, when the attack began, and in this the seamen of the Indian Navy, by their intelligence, order, and activity, showed that they were in no way inferior to their mess-mates of the royal service. On the night of the 25th, a gallant and useful manœuvre was executed. A raft, with two eight-inch and two five-inch mortars, was moored

* Captain Hunt.

behind a low island in the middle of the Euphrates, and fronting the most formidable battery of the Persians.

"The cool daring of the men who placed, and of the little band of artillery who remained on this raft for several hours of darkness in the middle of a rapid river, without means of retreat, and certain destruction staring them in the face, should the enemy, within but a few hundred yards, be aroused to the fact of their presence, requires no commendation. The simple narrative of the event as it occurred is sufficient." Of their presence there the enemy remained in perfect ignorance till daybreak, when the first shell thrown from the raft slew eleven of them as it exploded in the great battery, where they were engaged in prayer, and where the survivors were filled with consternation and wonder. This was the signal for the attacking ships to get under weigh, and engage the batteries, where the Persian gunners, clad in blue surtouts, with black fur caps, were already standing by their artillery.

The *Semiramis*, with the commodore's pennant flying, Captain Young, of the Indian Navy, and towing the *Clive*, twelve-gun sloop, led the squadron, says Mr. George Townsend, followed by the steam frigates *Ajdaha*, *Feroze*, *Assaye*, and *Victoria*, the latter towing the *Falkland*, twelve-gun sloop, which she cast off when in position. "The leading ships passing the lower batteries, and opening their guns as they could be brought to bear, were soon at their respective posts, followed in quick succession by the rear division, and but a few minutes elapsed after the *Semiramis* had fired her first gun before the action became general, the Persian artillery replying with spirit, the morning being very clear, with just sufficient breeze to prevent the smoke from collecting. A more beautiful scene than was then presented, can scarcely be imagined. The ships, with ensigns flying out from every mast-head, seemed decked for a holiday; the river glittering in the early sunlight, its dark date-fringed bank contrasting most effectively with the snow-white canvas of the *Falkland*, which had loosened sails to get into closer action; the sulky-looking batteries just visible through the grey, fleecy cloud which enveloped them; and groups of brightly-dressed horsemen flitting at intervals between the trees, where they had an encampment—formed altogether a picture, from which even the excitement of the heavy cannonade around could not divert attention." *

The Persian cavalry were clad in light blue uniforms, with white cross-belts. The calmness of the day and smoothness of the water enabled steady aim to be taken; hence, very few of our shots were thrown away. And now, loud and high, between the din of the cannonade, were heard the pipes of the Highlanders, who, under Havelock, on board the *Berenice*, led the column for disembarkation. So crowded was her deck with these men—the future heroes of Lucknow—that, had a single shot plunged into their mass, the havoc would have been dreadful; but that peril was escaped; and the conduct of the Indian Navy in covering the landing was above all praise. At the critical moment, when the first boat with its freight of Highlanders drew near, they kept up such a succession of broadsides as quite to distract the attention of the enemy from the approaching transports. The latter were all armed with one gun or more, and these were all in operation now, and skilfully handled; and we are told that the "reckless exposure of the sailors of the Indian Navy must have filled the enemy with surprise, as it did the British army with admiration. The enthusiasm of these gallant tars equalled their audacity; in the midst of the furious cannonade, they cheered vociferously each detachment of the troops as they passed between the ships on their way to what appeared still greater dangers and more formidable encounters."

By two o'clock the infantry and some field-pieces were on shore, but the creeks of the river were so filled by the rising tide, that the passage of the Horse Artillery and of the 14th Light Dragoons was intercepted. Outram ordered all that were ashore to advance with him, and then the grenadiers of H.M. 64th opened fire on the Persian matchlockmen, while the troops passed on till they reached the extremity of the groves of date-palms, which covered the line of advance and concealed the enemy's position; then, all at once, their lines came in view as our troops emerged beyond the intercepting wood. By this time, the deep and hoarse booming of the cannonade had died away between the ships and batteries, in the chief of which the explosion of a great magazine had destroyed many of the guns and filled the Persians with dismay.

From the verge of the date grove, General Outram could now perceive that the position of the enemy consisted of the town and batteries flanked by intrenched works, which were thrown back to the rear of Mohammerah; and in front of these his formation was thus:—A line of contiguous quarter-distance columns, with a field battery on the right flank. Then came the 78th Highlanders; then a wing of the 25th Native Infantry, H.M. 64th, the 4th Rifles, and 23rd Bengal Light Infantry; a cloud

* "Outram and Havelock's Persian Campaign."

of skirmishers covering the front with a close and sputtering file fire. The main point to be attacked was a camp to the left rear of the town of Mohammerah, where the Shahzadeh, uncle of the Shah Nasser-ed-Deen, had placed his cavalry and guns. His infantry had occupied another camp, about 500 yards to the right of this, and had also been quartered in considerable numbers in the batteries and adjacent date groves. At the moment of our advancing, these troops were drawn up in order of battle outside the camp of the Shahzadeh, who is said to have been appalled, when one of our sixty-eight-pound shots was shown him, and said, "Oh! if they fire such things as these, we had better be off!" The right of his line far out-flanked our left, which had actually no protection, when it marched into the open plain, and saw the 23rd Native Infantry thrown obliquely back. The scene which now ensued was a singular one.

The British advanced boldly in compact order of battle, and with a confident pace, with bayonets fixed, and colours waving in the centre of each battalion; but, "to their astonishment, as if the hosts of the enemy were a dissolving view, they melted away. The Persian soldiery refused to fight; battalion after battalion vanished, and with such rapidity, that before the British could recover from their astonishment the grand army of the Shah had disappeared!"

The advice of the Shahzadeh to "be off" had been obeyed implicitly. Every tent remained standing, and the ground around them was littered with arms and ammunition, accoutrements, garments, and shot, which, with fragments of shell, had come from our shipping. The dead lay there in ghastly numbers, but few wounded, as the others had been borne away, or were concealed by the people of Mohammerah.

The gross inefficiency of our shells was evinced by the number that lay there unexploded. As the timid Persians fled, hordes of Arab robbers drew near to plunder the camp, but were put to flight by the 14th Light Dragoons; while Sir James Outram pressed on the Persian rear. The Scinde Horse made incredible exertions to overtake them, but could only come upon a few wounded stragglers, who were murdered by the Arabs, partly from animosity and partly from love of pillage. Outram felt himself powerless to pursue effectually, from one of the old causes of British inefficiency—an inadequate cavalry force.

There were taken in camp eighteen beautiful brass guns and mortars; among them was a Russian twelve-pounder, cast in 1828, bearing an inscription to the effect that it was a present from Nicholas, Emperor of Russia, to the Shah. The Persians killed amounted to about 500; but the wounded who died on the retreat, or were murdered by the Arabs, would increase that number by hundreds more; so their total loss could not have been less than 1,000 men.

Our casualties were only ten men killed and thirty-one wounded, including Lieutenant Harris, of the Indian Navy. The fire of the Persian artillery was undoubtedly good, hulling the ships, and cutting up their rigging; several boats were destroyed, but many lives were saved on board ship by the simple precaution of placing trusses of hay round their sides.

When our officers had leisure to look around them and examine Mohammerah, they were astonished by the strength of the place they had captured so easily; and it was found that Captain Maisonneuve had not over-estimated the defences of the position. "Nothing but stout hearts within them was required to make their capture a matter of bloody price to the victors," wrote an officer of the staff; "and, happily for us, these were wanting. Solid earthworks, open in rear, with parapets eighteen feet thick and twenty-five in height, riveted with date-stumps (which the heaviest shot will not splinter), and the whole interior thickly studded with pits full of water to catch our shells, had been the work cut out for us. The north battery had embrasures for eighteen guns, and stood on the right bank of the Karoon, at its junction with the Euphrates, and looked down the stream of that river. The south battery had eleven guns, and was on the opposite bank of the Karoon, commanding in the same direction. A small fort between the north battery and the town, and connected with the former by a long intrenchment, with embrasures for guns, mounted eight or ten pieces. This intrenchment, crowded with infantry, had kept up a heavy musketry fire during the whole action; and from the broken pieces of arms and appointments lying about, as well as patches of blood in all directions, our shot must have told fearfully among its occupants. Several minor batteries, of from two to four guns each, were on either bank, and just outside the west face of the town, on the right bank, was a very carefully-made and strong work for ten guns. The whole of the works bore marks of very rough treatment from our shot, though they were far from being ruined. Outside the small fort connected with the north battery, was a capsized brass twelve-pounder, with the carriage smashed, and three dead horses harnessed to it, all evidently killed at the same moment, if not by the same shot. A captain of

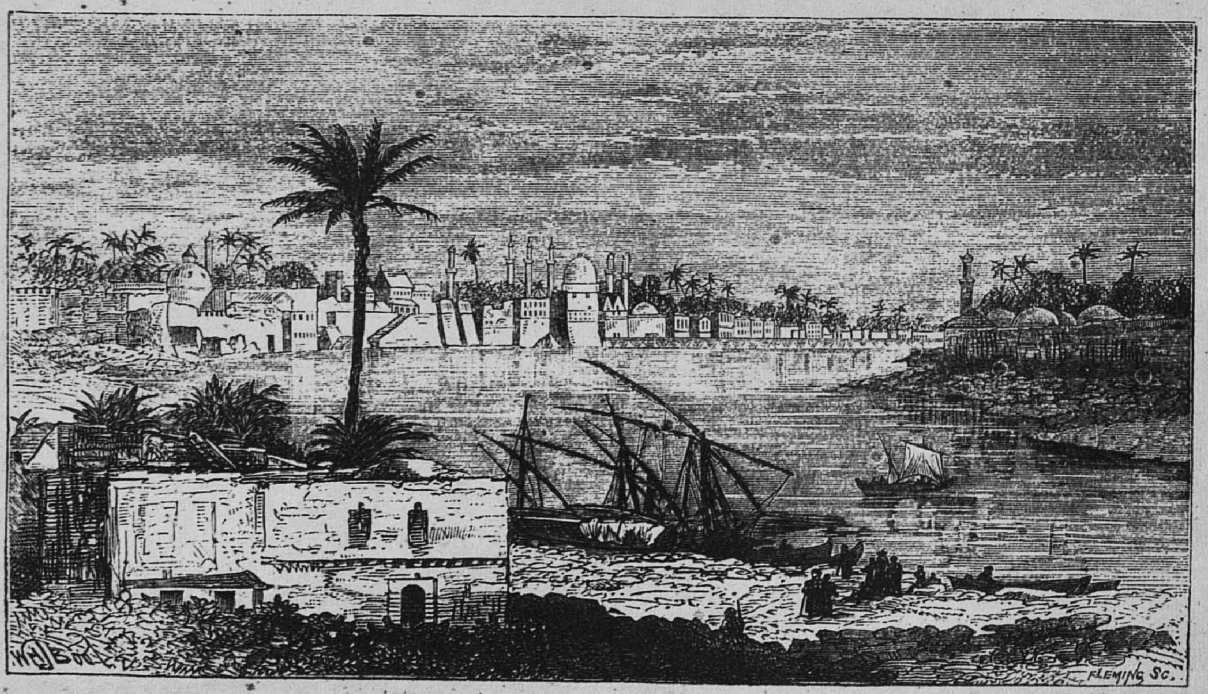
artillery and three gunners were also lying dead beside it." In a pocket of this unfortunate officer



A STREET IN BAGDAD.

was found a letter, stating the belief on his part that a great battle would be fought out on the morrow, adding a foreboding of his own fate, and with some tenderness entrusting the care of his wife and children to his brother in Teheran. Our political agent at Bagdad subsequently very properly forwarded this interesting letter to the address it bore in the Persian capital.

The staff-officer before quoted says, that the effect of our sixty-eight-pound shot upon the date-trees was most extraordinary, a single one sufficing to break even the largest. The great size and the range of the missiles had given rise to a panic among the Persian troops, and hence caused their dastardly conduct. Much discouragement was also said to have been occasioned in their ranks by the loss of Aga Jan Khan, a *Surteep*, or general of division, who fell, des-



VIEW OF BAGDAD.

perately wounded, early in the day, in the north battery. The corpses of those who perished by our cannon-shot presented harrowing spectacles. "A huge African, in particular, struck on the back of the head by a round shot, which had carried away all the bones of the skull and face, lay across another dead soldier, with the hideous, eyeless black mask that had once been a countenance still grinning, as it were, at the beholder."



PORTRAIT OF NASSER-ED-DEEN, SHAH OF PERSIA.

Where the explosion of the grand magazine took place, the scene was awful—legs, arms, heads, and other wretched and mangled remains of humanity, protruding among the blackened and blasted ruins;

and there, too, lay wounded Persians, with their ghastly scars, exposed, undressed, to the hot sun, the whirling dust, and the stings of the insects that battened in their blood.

The 27th and 28th of March were employed in the collection and removal of guns and stores, in landing supplies and our own tents for the troops, who, with the exception of those to whom the Persian tents had fallen prizes, had, up to that time, been in the open air.

And now, Sir James Outram, having ascertained that the enemy had retreated, with the intention of halting at a place named Akwaz, about a hundred miles distant, on the Karoon, where they had a grand depôt of all kinds of munition of war, resolved to send some steamers up that Persian river, with a detachment of troops, to do all the damage and destruction possible before the fugitive army could reach it.

The steam squadron consisted of the *Comet*, *Planet*, and *Assyria*, under Commander Rennie, of the Indian Navy, whose experiences of river warfare in Burmah and China had been considerable.

The stream to be navigated disembogues into the Persian Gulf by many channels, one of which joins the Euphrates. After its union with two tributaries at Bundikir it becomes a noble river, "exceeding in size the Tigris and Euphrates," * and well suited for steam navigation.

The troops detailed for the service on its bank were 150 men of the grenadiers and light company of the 64th Regiment; "a like number furnished by Captain McAndrew's companies of the Highlanders. Each steamer took 100 men, the light company of the Highlanders going in the *Comet;* Captain Goode's grenadiers of the 64th in the *Planet;* and Captain McAndrew, with part of his own Highlanders and part of the light company of the 64th, in the *Assyria.*"

These troops were accompanied by Captain Wray, the Deputy Quartermaster-General, Captain Green, Sir James Outram's military secretary, and Captain Kemball, our consul and political agent at Bagdad. On the morning of the 29th of March the steamers quitted Mohammerah, each having in tow a gunboat, armed with two twenty-four-pound howitzers. After sunset, on the first day of sailing, a party of officers landed, and detected the ground on which the retreating Persians had bivouacked, and the wheel-marks of five guns could be traced, with those of a small carriage. Getting under steam by dawn, next day, the ruinous Mosque of Imaum Scibbeh was reached in the afternoon, and there our explorers again found marks of the enemy's camping-ground, so fresh that they must have been there but twenty-four hours before.

Several recently-made graves also afforded evidence that they had buried their dead by the way; while the total absence of bones or scraps of food about the bivouac fires and picket posts, proved that they were pressed for time, or were without food and forage. Again the squadron got under steam; and on reaching the Arab village of Ismaini. Commander Rennie ascertained that the enemy had passed through it but the day before, and that their force consisted of seven regiments of foot, 2,000 horse, and four guns, with a fifth unserviceable, towed in a boat up the river.

On the 31st, at dawn, the *Comet* cast off the *Assyria*, put on her utmost power of steam, and went ahead, expecting to capture the boat with the gun; and soon after nine in the morning, a straggler from the rear-guard was captured, brought on board, and questioned: but he was so exhausted by hunger, fatigue, and fear, that his answers were incoherent; from some Arabs it was ascertained that the enemy, still towing the disabled gun, had reached the town in safety. The remainder of our squadron came up in the evening, and early in the morning of the 1st of April the whole steamed up towards Akwaz, which occupies the left bank of the river, and the Persian army was seen, under arms, on its right.

Their formidable cavalry force, together with their infantry, massed in four columns, were partly screened by a low range of sand-hills, which lay in their front that faced the river. Near a mosque in their centre were seen three guns, with a fourth on a slope near their left; and their cavalry patrols galloped to and fro within rifle-range, while the little squadron steamed slowly abreast of the position. A boat beneath the left bank escaped notice for a time, till a cutter from the *Comet*, with a corporal's guard of the 78th Highlanders, went off, and discovered her to be the towed craft, with a beautiful brass twelve-pounder on board, which was at once slung to the *Comet's* deck.

Some Arabs now hailed the shipping from the shore; and one, who came on board, volunteered the information that the garrison of Akwaz did not exceed 500 infantry, with thirty horsemen, left to protect the stores, which had scarcely been touched by the enemy as yet. As all this seemed reliable, it was resolved to make an attempt on the town, by landing on the left bank, and making a détour, out of cannon-shot, towards its eastern face, when, if it should be found of greater strength

* Layard.

than was reported, a mere reconnaissance was to be made, and then an orderly retreat to the boats. If practicable, the town was to be stormed and the stores burned. A gun-boat was ordered to ascend the Karoon as far as possible, without rashness, and open fire with two howitzers; and, as there were only two small boats on that side of the river where the Persian army lay, it was evident that no great reinforcement could reach the garrison of Akwaz.

The gunboat performed its service admirably, under the direction of Mr. Hewitt, of the Indian Navy, while dispositions were ingeniously made to lead the enemy to believe that Rennie's force was but the advance guard of a great flotilla. A single line of skirmishers, each twelve paces apart, first issued from the bushes on the plain in view of the enemy; 100 yards in rear followed their supports, also in single rank. At another interval of 100 yards the three principal detachments came on, about 200 yards apart, advancing in sections of threes (the formation in those days), and opened out to very wide intervals. The light company of the Highlanders was on the left, and when entering the town had to wheel to the left, and getting under cover at the water's edge, had orders to keep down the enemy's fire.

The grenadiers of the 64th, under Captain Winter Goode, were in the centre, with orders to penetrate to the heart of the town, and at once begin the destruction of the stores. Captain J. Duncan McAndrew (who had served with the 40th in Afghanistan) was on the right, with a mixed detachment of his Highlanders; and the 64th was to wheel to the right on entering, to face any troops that might approach that front of the town, and destroy everything that came in the way.

The garrison did not wait the issue of all these arrangements, but took to flight, and crossing the river far above Akwaz, joined the army on the other bank; while the Sheikh, with a long retinue of religious persons, came to solicit protection, and he was assured that if he showed where the stores lay, all private property would be respected. As the Persian army still remained menacingly in its position, circumspection was necessary. A shell, splendidly thrown from one of our howitzers, fell into the quarters of the Shahzadeh, and nearly destroyed a mosque. On this, that official became so alarmed, that he gave instant orders for a retreat upon Shustee, a city in the province of Khuzistan, where the Karoon is crossed by a bridge 300 yards in length. There lay his next nearest depôt, but at a long distance for an army to march that was leaving all its stores behind; 10,000 men nearly, thus fled from 300, surrendering a city, with all their magazines of food and ammunition.

"Their infantry," wrote an eye-witness, "keeping in four distinct masses, went off first, taking the four guns seen in position with them; they were also said to have had three others with them of lighter metal. A small green palanquin carriage, with glass windows, and a *takhteraidan*, or mule-litter, in which Persian women of rank usually travel, were conspicuous in the midst of a large escort. This was the carriage the tracks of which had been found in several of the bivouacs. The cavalry brought up the rear, and a magnificent appearance this great body of horse presented. They certainly exceeded 2,000 in number, and were dressed in long blue frocks, with trousers of a lighter colour, white belts, and high black lambskin caps peculiar to the Persians. A sabre and long matchlock slung across their backs, appeared to be their only weapons, as (unusual in Asiatics) no lances were visible among them. The pick of the Bactdyari tribes, reputed the Shah's best cavalry, were present among the number. They carried three standards, but in crimson cases, not flying. One of these horsemen remained concealed behind a wall until their whole army had proceeded about a mile; then suddenly starting from his hiding-place, he fired his matchlock at the town, as if in defiance, and galloped off at full speed after his comrades. This was the last man seen of the Persian army."

The rear-guard had scarcely quitted their lines when a gunboat went across, taking Captains Wray and Green, with Lord Schomberg Kerr (son of the Marquis of Lothian) and twenty Highlanders, who, with perfect impunity, blew up a quantity of ammunition which had been abandoned. The Persians made no attempt to cut this little party off, which they might have done with ease, though they unlimbered a light gun, and shot at some Arab marauders, who were swimming the river to pillage in the empty lines. By mid-day the last gleam of the Persian arms had faded away in the distance.

All that time the work of destroying the stores in Akwaz had been quickly proceeding, after as much wheat and flour as the steamers could carry had been stowed on board of them, and vast quantities given to the Arabs. In addition to the grain, there were taken here fifteen cases of new firelocks and bayonets, fifty-six fine mules, a beautiful horse of the Shahzadeh's, and a great stock of trenching tools. All the fire-arms were of British manufacture, and bore the Tower mark. A

captured flock of sheep was divided between the squadron and the townspeople.

The 2nd and 3rd of April were occupied by our political agent receiving the submission of the Sheikhs of the surrounding districts; and while these events were occurring at Akwaz, there were negociations for peace in progress at Paris, where it was concluded on the 4th of March. Tidings of this reached Mohammerah on the same day that the expeditionary force from Akwaz came into camp at head-quarters, after which Sir James Outram put himself in communication with the nearest Persian authorities with reference to the fulfilment of the treaty.

He arranged that a small garrison should remain in Bushire after the rest of the army had returned to India. In the ranks of his force great dissatisfaction prevailed with reference to the easy terms granted to the Persian envoys at Paris; and a general impression existed that the Emperor of France, or his foreign minister, was rather anxious, by interposition, to prevent us from gaining either renown or permanent influence in Persia. It was alleged by some that Lord Clarendon had been too facile, and that he and Lord Palmerston displayed too much eagerness to please the Emperor of France in making peace with the enemy; but the troops engaged became a useful reinforcement to the army of India, then struggling against the revolt in the provinces of Bengal and Central India. Hence it may not be without interest to give the detail, as issued by general order, in the camp at Mohammerah on the 9th of May, 1857, showing the places for whence these troops were destined.

"1st. The third troop of Horse Artillery to Kurrachee; first company, 2nd Battalion of Artillery, to Kurrachee; reserve companies, to Bombay; H.M. 64th Regiment to Vingorla; H.M. 78th Highlanders to Bombay; the light battalion to Bombay; Madras Sappers and Miners to Bombay.

"2nd. The 23rd and 26th Native Infantry are transferred to the first division, and will proceed to Bushire, with the detachment of Scinde Horse and Land Transport Corps now at Mohammerah.

"3rd. The staff of the second division will return to Bombay, with the exception of the Engineers, ordnance, and commissariat departments, which will proceed to Bushire, and await further instructions.

"4th. Brigadier-General Jacob, C.B., will command the troops stationed in Bushire, which will be organised as follows:—*Cavalry Brigade:* 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry, Scinde Horse, Poonah Horse, the Aden Troop, 14th Queen's Light Dragoons—Brigadier Stewart. *Artillery Brigade:* 4th Troop Horse Artillery, 5th Light Field Battery, 8th Light Field Battery, three companies of the 2nd Battalion of Artillery, four companies of the 4th Battalion of Artillery—Lieutenant-Colonel Trevelyan. *Infantry:* 20th Regiment of Native Infantry, 26th Regiment of Native Infantry—first brigade, Colonel Macan; 4th Bengal Native Infantry, 23rd Native Light Infantry, Belooch Battalion—second brigade, Colonel Housier.

"5th. The Lieutenant-General avails himself of this opportunity to return his warmest thanks to the whole of the troops placed under his command for service in Persia, for their very exemplary conduct since their arrival in this country, evinced by the fact of scarcely one instance of misconduct on the part of any individual having been brought to his notice. This entire absence of crime among so large a body of troops assembled in camp redounds to the credit of both officers and men, and is the strongest possible proof of the high state of discipline in the force; whilst their conduct throughout the expedition to Bras-joon, and in the engagement at Khoosh-ab, bore ample testimony to the gallantry of all ranks before an enemy, and to their patient and cheerful endurance of fatigue and hardship under most trying circumstances."

It was on the 15th of May that Brigadier Henry Havelock, with the staff of his late command, embarked on board the *Berenice*, the same vessel in which, with the Highlanders, he had faced the fire of the batteries at Mohammerah; the 23rd saw her in harbour at Bombay, when the terrible intelligence of the sepoy revolt stirred in the inmost chord of every heart. Without landing, the Highlanders and 64th, full of eagerness and impatience, were dispatched for disembarkation at a point nearer the scene of action.

Henry Havelock, who was to be the chief saviour of our Indian empire in the terrible emergency that was every day growing darker, deeper, and more sanguinary, left Bombay in the *Erin* on the 1st of June, following the troops that had already been sent on. Off the island of Ceylon, and near a small civil station called Caltura, between Galle and Colombo, she struck upon a reef, and the loss of all on board seemed imminent. The cowardly crew of Lascars refused to go aloft and take in canvas to ease the ship, but lay huddled below in craven fear and fanatical indifference, while the British officers performed their work; and to the coolness, example, and firmness of all—but principally of Havelock—was it due that every soul on board did not perish.

On the 8th of June, he and his staff got on board

the *Fire Queen*; the 12th saw her in the roads of Madras; and on the 17th she reached Calcutta, bringing with her the new Commander-in-chief of the Bengal Presidency, Lieutenant-General Sir Patrick Grant, C.B., an officer who had entered the service of the Company in 1819, and served at Maharajahpore, at Moodkee, and Sobraon, receiving two severe wounds, and having three horses shot under him, and who had married a daughter of the veteran, Viscount Gough, so well known in the wars of India.

The arrival of these officers at Calcutta—but more especially Havelock—infused joy and hope into the hearts of many whose courage had begun to droop under the dreadful tidings that daily came from Central India and elsewhere, and the cause of which shall be given in a future chapter.

To preserve order in the narration of the Persian campaign we have omitted to mention, under its date, the departure of Lord Dalhousie from India. Previous to that event, his successor, Viscount Canning, arrived, and the two nobles met at Government House, amid festivities and splendour, balls and banquets. On the day of Lord Dalhousie's departure, wrote one who was present, "as early as four in the morning, the regiments began to gather, and by half-past four the companies had lined the road from the palace to the steamer; and here, again, I had the opportunity of admiring the drill and tactics of the sepoy troops. Many of them are noble-looking fellows, and some of the native officers compare favourably with the white man.

"The Household Troops, or Body Guard, are all picked men, and you would not wish to see a finer body of cavalry. At five o'clock the guns from the fort began to roar, and we at once knew that his lordship had started from Government House. An hour later the Governor was in his yacht; the regiments were marching to their barracks; the friends of the Governor, under Princep's monumental tablet, had given the last wave of the handkerchief, and resumed their carriages and their gossip; the pleasure-seekers were again upon the course to comment upon the occurrences of his departure; the coolies began to disperse; the cannon were hushed; the bells ceased to vibrate; and Lord Dalhousie was on his way to Britain to be censured and be praised, while Lord Canning was left to govern India."

But, save for what was called his annexation policy, no censure fell on the name of Dalhousie at home, while in India his social qualities had endeared him to all, and to none more than the troops.* Moved by an emotion of admiration of the great ruler who had improved, enlarged, and consolidated the empire of British India, the entire population of Calcutta crowded the plain to witness his departure, and to testify their regret.

As he was only forty-four years of age when he quitted India on the 6th of March, 1856, it was fondly hoped that he had then performed only the first act of the brilliant career for which he was so peculiarly adapted by his many talents and virtues; but with something of that emotion which is not uncommon in some Scottish minds, he seemed to forebode otherwise; and in his farewell reply to an address from the people of Calcutta, he said, "I have played out my part; 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 drop now on my public career."

His words were mournfully prophetic. Eight years of incessant toil had exhausted his constitution, and after a lingering illness of four years, he sank into the grave on the 19th of December, 1860, at the age of forty-eight, and was laid by the side of the marchioness (who pre-deceased him), in the family vault of the ancient church of Cockpen, in Lothian; and there, amid the most beautiful and sequestered scenery, an obelisk is erected to his memory, by his daughter, Lady Susan Ramsay, who had accompanied him to India.

His administration of that great country forms one of the most important epochs in British history. Broad and comprehensive, his plans always bore the stamp of solid improvement rather than sensational innovation. If he exacted the rigid performance of duty from those under him, says Marshman, he set them the example by his own intense application to public business, to which, by a noble spirit of devotion, he sacrificed leisure, ease, comfort, and health. His judgment was independent, his intellect sound, and in his character he combined firmness with rapid decision. He investigated with patient care every question that came before him, and never failed to adduce weighty reasons for the decisions at which he arrived; and his admirable administration of the Punjaub alone would form the greatest glories of his government, the general merits of which were thus summed up in the columns of the *Times*:—"He could point to railways planned on an enormous scale, and partly commenced, at an expense of little more than £50 a mile; to 2,000 miles of road bridged and metalled—nearly the whole distance from Calcutta to

* Among these he was popularly known by the patronymic of "The Laird of Cockpen," a quick-step often played by the bands as a compliment to him.

Peshawur; to the opening of the Ganges Canal, the largest of the kind in the world; to the progress of the Punjaub Canal, and of many other important works over all 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 Peshawur to Cape Comorin, or from Assam to Kurrachee, is conveyed for three farthings, or one-sixteenth of the old charge; to the improved training ordained 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 whatsoever from the risk of forfeiting property by a change of religion."

Such was the active tenor of Lord Dalhousie's administration; and before closing the narrative of it, a notice must be given of an important change which was made in the constitution of the East India Company.

In 1853 the charter of 1833 expired, and a bold effort was made to wrest the Government of India from the Company, but the Whig Ministry resolved to continue it in their hands, not for any definite period, but for so long as Parliament should ordain. By Sir Charles Wood, Bart., the President of the Board of Control (and, in 1859, Secretary of State for India), the bill was introduced in a lucid speech of five hours, which, when it was considered that he had only come into office five months before, and had been then a stranger to the affairs of India, was deemed an exhibition of no ordinary power, and held out the prospect of an able and vigorous administration, and this was subsequently realised to the utmost extent.

The chief alterations suggested were these: The number of the Court of Directors was reduced to eighteen from thirty, and the elimination was effected by a most ingenious process of balloting, devised by the secretary, Colonel Sir James C. Melvill, K.C.B.; and of the number thus reduced, a certain proportion were to be named by the Crown. "Under the old system many of the most eminent of the public servants in India were excluded from the Direction on their return to England, owing to their invincible repugnance to a laborious and humiliating course of canvassing; but the minister was now enabled at once to avail himself of their valuable assistance." *

Bengal and Behar were now placed under a separate lieutenant-governor. Prior to this, the administration of these provinces, peopled by more than 50,000,000, and contributing fully a third of the Indian revenue, had been cast on the Governor-General; and when he was absent, a circumstance which not unfrequently happened, the duty devolved on the senior member of Council, who was sometimes an officer of the army; and under this anomalous system there had been no less than ten governors and deputy-governors of Bengal in the course of as many years. During this period of perpetual change and consequent weakness, the office of secretary had been held by Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick James) Halliday, a cadet of Haileybury, who had entered the Company's service in 1825; and to whose great local knowledge, judgment, and diligence it was owing that the administration exhibited the requisite degree of consistency; and for his eminent services he was appointed, in 1854, first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

By a third provision of the charter, the patronage of the Civil Service was withdrawn from the Court of Directors to make way for the principle of open competition without reserve.

CHAPTER XL.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.—A BRIEF NOTICE OF ITS PROGRESS.

INDIA was one of the earliest fields of the Christian missionaries, and history and tradition alike assign it as the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, and to him is ascribed the foundation of several churches in the distant East. The story that he preached the Gospel in India is of great antiquity, and is extremely well supported. Bishop Heber and Neander both admit its general credibility, and that a Christian church was founded in his

* Marshman.

name in India at a very early period, is an undoubted fact; while the Syrian Church at Malabar, in India, acknowledges St. Thomas as its founder, and many Christians were there in the early part of the sixth century—so many, that the visit of the ambassadors of Alfred the Great, headed by Bishop Swithelm, in the ninth century, to the shrine of St. Thomas is one of the most interesting events in mediæval history. Mailapore, or "the City of the Peacock," a town on the seashore near Madras, and called by the Portuguese San Tomé, as being the scene of the labours and martyrdom of the great apostle of India, is to this day pre-eminently a stronghold of Christianity there.



THE INDIAN SILENUS.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century Marco Polo was shown the spot where St. Thomas suffered martyrdom on "the Great Mount," which was visited by pilgrims from all Christendom, while the Mussulmans themselves revered the apostle as a holy man. The Portuguese, on their first arrival in India, in 1498, to their surprise, found many Christians there, who called themselves the Christians of St. Thomas. John III. of Portugal ordered the remains of the saint to be sought for "in an old ruinous chapel which stood over his tomb without the walls of Mailapore." By digging there in 1523, a very deep vault was discovered, and there were some human bones, together with the head of the lance by which the saint was slain." * This vault is still shown in a small chapel of the cathedral, says the author of "Scenes and Sights in the East." The bones found in the vault were removed to Goa, and interred with splendour in a church built there in honour of St. Thomas.

The Portuguese, in their curious account of his mission, tell us that, on his voyage to India he was cast away on the isle of Socotra, in the Arabian Sea, which certainly was inhabited at an early period by a little Christian community; for there St. Francis Xavier, the second apostle of India, in 1542, found a population professing a kind of Christianity, oddly mingled with Mohammedanism and Judaism. St. Thomas, it is added, had predicted that the religion he had planted in India should flourish there in strength again, and this prediction he inscribed upon a pillar near Mailapore. This pillar then stood forty miles from the sea, and its inscription told that when the waters should reach the foot of it, a race of foreigners should arrive in India and restore the Christian faith. When Vasco de Gama landed in the south of India, he found the encroaching sea washing its base; all of which is perhaps as true as another Portuguese assertion, that St. Thomas altogether built in Southern India 3,300 Christian temples!

"The religion of India," says Bruce, "has been unchanged since the days of St. Thomas to our own. At this day Christian missions and schools are freely subscribed to by wealthy worshippers of Siva. A missionary who waits on the heathen King of Travancore, and asks money for religious purposes, does not depart empty-handed. The Christian school at Jubbulpore, in the Nerbudda

* Alban Butler.

territory, annually numbers some forty or fifty pagan subscribers, including the Rajah of Saugor."*

On either side of the Red Sea, Christian colonies had by this time been established, and in many instances merchants and seamen, as converts, must have been anxious to disseminate the Gospel; and any zealous monk who put himself on board ship in the Red Sea was sure of respect on his voyage, and a welcome from co-religionists in India; but ere long the western world began to sink into anarchy and barbarism, and the sixth century saw "the eagle of Rome become little better than a carrion crow."

It was in April, 1541, that St. Francis Xavier sailed on board the admiral's vessel, which carried Don Martin Alfonso de Sousa, Governor-General of the Indies, with five other ships, to take possession of his government, and he landed at Goa on the 6th of May, 1542, after "touching at Socotra," according to Alban Butler. Preaching, teaching, and baptising, he visited La Pescaria, or the Pearl Coast, Cape Comorin, Travancore, at the Spice Isles, Amboyna, and Japan; he died when about to visit China, in 1552, in his forty-sixth year, bequeathing the scenes of his labours to the Jesuits, who, from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, had ever had great success in India.

To disarm prejudice, some writers assert that they have, in many instances, introduced themselves as white Brahmins, and "with some amount of compromise in the way of religious observances, to induce numbers to receive the outward form of this Christian baptism;" but, with an order so rigid, this seems barely probable.

During the reign of Ackbar, the Roman Catholic missionaries who came from Goa were received at his court, and for fifteen years resided at Agra with respect and in honour.

The earliest Protestant missionaries came from Holland and Denmark; and with the latter the eminent Schwartz was closely connected.

But among the Hindoos, Christianity in any form has made very limited progress, notwithstanding the unceasing efforts of Christian missionaries, as the great mass of the Indians are idol-worshippers, and retentive of all the customs that pertain to the grossest idolatry; so that their most simple domestic habits differ in no way from those of their forefathers in dark and distant ages, since every act they perform refers to the superstitions they deem religion. Hence the number of converts has always been small, and is likely to be increased only as education becomes diffused, and the mind of the people enlightened by the educational system pursued by the British Government—a system to which the Company was somewhat averse, though at an early period considerable attention was certainly paid to the diffusion of the Christian faith among their native servants, by the establishment of schools and chapels in their factories.

* "Scenes, &c., in the East."

By the charter of 1698 the Company were bound to maintain a chaplain and schoolmaster in every garrison and superior factory, and to set apart a proper place for the performance of divine worship. They were also obliged to have a chaplain for every vessel of 500 tons, whose salary was to commence with the voyage of the ship, and who was to be approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London; while all resident ministers in India were required to learn Portuguese and the Hindoo languages for the due instruction of "the Gentoos and others in the Christian religion;" and on the union of the two companies in 1708, it was directed by the charter that the chaplain should take rank after the fifth member of council at his factory.

In 1677 the Company sent out a special teacher, Mr. Ralph Orde, with a liberal salary, "to teach all children to read English and to write and cypher gratis; and if any of the other nations, Portuguese, Gentoos, or others, will send their children to school, we require that they shall also be taught gratis; and," adds the document which is quoted by Peter Auber, "he is likewise to instruct them in the principles of the Protestant religion."*

In 1744 the Company gave hearty assistance to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had sent to India missionaries and quantities of books, aiding the Danish missionaries already established in Southern India; and to those preachers they gave the use of a church at Madras and another at Cuddalore, empowering their agents at the former city "to give them, at such times as you shall think proper, in our name, any sum of money not exceeding 500 pagodas, to be laid out in such manner, and appropriated to such uses, as you shall approve of."

In the year 1752 the Court of Directors wrote to Bombay, desiring to have "the soldiery, and others of our dependants in the presidency of Bombay, instructed in the principles of the Protestant religion," and ordering two more chaplains to reside at Tellicherry and Anjengo, together with the formation of charity schools for educating the children of soldiers, mariners, topasses, and others, adding: "When schools are erected in consequence of this recommendation, our chaplains are

* "Rise and Progress," &c.

frequently to visit them to see what improvement the children make, and to give their utmost assistance in instructing and confirming them in the principles and profession of the Protestant religion." *

With all this, it must be borne in mind that, unlike all other rulers in India, the British Government has scrupulously abstained from any violent interference with the various religious beliefs of the natives, however grotesque these may be. Its ecclesiastical establishments have been chiefly for the benefit of its own Christian servants, though for far too long a period the spiritual good of these numerous and hard-worked classes of Europeans was overlooked; but of late years churches and chapels have sprung up in all considerable towns, stations, and cantonments.

The labours of Christian missionaries with all this, however, have not been attended with any great success, as compared with the many millions among whom their labours are directed, and the more cautious Anglo-Indians have rather shrunk from the risks attendant on a too energetic spirit of proselytising. "Partly through their own fault in attempting to translate the whole of the Scriptures into the most difficult languages, with which they were most imperfectly acquainted, and partly through the sense-striking, attractive, and splendid ritual of the Catholic church, the success of the English missionaries, whether of the Established Church or Baptists, has been very inferior—at least, in a numerical amount—to the Papal missionaries. And yet the most able and best member of the great Roman Propaganda had been found to confess, after residing forty years in India, that only the very worst of the natives he converted remained steady in their new faith." †

At Tinnevelly, an extensive district of the Southern Carnatic, one of the best efforts of the missionaries was to be seen, and it was such as to encourage the hope that much might have been done elsewhere. In the very centre of the district were two villages containing 900 native Christians, with regular schools, native priests, and catechists. All lived in harmony; no idol was to be found there, and not a vestige of Hindoo idolatry. Service was performed in the church daily, and groups of women were to be seen under the great shadows of the palmyra-tree spinning cotton while chanting Lutheran hymns. One village was named Motheloor, and the other Nazareth. They were the result of the labours of the Christian Knowledge Society at Tinnevelly. They had been, says Auber, for years without a missionary among them; but retained the faith and doctrines they had been taught, performing all the offices of the Lutheran religion among themselves.

Among the last religious efforts of the Portuguese in British India was the erection of a little church at Cossimbazar, which somewhat resembles a pagan temple, and where a slab in the doorway "desires our prayers for Fra Jeronimo, Augustine friar of Goa, who founded this chapel in 1766." Near it may be traced the graveyard of the ancient Dutch factory, in which were laid, in 1759, the remains of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings.*

Despite what the charter of 1698 ordained concerning the ecclesiastical establishment, many of the stations were found to be destitute of churches and chaplains in the time of Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), who, about 1795, took measures to have these wants supplied, and who complained much of the general indifference and infidelity prevalent among our people in Bengal. †

But at one time the East India Company actually adopted the policy of excluding missionaries altogether from their territories; and as these restrictions existed till about the beginning of the present century, religious progress was necessarily slow; and, in 1813, during the debates upon the new charter, when much was said respecting the propagation of Christianity, nearly every man who had lived in India was bitterly opposed to the appointment of missionaries to be salaried by the state. Nevertheless, the time had come when it was necessary that India should have a regular and well-appointed hierarchy, headed by prelates of the Anglican Church; and in the renewed charter a provision was made "for the maintenance and support of a church establishment in the East Indies."

By the 49th section, it was provided, that if his Majesty should be pleased, by his royal letters patent under the Great Seal, "to erect, found, and constitute one bishopric for the whole of the British territories in the East Indies," and one archdeaconry for each of the presidencies, the Company were to pay £5,000 per annum to the bishop, and £2,000 per annum to each of the archdeacons.

While the subject of the Episcopal establishment was under discussion, a claim was put in for the State Church of Scotland, on the just and ample plea, that the majority of British residents in India were Scotsmen, and of the Presbyterian communion. The justice of the claim was not denied by Parliament; but on some mysterious

* "Rise and Progress," &c. † MacFarlane's "India."

* *E.I.U.S. Journal*, 1837.
† "Lord Teignmouth's Life and Letters."

plea of expediency, more easily asserted than vindicated, it was not recognised by the Act; in short, the usual narrow and provincial system of legislation prevailed, and the appointment of Scottish chaplains, which the Presbyterian residents were entitled to demand as a right, was only given as a boon from the Court of Directors, while the claims of the Roman Catholics were, of course, at that time, ignored.*

The first Protestant Bishop of Calcutta was Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, D.D., who was born in 1769, and was consecrated on the 8th of May, 1814, as metropolitan of all India. This first appointment was admirable, and it has been justly said, that the lawn has not been often worn by better men than Bishop Middleton and Reginald Heber. The former died on the 8th of July, 1822, and a monument to his memory was erected in St. Paul's, London. Subsequently Bombay and Madras were each made bishoprics; the latter only so lately as 1855.

Native conversions were frequently the cause of much ill feeling and monetary quarrels among relations, while the converts themselves were placed in an unfavourable position. By certain regulations promulgated in 1793 and 1803, it was provided, that all questions of succession to property should be decided in conformity to the religion of the parties. The obvious intention of this was to give Hindoos and Mohammedans the benefit of their respective codes, than which nothing could be more equitable. "Unfortunately, the regulations were loosely and obscurely worded, and in a case which was daily acquiring new importance, was entirely overlooked. The efforts of Christian missionaries were beginning to bear fruit, but no provision had been made for the social position of their converts. As the regulations stood, there was ground for maintaining that by the mere fact of their conversion, they forfeited the rights of succession which would undoubtedly have belonged to them if they had continued Hindoos. This result, which had never been contemplated, and was, moreover, in itself absolutely intolerable, was remedied by a new regulation (in 1829), which provided that the rules relating to succession, as affected by religion, should bind those only who were *bonâ fide* of Mohammedanism or Hindooism when the succession opened. The effect was to free Hindoo converts to Christianity from all trammels of their former superstition, and give them full possession of Christian freedom." †

In 1833, when the new Bill passed, on the extinction of the Company's monopoly, it contained a series of sections, which, after providing for the intended new bishoprics of Bombay and Madras, enacted that at each of the presidencies "two chaplains shall always be ministers of the Church of Scotland," and concludes with justly declaring "that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent the Governor-General in Council granting, from time to time, with the sanction of the Court of Directors and of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, to any sect, persuasion, or community of Christians, not being of the united Church of England and Ireland or of the Church of Scotland, such sums of money as may be expedient, for the purpose of instructing, or for the maintenance of places of worship."

In 1820 the Bishop's College, near Calcutta, was founded for the education of such students as the Government or the religious societies connected with the Church of England may place there. It has a principal, two professors, eight missionaries, two catechists, and a printer. The Bible has been translated into ten languages for India, and the New Testament into five others—not reckoning the Serampore versions.

In Ceylon there is a bishop of the Church of England, with several clergymen; the Church of Scotland, Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, and American missionaries are all engaged in the work of religious and intellectual teaching; but throughout the island, among all Christian denominations, the Roman Catholics preponderate; yet the Governor reported about 1850, that multitudes who call themselves Christians in public are; in secret, closely attached to Buddhism and the Hindoo mythology.

In Mauritius, says Mr. Pridham, the Church of Rome has ever the pre-eminence, in the antiquity of its foundation and its numerical superiority. The white and creole population, with few exceptions, belong to that persuasion—somewhere about 80,000. The remainder of the religious community may be divided into two sections—the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters. Among the former are the officials civil and military, some Anglo-Indians, and a few negroes; while the latter is extremely limited indeed, and consists only of a few old Huguenot families.

There is also an English bishop at Victoria (Hong-Kong), who, in time to come, may exercise a very beneficial influence on the countries and islands adjacent to India.

Few Protestant missionaries have been more active in India than the Baptists, whose head-

* *Ann. Register*, 1813, &c. † Beveridge's "India."

* Leyland's "Colonial Empire," &c.

quarters are at Serampore, on the west bank of the Hooghley, twelve miles above Calcutta, a little Danish settlement sold to our Government by that of Denmark in 1845, but where they were nearly crushed, during the administration of Lord Minto in 1811, by measures unfortunately at variance with the good sense and enlightened spirit he usually displayed.

Although he defrayed out of the public treasury the expense of several native grammars, dictionaries, and other rudimentary works, printed at the Serampore Press, and aided liberally the Serampore translation of the Scriptures, he yet issued an edict, which evidently tended, if not to crush them altogether, at least to diminish their usefulness, and bring them under bondage. Prejudices were then strongly entertained by Sir George Barlow and all old European residents that the recent mutiny at Vellore had some connection with missionary labours; hence they were prohibited from preaching in the streets, from sending itinerant native preachers into villages, and from the gratuitous distribution of controversial tracts; though no restriction was imposed on their private tuition or their translation of the Scriptures; and they were at full liberty to continue divine service in Bengalee within the walls of their mission houses; but one of the earliest acts of Lord Minto's government threatened the luckless missionaries with something very like proscription.

The reason for this procedure against them was the discovery of a pamphlet in Persian, containing an account of Mohammed, so scurrilous, that it was deemed dangerous, inflammatory, and likely to excite discontent among the Mussulman population. Hence, the Governor-General in Council not only prohibited the issue of religious tracts, but ordered that publications in the vernacular tongue in the mission house at Calcutta should be abolished; and as this was not deemed sufficient to place the missionary press more completely under government control, the Baptists were ordered to remove it from Serampore to Calcutta.

As Serampore was then Danish and not British territory, it has been justly said that Lord Minto had no more power over the missionaries there than he would have had at Copenhagen. It was a distinct violation of the rights of a European sovereign. "The removal of the missionaries from Serampore," says a writer on the subject, "was equivalent to a confiscation of their property there, since it rendered the whole establishment on which their capital had been expended, worthless. If by some absurd misnomer this could be called toleration to Hindoos and Mohammedans, what was it to Christian missionaries but rank persecution? They were to be put to an expense which they declared to be ruinous, and their mouths were to be gagged in order that they might not be able to preach the Gospel within their own mission-house to the natives who would have come of their own accord to listen to it. The whole proceeding was so monstrous, that when the missionaries remonstrated, Government hesitated in carrying out coercive measures which could only have been characterised as an anti-Christian crusade. The interdict on preaching in the chapel at Calcutta was withdrawn, and the missionaries saved their Serampore press by submitting to a censorship."

Lord Minto's edict against the Baptists was the more to be regretted that he had the well-earned honour of being deemed a model administrator.

The year 1812 saw their press again in full operation, and we find Dr. Carey writing thus to Mr. Fuller, another leading Baptist:—"I have a great desire to do what I can to ensure the gradual perfection of the Oriental versions of the Scriptures after my death, and I am therefore trying to lay a foundation for Biblical criticism in these languages by securing to the public the little that I know of them. I have, therefore, begun to write grammars of the Telnya, the Orissa, and the language of the Sikhs, to which I intend immediately to add grammars of the Kurnata, the Kashmeera, and the Nepaula; of the Bengalee, Sanscrit, and the Mahratta, I have already published grammars, and a dictionary of the Mahratta. I am about a Bengalee Dictionary. I have also in my mind, and have proceeded far in collecting materials for a general dictionary of the Indian languages, derived from the Sanscrit, of which that language, of course, is the basis. I intend to give the Hebrew and Greek synonyms of the Sanscrit throughout. Should I live to accomplish all this, and the translation in hand, I think I could then say, 'Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.'" *

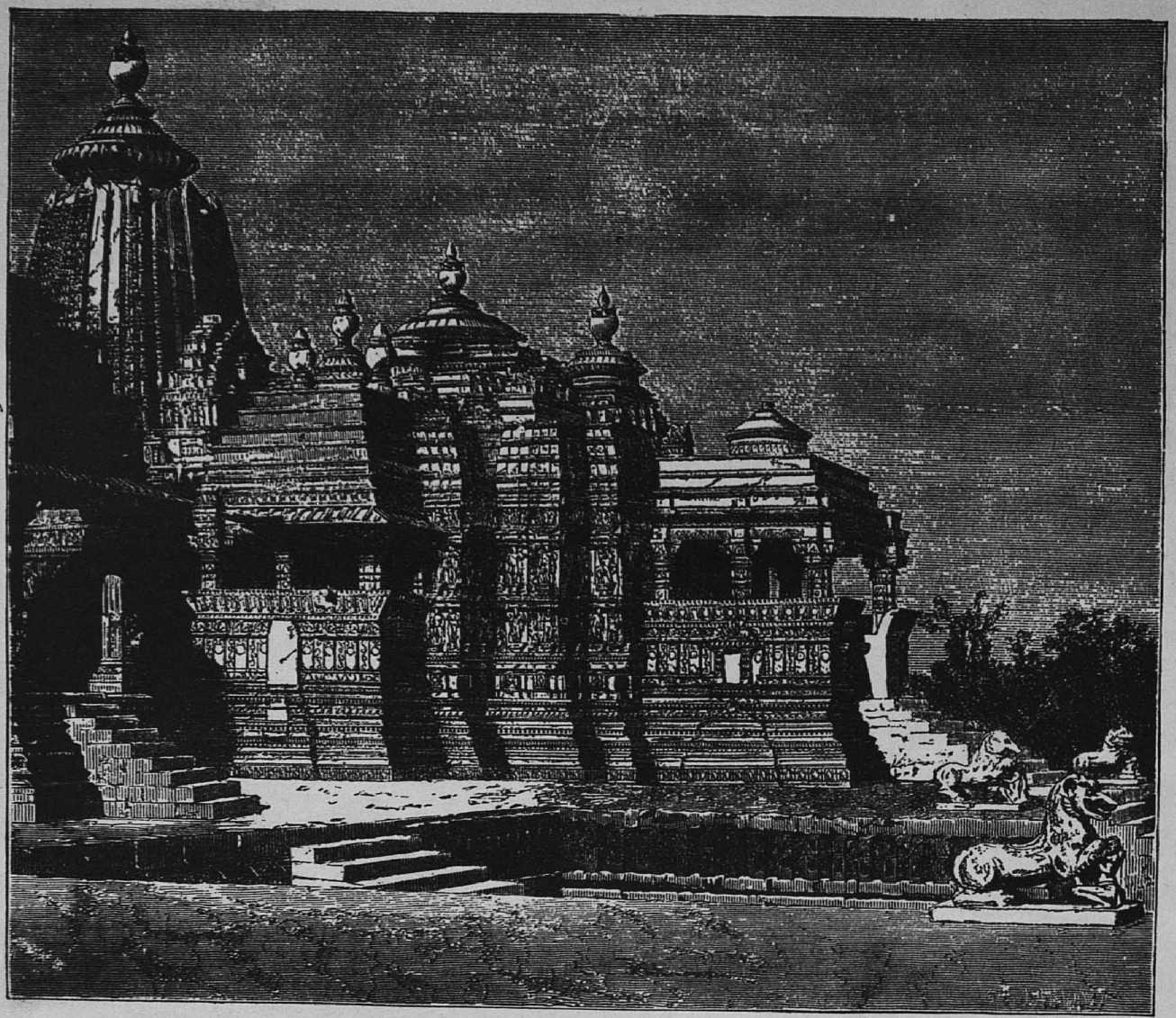
By Mullen's general census of Indian missions, taken in 1862, there were in India in that year, 418 missionaries; eighty-one ordained natives; 1,079 catechists; 890 native churches; 118,893 Christians; 21,252 communicants; at school, 54,888 boys, and 14,723 girls.

For all this, unfortunately, it seems to be admitted that the Government schools have not done much generally for either religion or morality; the students who go into them as Hindoos or Mohammedans often coming forth with little or no faith at all, and their conduct in society being

* *Edinburgh Star*, Aug., 1812.

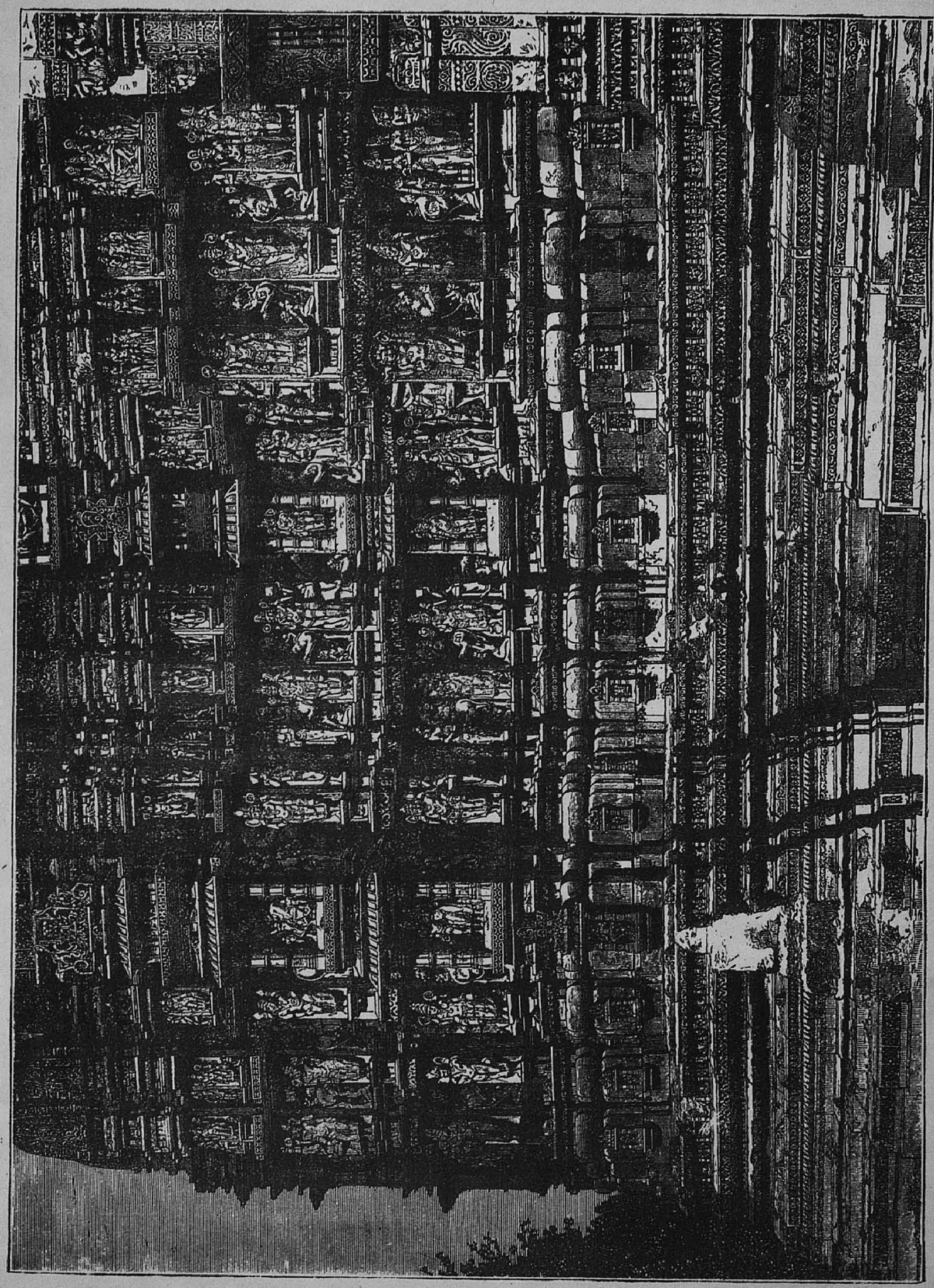
afterwards deplorably unprincipled and lax. "One distinction between the missionary schools and those of the Government is this—the missionaries make the Bible a class-book, while the Government teachers exclude it. The scholars of the missionaries need not believe the Bible, but they must read it, and have the opportunity of believing. It is found that this regulation by no means deters children from going to the missionary schools, which, indeed, are said to be much better filled than those of the Government, by persons who wish to receive a cheap and practical education. We are fully sensible of the difficulty, and even danger, of any direct interference with old religions or idolatries; but," adds this writer, "we cannot believe that a merely secular education will much contribute to make the population either better or happier."*

Among the most interesting conversions to Christianity was that of the Princess Guaromma (daughter of the Rajah of Coorg), who is described in one of Prince Albert's letters "as an amiable and intelligent girl," who was baptised in London, 30th of June, 1852; "Victoria was her godmother," he adds, "and will look after her education." She married a Scottish gentleman, a cadet of the Campbells, of Kinloch, and died young.†



VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF KALI AT KIJRAHA.

* Bohn's "India." † "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii.



THE FAÇADE OF THE TEMPLE OF KALI AT KIJRAHA.

The missionary reports for the year 1876 give the number of native Christians in connection with the Church of England in India at 20,884, with 24,213 scholars. The Church of Scotland there is divided into seven presbyteries, but as the reports for the year are defective, or without a synopsis, no statement can be given; while those of the Free Church of Scotland show about 914 baptised adherents, with 5,564 scholars; the United Presbyterians number, in "Christian community, 383," with 3,350 pupils.

The Roman Catholic Church in India, Burmah, and Siam shows an approximate number of fifteen bishoprics, 906 priests, and 100,000 adherents, with 1,000 schools, attended by 40,000 children; and these are exclusive of the archbishopric of Goa.

CHAPTER XLI.

LORD CANNING GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—OF THE SEPOYS AND INDIAN ARMY GENERALLY.

CHARLES JOHN VISCOUNT CANNING succeeded, as we have stated, Lord Dalhousie, and was the thirteenth and last of the Governors-General of the East India Company, and first Viceroy of the Crown. He had sat in the House of Lords for twenty years, and had thus acquired a considerable amount of official experience. He inherited a great name, and was a favourite of Lord Palmerston, under whose auspices he now took office. At the farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors, he uttered these memorable words:—"I wish for a peaceful term of office; but I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin."

Most prophetic was this sentence. Some of the most remarkable events in the history of British India occurred during the administration of Lord Dalhousie; but these were destined to be surpassed in importance, and to require all the talent and powers of Lord Canning to face them—the dreadful mutiny, and almost extirpation of an army 150,000 strong; the awful massacres of Europeans of every age and sex; the loss and recovery of the North-western Provinces; the total dissolution of the ancient East India Company, of so many memories; and the complete annexation of the Indian Empire to the British Crown.

For some time after the departure of Lord Dalhousie, his successor believed that India was in a state of tranquillity; but as the eventful year wore on, elements that, though not of immediate danger, were certainly disquieting, began to manifest themselves. The deposed King of Oude, who had been permitted to take up his abode in the suburbs of the Indian capital, had his secret emissaries actively at work in scattering the seeds of hostility to our Government in and around Calcutta. To Mr. Coverley Jackson, a civilian, was given the chief commissionership of Oude, a post for which he was somewhat unfitted. "Instead of labouring to reconcile the chiefs and people to a foreign rule, as Outram and Sleeman would have laboured to do, his time was passed in unseemly squabbles with his subordinates, and in sowing the dragon's teeth of rebellion among the proud aristocracy of the country by a wanton and disastrous interference with the tenure of their estates." *

In Delhi, the ancient Mohammedan capital of India, the royal family had been permitted, unwisely, to maintain a semi-royal court, in which the proceedings of our Government roused a keen feeling of dissatisfaction. Contrary to the advice of some of the most experienced men in the Court of Directors, the Board of Control had resolved to remove the royal family from Delhi, and on the death of the king, Bahadoor Shah, to abolish the regal title, with all its immunities.

Lord Dalhousie had delayed taking action on this measure, from a feeling of deference to the urgent remonstrances of the Directors; and thus to Lord Canning was left the consideration of this distasteful piece of policy, but he at once came to the conclusion, that the stately royal palace of Delhi, the citadel of a strongly fortified town, and measuring a mile in circumference, was immediately required for military purposes, and should be in the hands, not of its native princes, but of the British Government.

A mortifying communication to this effect was

* Marshman.

laid before the king, who, at the same time, was informed that his son, Mohammed Korash, would be recognised as his successor, but without the title of king. His young and most favourite wife, Zeenat Mahal, resented the exclusion of her own son, and equally so this abolition of regal dignity and the high privileges of the long line of the Moguls. With all the activity and zeal of an artful female intriguer, she set every secret engine to work to excite a hostile movement against the British Government, not only in Hindostan, but in the Deccan, and even at the Court of Persia, then at war with our troops under Outram, while fast and far spread the rumour that Lord Canning had come out with orders from the Queen of Great Britain to enforce Christianity on the people of India, Hindoo and Mussulman alike.

There went abroad, too, a strange prophecy that the raj, or rule, of the Company would pass away at the end of a hundred years, and 1857 was the centenary of the glorious field of Plassey. Most industriously were the rumour and the prediction propagated together, and the fate of the Feringhees was supposed to be like everything else viewed from an Oriental point of view, amenable to the inexorable law of destiny. Hence, towards the close of the year 1856, the public mind had become completely unsettled, and vague apprehensions of some portentous event or coming calamity pervaded the entire community; and it would seem that this event might have taken place sooner, during the Crimean War, and when we should have been less able to face it—if to face it all—but for one circumstance.

The Indian Moslem ever takes a deep interest in the fate of the Padishah; and it is a fact now thoroughly ascertained, that our support of Turkey in the war with Russia in 1854 had such an effect upon the Mohammedan population of India, as to postpone the Mutiny for a year or two, and to lessen its force when it came.*

In times before, mutinies had repeatedly broken out in the native army, and, in many instances, the measures of repression to which the officers resorted had rather evaded the matter than punished or extinguished it. Moreover, the native troops of India, whether under their own princes or the British flag, had never been quite exempt from a somewhat insubordinate spirit; thus Holkar, Scindia, and other Mahratta princes had been repeatedly coerced by their own soldiers, while Runjeet, the fierce old Lion of Lahore, was wont to declare that he dreaded his own victorious troops more than he did their vanquished enemies; and in the Company's army, from the first calamity at Buxar in 1764, to the latest mutiny, in 1850, at Shikarpore, there had been a succession of petty outbreaks, all more or less disquieting or formidable.

In approaching the events which we are now about to relate, it is impossible to forget the prophetic words of one who knew India well—the far-seeing and wary Scottish veteran, Sir Thomas Munro, concerning the great extension of our Indian Empire by annexation, as tending to give the Mutiny its extent and power.

"If we could subdue all India to our dominion," said Munro in his time, "it is doubtful if this would be desirable either for the natives or ourselves. One of the effects of this conquest would be, that the Indian army, having no longer to combat warlike neighbours, would gradually lose its discipline, and that the native troops would have leisure to contemplate their own strength, and turn it against their European masters."

The same politician had earnestly advised the maintenance of the native protected princes on their thrones, as a source of union between the Supreme British Government and the Hindoo and Mussulman populations.

In the year 1827 the armies of the East India Company belonged to the three Presidencies, each under its own commander-in-chief. That of Bengal consisted of a regiment of artillery, a corps of engineers, ten regiments of cavalry, and seventy-five of infantry. The Madras army consisted of a regiment of artillery, another of engineers, eight regiments of cavalry, and fifty-four of infantry. The Bombay army comprised a regiment of foot artillery, one brigade of horse artillery, having four troops European, two battalions of European and two of native artillery, three regiments of cavalry, and twenty-nine of native infantry. The cavalry were clad in silver-grey, faced most frequently with orange or red, and laced with silver. The infantry were in scarlet, and the artillery in dark blue.

Their European troops were recruited for in Great Britain and Ireland, the head-quarters for these being at Warley, in Essex.

In addition to these fine and carefully developed forces, recruited for among the best and most warlike tribes of India, there were added to each of these three armies many local and irregular corps, officered from the line, and denominated as Sikh Battalions, Irregular Horse, Infantry and Cavalry of the Punjaub, Assam Light Infantry, Oude Infantry, the Gwalior Contingent, Provisional Battalions, Militia, and Rangers. To all these the strange necessity for having a complete set of

* *Vide* Lord Northbrook's speech at Falmouth in 1876.

native officers, the senior of whom—however long his service, and the number of his battles, scars, and medals—was inferior to the junior European subaltern, proved the great peril of this vast military organisation.

In India there were then of all kinds about 294,675 men in arms. Of these, 40,000 or more belonged to the royal light cavalry and infantry of the line, whose head-quarters at home were respectively Maidstone and Chatham, but were struck off the home strength, and were paid and maintained by the East India Company.

The country from which the Bengal infantry had usually been recruited extended from the eastern quarter of Behar to Rohilcund. In person, the men there are robust, and when in their own dress, and untrammelled by the unseemly European garb, either civil or military, most of them seemed fine examples of the human form, especially those in the flank companies, which then existed.

Writing of the Indian army in his time, by desire of Lord Buckinghamshire, Sir John Malcolm says, that the Bengal dragoons were men of stouter frame than the same corps in Madras. "The latter are almost all Mohammedans," he continues, "and a considerable portion of the Bengal cavalry are of the same race. The fact is, that with the exception of the Mahratta tribe, the Hindoos are not, generally speaking, so much disposed as the Mohammedans to the duties of a trooper; and though the Mohammedans may be dissipated and less moral in their private conduct than the Hindoos, they are zealous and high-spirited soldiers, and it is excellent policy to have a considerable portion of them in the service, to which experience has shown, they often become very warmly attached. In the native infantry of Bengal the Hindoos are in the full proportion of three-fourths to the Mohammedans. They consist chiefly of Rajpoots, who are a distinguished race among the Khiteree, or military tribe. We may judge of the size of these men when we are told that the standard below which no recruit is taken is five feet six inches. The great proportion of the grenadiers are six feet and upwards. The Rajpoot is born a soldier. The mother speaks of nothing to her infant but deeds of arms, and every action and sentiment of the future man is marked by the first impressions that he has received. If he tills the ground—which is the common occupation of this class—his sword and shield are placed near the furrow, and moved as his labour advances. The frame of the Rajpoot is always improved (even if his habits are those of civil life) by martial exercises; he is, when well treated, obedient, zealous, and faithful."*

* "The Indian Army," 1834.

Sir John was further of opinion that neither the Hindoo nor Mohammedan sepoy could be deemed of a revengeful nature, though both were prone to deeds of extreme violence, especially in points where they deemed their honour—of which they have a very keen sense—slighted or insulted, or their character stained. Of this spirit, two or three examples may be given. In 1772, a sepoy of the 10th Bengal Native Infantry, supposing himself injured, quitted the ranks, and approaching Captain Ewens, commanding, with "recovered arms," as if about to make some request, shot him dead, and then quietly awaited the death he merited. Captain Crook, of the Madras Cavalry, once struck a sentry for allowing a water-bullock to enter his tent. The man waited calmly till relieved from his post, and then seeking the captain, shot him dead with his carbine. He made no attempt to escape. He had avenged his honour, thus terribly, for a blow given, and he met with calm fortitude the death which punished his crime.* An officer relates another instance of adherence to honour thus:—A sepoy, of the Bengal Native Infantry, was accused by one of his comrades of having stolen a rupee and a pair of trousers. The serjeant-major, before whom in the first instance the charge was brought, was both unable and unwilling to give it credence. Besides the unusual circumstance of a native soldier being guilty of so base an act, the accused sepoy had always been remarkably conspicuous for his brave and upright conduct. His breast was literally covered with medals, and he had long been accustomed to the voice of praise. Still, however, justice demanded that the charge should not be dismissed without an impartial investigation. The whole affair was brought to the notice of the commanding officer, who desired that the sepoy's residence should be immediately and thoroughly examined. On opening his knapsack, to the utter astonishment and regret of the whole regiment, the stolen property was discovered. None, however, looked more thunderstruck than the sepoy himself. He clenched his teeth in bitter agony, but spoke not a single word. The colonel told him that though circumstances were so fearfully against him, he would not yet pronounce him guilty, as it was not impossible he might be the victim of some malignant design. He therefore dismissed him from his presence until the result of further inquiries should produce a full conviction of his guilt or innocence. In a few hours the sepoy was observed to leave his little hut, and walk with hurried steps to a neighbouring field. He was soon concealed from sight by a

* Ibid.

thick cluster of bamboos. Suspecting the purpose of his present visit to so retired a spot, a comrade followed him, but was unfortunately too late to arrest the hand of the determined suicide. The poor fellow lay stretched on the ground, with his head hanging back, and the blood gushing from his open throat. He had effected his purpose with a sharp knife, which he still grasped, as if with the intention of inflicting another wound. He was carried to the hospital, and carefully attended, but the surgeon pronounced his recovery impossible. A pen and ink were brought to him, and he wrote with some difficulty on a slip of paper, that he firmly hoped that he had not failed in his attempt to destroy himself, for life was of no value without honour. He stated, too, that though it might now be useless to affirm his innocence, he hoped that a time might come when his memory should be freed from its present stain. He lingered no less than fifteen days in this dreadful state, and died at last apparently of mere starvation; for, though he invariably made signs of a desire for food, it was, of course, impossible to give it to him, and any nourishment would merely have prolonged his misery. Two days before he died, it was discovered that a Bengalee servant, of low caste, who had taken offence on some trivial occasion, had placed the stolen goods in the sepoy's bundle, and then urged the owner to accuse him of the theft. The disclosure of this circumstance appeared to give infinite satisfaction to the dying soldier.

Prior to the dark days we are approaching, the native and the British soldier always became great friends; the latter invariably spoke well and pettingly of "Jack Sepoy," by whom they were in turn admired for their daring valour, and other excellent qualities. "It is pleasant," wrote an officer on this subject, "to see the ranks intermingling on a march, and to hear the native, when the sun grows hot, begging to be allowed to carry the musket of his wayworn European comrade."

In 1856 there was more than one cause to disquiet the minds of the native troops, whom many —and no mean authorities—averred that we had pampered too much. More than 40,000 men of the sepoy army were recruited in that land which had ever been a source of trouble—Oude—and with the view of attaching them more especially to our service, they had enjoyed the privilege of having their numerous and vexatious lawsuits decided before those of others, on the production of a rescript from their commanding officer. This exclusive and remarkable privilege, which greatly enhanced their importance in their own localities, was abolished when Oude was annexed, and hence a feeling of general discontent took deep root. In addition to this growing annoyance, only six of the Bengal regiments were enlisted for foreign service; and, in 1856, a Government order was issued to the effect, that in future no man would be enlisted as a soldier who was not willing to embark when required. This order, which was absolutely necessary for the discipline and military utility of the army, produced a deep and marked discontent in every regiment of the Bengal army.

Hitherto the military service of the India Company had been deemed a noble and honourable profession; but, under the new rule, the sons and nephews of the high-caste sepoys, who were waiting for vacancies, would have to forego that service altogether, or defile their caste, by crossing the *Kala pawnee*, or "black water," as they termed the ocean.

By this time a change had come over the European soldier's view of his native comrade. The singular facility with which, in our early Indian campaigns, enormous masses of native troops were defeated and dispersed, as at Plassey and elsewhere, by a mere handful of Europeans, led to the not unnatural conclusion, that they were as inferior in natural courage as in physique; and it was with a feeling almost bordering on surprise, that it was found that the sepoys, in subsequent wars when disciplined and led by British officers, became good and efficient soldiers. Hence, on more than one occasion, those of Madras have crossed their bayonets in battle with the best grenadiers of King Louis; and at Bhurtpore a Bengal regiment thrice planted their colours on the breach, when two corps of the line declined to quit the trenches.

Few troops in the world were more caressed and carefully considered than those of the native armies, after a revulsion of sentiment and good opinion took place in their favour. They were lauded in general orders, and, often without any application on their part, they had increased pay and allowances given them. "They were petted and pampered like children," says a writer, "or as if they had been Prætorian cohorts, with whom it rested to bestow or withhold the imperial title and power. No wonder, then, that they became inflated with an idea of their vast importance, and considered themselves the real masters of the state. Their self-complacency gradually over-stepped all bounds, and, like all mercenary armies, they threatened to become more formidable to their employers than to the enemy."

Many statesmen had already seen the peril of humouring them so much. Lord Hardinge is

reported to have declared before he came to India "that he had no apprehension about any enemy he was likely to encounter, except the Bengal army; and Lord Metcalfe—a much higher authority—is known to have entertained so much uneasiness as to the permanence of British supremacy in the East, that he once said, "that some fine morning all the Europeans in India would get up with their throats cut."*

The discontents in Oude, with the rumours of an intended forcible conversion of all classes to Christianity, caused measures for defence and offence to be taken with decision and promptitude; and well was the force of systematic and combined action understood by the Hindostanees. For a long time past it had been known that a brisk and sustained (but to the European, puzzling) correspondence was maintained between the different regiments of the Bengal army, however far apart they might be stationed.

There was, as yet, no reason to suppose that any schemes of revolt or aggression were in progress, or anything beyond a general understanding that the battalions might mutually rely on each other for a combined resistance if the British Government attempted in any way to coerce them in matters of religion, or alter the conditions under which they enlisted. As an emblem of universal agreement, a chupatty, or little cake, made simply of flour and water, went from hand to hand, and from station to station, pledging each man to stand by his comrade—each regiment to do so by its neighbour.

Noted as the Mohammedans were now for a generally insolent and overbearing demeanour, those of Delhi surpassed all others, in a swaggering air, and avowed hatred of the Feringhees. Nor was this altogether unnatural. The loss of empire could hardly fail to inspire them with something, at least, of sullen animosity towards their conquerors; for now, instead of being a dominant race, under an emperor, they were reduced to engage in trade or agriculture, or submit to wretched pittances as the dependants of a puppet king, who was the degraded pensioner of a race of unbelievers.

The idea that some catastrophe was coming prevailed in the minds of many Anglo-Indians; but many more there were who laughed, and said—"Oh! the thing will last our time, and so we need not care." And while they thus deluded themselves into fancied security, the native army had also deluded itself, but into the belief that it was now in a condition to dictate terms to Government; and when such an idea prevailed, revolt became inevitable, and the only point to be determined was—the time.

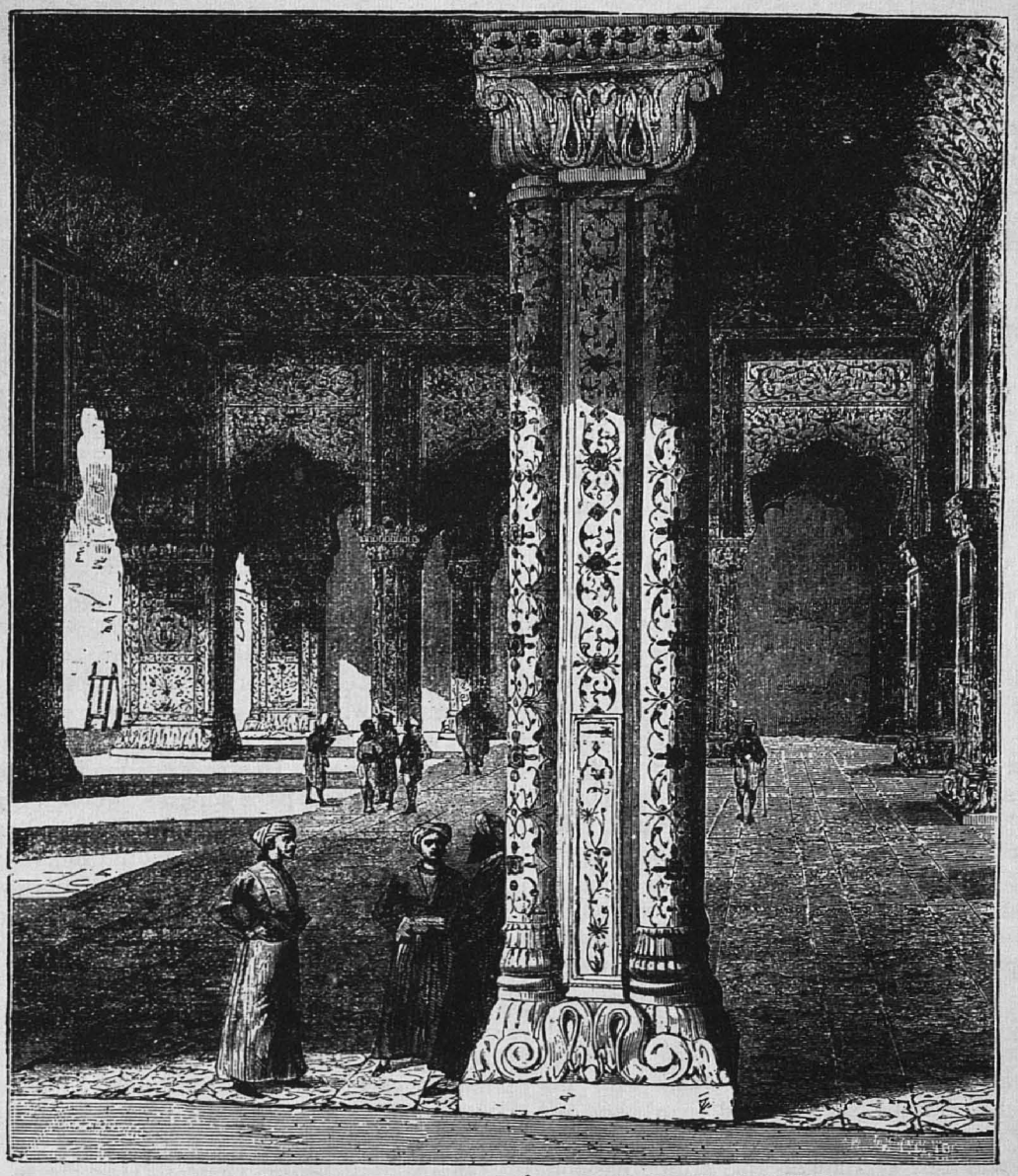
In the way, or ultimate success, of this movement there was one great obstacle—the intense and ancient antipathy between the Hindoos and the Mohammedans. The former composed by far the greater bulk of the population; and the latter, though quite numerous enough to be formidable, derived from their superior position, as a once dominant and still warlike class, a greater degree of influence than their mere numbers would indicate.

The natural effect of this antipathy was to keep the two classes apart, and make it seem impossible to combine for any common object. Aware of this security against a united revolt, our Government appear not to have under-rated it; and yet, by a most singular and unforeseen fatality, they—without a suspicion of what would ensue—destroyed the security, and enabled Hindoo and Mohammedan to fraternise, and make a combined effort together for the overthrow of our empire in India.

This was the cry so artfully raised, that the religion of both was in danger, and that Christianity alone would be tolerated. It has been deemed singular that such a cry could have any influence, as a succession of Governors-General had vied with each other in carrying to their utmost limits, the true principles of religious toleration; and some had given so much countenance and encouragement to the most absurd of native superstitions and idolatry, as to nearly incur the charge of forgetting that they themselves were Christian men, and the representatives of a Christian Government; thus, in 1803, even the car of Juggernaut, with its blood-encrusted wheels, was placed as carefully under a guard of British troops as if it had been the altar of a Christian church!

It is almost needless to say that not the slightest intention to reverse this policy had been manifested; but ripe as they were for revolt, the Bengal sepoys were ready to listen to any incendiary, and to grasp at any pretence to justify their meditated treachery. The terrible delusion spread like wildfire, "and a circumstance so trivial in itself that one can hardly speak of it with gravity," became, if not the cause of a revolt, unsurpassed in magnitude and ferocity, the spark applied to the subtle train so many hands had laid, and, in a day, all became death, desolation, and despair—when a disaster, unlike anything known in history since the Sicilian Vespers, filled India with alarm, and Britain with horror and grief.

* The "Indian Mutiny." By an editor of the *Delhi Gazette*.



GREAT HALL OF THE DEWAN KHÂS IN THE PALACE OF DELHI.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE ENFIELD RIFLE IN THE BENGAL ARMY.—THE SPIRIT OF MUTINY AT BERHAMPORE, ETC.—DISBANDING OF THE 19TH BENGAL NATIVE INFANTRY.—REVOLT AT MEERUT.

It has been deemed questionable whether the disaffection excited by the two royal families of Oude and Delhi, or even the vague discontent of the native troops, would have culminated in a revolt of the whole army, with its attendant atrocities, but for the very unexpected incident of the greased cartridges, which caused a most opportune source for complaint against the Government.

Towards the close of 1856, it had been determined to replace the old infantry musket, "the Brown Bess," of so many wars and glories, by an improved firearm, with a grooved, or rifled bore,

and which could not be easily loaded without the lubrication of the cartridge; and Dumdum, a cantonment six miles north-west of Calcutta, was one of the schools of musketry for instruction in the use of this new weapon—the Enfield rifle.

Early in January, 1857, when the manufacture of these cartridges (which, before being used, must be torn by the fingers, or bitten) was proceeding briskly in the Artillery Arsenal of that place, a *classie*, or low-caste workman, asked a soldier of the 2nd Grenadiers, a high-class Brahmin, for a draught of water from his *lotah*, or drinking-vessel. The grenadier declined, on the plea that the vessel would be defiled.

"You think much of your caste," sneered the *classie;* "but wait a little; the *sahib-logue* (white gentlemen) will soon make high and low caste on an equality; as cartridges smeared with beef fat and hog's lard are being made up in the magazine, which all sepoys will be compelled to use."

The mention of two kinds of fat was singularly artful and malicious, as one was the abomination of the Hindoos, and the other of the Mohammedans; like a double-edged sword, it cut two ways, and the subject once mooted, was not likely to be permitted to subside. The astounded grenadier rushed, in an agony of shame and terror, to the sepoy lines, where the news was speedily discussed with much real, and probably more pretended alarm; for the story spread like wild-fire, and the credulous sepoys of both religions readily believed it was a base attempt on the part of the Government to undermine their faith. It was useless for anyone to insist upon the absurdity of this idea; they were convinced of its truth, and could not be persuaded that though the cartridge-paper might be glazed, it was not greased.

The public post was literally laden with the letters of the alarmed sepoys, and in a very few days every regiment in Hindostan was affected with the same emotions of danger and frantic passion. The little cloud of which Lord Canning spoke by chance was "growing larger and larger," and might, in its bursting, overwhelm the empire of British India with ruin. When first made aware of what was passing, Major Bontein, the officer commanding at Dumdum, paraded all the native troops in the barracks and cantonments, and asked them if there were any complaints.

On this, at least two-thirds of them, including the native officers, stepped to the front, and in a manner that—whatever it veiled—was perfectly respectful, stated their objection to the method of preparing the new rifle-musket cartridges, as "the mixture employed for greasing these was opposed to their religious feelings, and they begged to suggest the employment of beeswax and oil in such proportion as, in their opinion, would answer the end required."

It is but too probable that the moderation thus shown, blinded the military authorities at the beginning to the extent of the evil. At all events, there seemed no necessity for instant or severe action, and they contented themselves by ordering that the further manufacture of greased cartridges should cease, and that, in future, the men might purchase the necessary ingredients at the bazaar, and apply them with their own hands! The moderation exhibited at Dumdum proved quite exceptional; for, in other quarters, the excitement, instead of being allayed by assurances that the cause for it had ceased to exist, continued to increase, and the Inspector-General recommended that the Home Government should not send out any more made-up ammunition for the Enfield rifles.* At first, it was only the grease to which the sepoys objected; but it was now discovered that there was something mysteriously wrong with the paper, as, unlike that which had been previously used, it had a glazed appearance, which, the sepoys were resolved to consider, was the result of greasing. Thus, on the 6th of February, General Hearsey, commanding the division of Bengal troops, reported as follows, from Barrackpore, to head-quarters:—"A most unreasonable and unfounded suspicion has, unfortunately, taken possession of the native officers and sepoys at this station, that grease, or fat, is used in the composition of this cartridge-paper; and this foolish idea is now so rooted in them, that it would, in my opinion, be both idle and unwise to attempt its removal."

As, if no ulterior or darker purpose were in view, it was generally believed that the objection to the polluting cartridge was sincere, and the growing excitement was treated with calmness; but ere long, indications of deliberate evil were manifested.

On the day before General Hearsey wrote the letter above quoted, a *jemadar*, or native lieutenant, waited upon Lieutenant Allen, of the 84th Regiment of the Line, then stationed at Barrackpore, a large military village, distant twenty-four miles by water from Calcutta, and informed him that the four native regiments in the cantonments were ready to break out in open mutiny, and that he had been invited to attend a meeting on that very night, for the purpose of maturing the plot, and scheming out the mode of its operation. Lieutenant Allen was loth to attach much importance to a statement so startling; yet he boldly visited the lines at the time when the alleged meeting was to be held, that

* "The Sepoy Revolt; its Causes, &c." By Henry Mead.

he might have ocular evidence of it; but none took place.

The faithful jemadar, however, persisted in his statement, and asserted that the resolution to hold the meeting had been postponed in consequence of certain suspicions being excited; but that his information was correct, was proved by General Hearsey reporting again, on the 11th of February, that the Europeans at Barrackpore were "dwelling upon a mine ready for explosion;" that he had been watching the bearing of the sepoys for some time, and was convinced that "their minds had been misled by some designing scoundrel."

To counteract the impressions produced by those intrigues, the general paraded all the troops on the 9th, and availed himself of that knowledge of Hindostanee which he so thoroughly possessed to endeavour to disabuse the minds of his hearers.

"Energetically and explicitly," he says, "I explained in a loud voice to the whole of the men the folly of the idea that possessed them—that the Government, or their officers, wished to interfere with their caste or religious prejudices, and impressed upon them the absurdity of their, for one moment, believing that they were to be forced to become Christians. I told them the British were Christians of the Book, *i.e.*, Protestants; that we admitted no proselytes but those who, being adults, could read and fully understand the precepts laid down therein; that if they came and threw themselves down at our feet, imploring to be made 'Book-Christians,' it could not be done; they could not be baptised until they had been examined in the tenets of the Book, and proved themselves fully conversant in them; and then they must, of their own good-will and accord, desire to become Christians of the Book ere they could become so."

In conclusion, the general asked them if they understood what he said, especially the 2nd Grenadiers, who nodded their assent, after which he dismissed the parade; but, still doubtful of the temper of the troops, he laid before the authorities the dangerous policy of having six regiments of native infantry brigaded in one place, such as Barrackpore, without any European corps of cavalry, infantry, or artillery, to be a check upon their movements; adding, that so far as influence went, the native officers were of no use; all they could do was to hold themselves aloof, hoping, by so doing, to escape censure, though, in fact, they were afraid of their own men. He then quoted the remark of Sir Charles Metcalfe, which we have given elsewhere.

A detachment of the 34th Native Infantry (one of the regiments harangued by General Hearsey) marched into Berhampore, 116 miles north of Calcutta, on the 24th of February, and the members of it were, according to the custom in such cases, entertained by the sepoys of the 19th Bengal Native Infantry, there in garrison; and at the feast the all-engrossing topic of the greased cartridges was fully discussed, together with all other grievances, real or fanciful; and the sequel was not far distant.

On the following day, when Colonel Mitchell, the officer commanding, ordered a distribution of blank ammunition, for musketry exercise, the men of the 19th refused to put it in their pouches, on the plea of having suspicions as to how the cartridges had been prepared. As they were of the old fashion, made up, as usual, in dark blue paper, and at a time before Enfield rifles had been heard of, this conduct was deemed as absurd as it was outrageous. Colonel Mitchell intimidated them with some difficulty; they accepted the packets of ammunition in sullen and ominous silence, and repaired, on dismissal, to their lines.

In the course of the evening, after secret consultations, during which they worked themselves into a frenzy of excitement, they rushed forth, burst open the little huts where the spare arms were deposited, and seized them with shouts of defiance. To Colonel Mitchell only two courses were open: to march against the mutineers in the dark, or remain under arms till morning; and both of these were open to doubt and objection. There were no European troops at Berhampore, and no others, save a detachment of cavalry and a battery of artillery, both of whom, doubtless, sympathised with the infantry now in revolt.

The night was so intensely dark, that even with the aid of torches there would have been a difficulty in finding the way; while the ground near the lines was interspersed with dangerous tanks, which would have impeded the operations of cavalry, and the torchlight reflected from which would have enabled the mutineers to open a destructive fire, while they themselves would have been quite unseen. Anxious to avoid an issue so bloody and doubtful, Colonel Mitchell held a negociation with them. This ended in a compromise; he, on his part, agreeing, as a first step, to withdraw the horse and artillery, and the mutineers on theirs, agreeing to make submission. To this arrangement Colonel Mitchell should never have stooped, by permitting mutineers to dictate terms, at a time when insubordination was spreading far and wide.

During these incipient affairs, the Commander-in-chief, General the Hon. George Anson (son of the Earl of Lichfield), who had been in the Guards, and served at Waterloo, was, unfortunately, far away

at Simla, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. But Government seemed to be now fully alive to the perils that were impending; and two days after the news from Berhampore reached Calcutta, the Oriental Company's ship, *Bentinck*, was steaming towards the Irawaddi, with orders to bring the whole of H.M. 84th Regiment from Rangoon, with all possible dispatch. Meanwhile, the refractory 19th had been ordered down to Barrackpore. There, too, with an eye to the future, were dispatched a wing of H.M. 53rd (or Shropshire), with two troops of artillery, while twelve guns were also brought into the cantonment.

At this most dangerous period there was a great paucity of European troops in India, which had, in a great measure, been denuded of those that were imperatively necessary to control an infuriated, and most infatuated, native army. Battalion after battalion had been withdrawn, despite the remonstrances of Lord Dalhousie, who ultimately was compelled to inform the "cheese-paring Government" at home, "that he would not be responsible for the safety of the empire if any more European troops were withdrawn; yet four more regiments were sent to Persia after he had retired from the country;" * and now, there was little more than one British regiment to ten of natives between Calcutta and Agra!

On the 24th March, our 84th Regiment reached Calcutta, and proceeded at once to Chinsurah, to wait the arrival there of the 19th. The object of all these preparations was too palpable not to be completely understood by the secretly disaffected; and, presently, the 34th Bengal Native Infantry in particular, forgetting the probably affected moderation which they professed when harangued by General Hearsey, loudly expressed their sympathy with the 19th, whom they declared to merit, not punishment, but honour, as a reward for the defence they made of their sacred religion.

The time now passed on with little disturbance, but with intense disquietude and anxiety by the Europeans—especially those who had families; and it afterwards transpired, that a great and general conspiracy had been organised throughout that vast sepoy army which we had been more than a hundred years in bringing to perfection, for the simultaneous revolt of every regiment, at every station in Hindostan, on the last Sunday of May, 1857, at the hour of church service, when all Europeans were to be murdered, without regard to sex or age. But God willed it otherwise; for had this event actually taken place, we must inevitably have lost India, for a time, at least.

* Marshman's "India."

The 34th, though they must have been fully aware of the vast importance to themselves of remaining quiet till this terrible Sunday came, could not suppress unequivocal signs of the mutinous spirit that inspired them. Thus, two days before the 19th came in, on the 29th of March, a sepoy of the former corps, named Mungal Pandy, maddened by the excessive use of *bhang*, and other intoxicating drugs, armed himself with a sword and loaded musket, and staggered up and down in front of the lines, calling upon his comrades of the 34th—the *Bradshaw-ka-Pultan*—to rise, and threatening with death any European who should approach him. Lieutenant Bough, the adjutant, rode to the parade-ground, and, assisted by Sergeant-Major Hewson, attempted to disarm the dangerous drunkard, while calling upon the quarter-guard to turn out; but the latter, under a jemadar, looked sullenly and passively on, spectators of the struggle. As the adjutant approached, Mungal Pandy, from the cover of a field-piece, fired, and shot the horse of that officer, who then discharged one of his pistols, but missed, and ere he could draw his sword, Pandy made a rush, and cut him down. Ere the blow, which was not mortal, could be repeated, Hewson sprang forward, but was severely wounded, and both Europeans would have been murdered in the end, had not the orderly of Lieutenant Bough, a Mohammedan, seized Pandy, who was in the act of levelling his reloaded musket.

With several other officers, whom the sound of the firing had alarmed, General Hearsey, C.B., was promptly on the ground, and, by his resolute spirit, crushed that which was on the eve of becoming a general mutiny. Riding up to the jemadar and his recreant guard, with a cocked pistol in his hand, he threatened to blow out the brains of the first man who showed the slightest symptom of disobedience. They were thus overawed, and withdrew to their posts. For their conduct, both Mungal Pandy and the jemadar were tried, convicted, and hanged in front of the lines. The name of the former fanatic, who won an unenviable notoriety in India, as the shedder of the first blood in the cause of the mutineers, was, from that circumstance, given to all sepoys, as "Pandies," who excited the hostility or contempt of the British.

On the day after this outrage, the 19th Native Infantry, on the way to Barrackpore, reached Barasut, eight miles distant, when something of the punishment in store for them transpired, and Lord Canning, in a minute of date the 27th of March, had announced what it was to be:—"The open refusal of the whole regiment to obey orders, the seizure of arms with violence, and a tumultuous but

combined resistance to the authority of its officers, with arms loaded, is an offence for which any punishment less than dismissal from the service would be inadequate; mutiny so often and defiant cannot be excused by any sensitiveness of religion or caste, by fear of coercion, or by the seductions or deceptions of others. It must be met promptly and unhesitatingly, without the delay of a day more than may be necessary."

It has been questioned whether Lord Canning acted up to his own ideas of the enormity of the crime when he proposed so mild a punishment as mere dismissal, or being turned out of the service; and this painful ceremony took place at Barrackpore, on the 31st of March, though the regiment had petitioned for pardon.

When they entered Barrackpore on that day, the 19th found there under arms H.M. 53rd and 84th, two European batteries, and the Body Guard of the Governor-General, a corps of whose fidelity, though Indians, there never was a doubt, and the disbandment was at once carried into effect—a measure that undoubtedly filled the regiment with grief, and which they strove to avert by too late signs of real, or pretended, repentance. On one side of the parade-ground stood the European troops and batteries, with the Body Guard; on the other were the 34th, with the native troops previously at that station. Between them were halted the doomed 19th Regiment.

To all the officers it was a time of no ordinary anxiety; for at any moment all the natives might make common cause against all who had white faces, and of the former 4,000 were present.

The warrant for disbandment was read, and concluded thus:—

"The regiment has been guilty of open and defiant mutiny.

"It is no excuse for this offence to say, as has been said in the before-mentioned petition of the native officers and men of the regiment, that they were afraid of their religion, and that they apprehended violence to themselves.

"It is no atonement of it to declare, as they have therein declared, that they are ready to fight for their Government in the field, when they have disobeyed and insulted that Government in the persons of its officers, and have expressed no contrition for their heavy offences.

"Neither the 19th, nor any regiment in the service of the Government of India, nor any sepoy, Hindoo or Mussulman, has reason to pretend that Government has shown, directly or indirectly, a desire to interfere with the religion of the troops.

"It has been the unvarying rule of the Government of India to treat the religious feelings of all its servants of every creed with careful respect, and to representations or complaints put forward in a dutiful and becoming spirit, on this or any other subject, it has never turned a deaf ear.

"But the Government of India expects to receive in return for this treatment the confidence of those who serve it.

"From its soldiers of every rank and race it will, at all times and in all circumstances, enforce unhesitating obedience. They have sworn to give it, and the Governor-General in Council will never cease to exact it. To no men who prefer complaints with arms in their hands will he ever listen.

"Had the sepoys of the 19th Regiment confided in their Government, and believed their commanding officer, instead of crediting the idle stories with which false and evil-minded men have deceived them, their religious scruples would still have remained inviolate, and themselves would still be, as they have hitherto been, faithful soldiers, trusted by the state, and laying up for future years all the rewards of a long and honourable service.

"But the Governor-General in Council can no longer have any confidence in this regiment, which has disgraced its name, and lost all claim to consideration and indulgence.

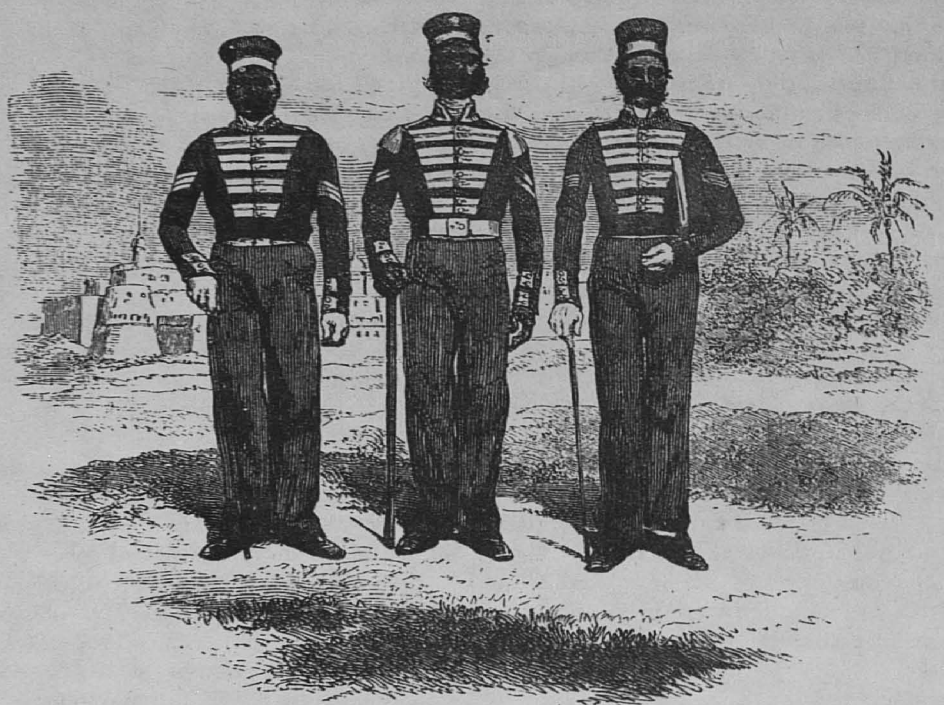
"It is, therefore, the order of the Governor-General in Council, that the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry be now disbanded; the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates be discharged from the army of Bengal; and this be done at the head-quarters of the presiding division, in the presence of every available corps within two days' march of the station; that the regiment be paraded for the purpose; and that each man, after being deprived of his arms, shall receive his arrears of pay, and be required to withdraw from the cantonment.

"The European officers of the regiment will remain at Barrackpore until orders for their disposal shall be received from his Excellency the Commander-in-chief. This order to be read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service."

When ordered to ground arms, the regiment obeyed without a murmur; their colours, which were of dark-green silk, were then taken away, and the number of the 19th, which had been raised in 1776, was struck from the Indian Army List. Though the sentence could not be reversed, their peaceful and repentant behaviour won them several indulgences, which they could scarcely have anticipated. They received payment of their arrears to

the utmost anna, with money to pay for the cattle and boats that had brought down their families. "This gracious act was keenly felt," says General Hearsey, than whom none knew the sepoys better; "and loudly they bewailed their fate, saying the regiment had been misled."

The future fate of the 19th, the *Ung-ka-Pultan*, has something of melancholy interest in it. They begged to be enlisted into other corps, and offered to fight the 34th, as the original source of their disgrace. Both requests were, of course, declined, and they dispersed to seek other homes. Many



NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF NATIVE BENGAL INFANTRY.

perished of cholera by the wayside; some were employed as menials by rich natives, but none of them were afterwards seen in arms at any time against the Government, while some were found serving bravely as volunteers against the rebels.

Government now hoped the matter was set completely at rest. The danger was actually spoken of as a matter of the past, and a vessel was chartered to take back the 84th to Rangoon. It seems now difficult to conceive how the Governor-General and his Council were so deluded. Their conduct was slow and vacillating towards the 34th, which contained a number of those men who had cheered and applauded Mungal Pandy; and now incendiary fires, the sure forerunners of mischief, were constantly taking place in localities far apart, yet no example was made of the 34th Regiment; and of the general in command the leading English journal wrote bitterly at this time.

"The Commander-in-chief, a holiday soldier, who had never seen service either in peace or war, was, in the meantime, enjoying the pleasant climate of Simla. A shameless job had some years before sent him at one step from Tattersall's and Newmarket to the command of an army in one of the Presidencies; and when a vacancy occurred in the chief command of 300,000 men, the authorities at home at once recognised the claims of family and personal acquaintance in the disposal of the post. General Anson appears to have had no share in the disbandment of the Barrackpore regiment, and it was not until three months afterwards that the adjutant-general notified withdrawal of the objectionable cartridges."*

Meanwhile, the distribution of the mysterious and unleavened *chupatties* was becoming more visible, not only among the troops, but the general population.

On the 2nd of May, the 7th Oude Irregular Cavalry, then cantoned about seven miles from Lucknow, when ordered to bite, or otherwise tear, the new cartridge, the use of which, though recalled by order, through some unexplained oversight was

* *Times*, 1857.

still served out, refused. The regiment was one which belonged to the deposed monarch of Oude, and from that circumstance, and other influences brought secretly to bear upon its members, though the insubordination took the pretended aspect of a religious scruple, it sprung from a different sentiment; as, on the 8th of May, the regiment sought to instil a mutinous spirit into the 48th Bengal Native Infantry, quartered at Lucknow, and tacitly proposed that the corps should league together. Fortunately at this time the administration of Oude was in the hands of the able Sir Henry Lawrence, who was officiating as chief commissioner in the absence of Outram, and took instant measures for repression. The aspect of some of the regular native troops, with a wing of H.M. 32nd, and a battery of eight guns, which he brought against them, proved too much for the mutineers, who threw down their arms and fled. At first Sir Henry was disposed to disband and disperse the whole of this mutinous Oude regiment, and permit those who were guiltless to re-enlist; but Lord Canning acted, perhaps, more wisely, and urging that it "was a fiction discharging soldiers one day to take them back the next," ordered the dismissal only of the native officers, with one or two exceptions, and about fifteen sepoys.

But a more eventful scene was at hand. Ninety men of the 3rd Light Cavalry, at Meerut, when ordered out for carbine practice with the new cartridge, all, save five, declined to use it. The eighty-five malcontents were at once brought before a court-martial, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour. On the 9th of May their sentences were read out on parade. Their uniform was stripped off them, and iron shackles were fixed to their ankles. Many of these men were the flower of the regiment, who had done the Queen good service in many a battle, and they implored the general to have mercy, and not degrade them by a doom so ignominious; but they were marched off to gaol. On the following evening, while the Europeans were in church, the men of the 11th and 20th Bengal Native Infantry began to assemble tumultuously within their lines, and were evidently bent on mischief. The European officers at once hurried to the spot, in the hope of pacifying them. One of the first who arrived was Colonel Finnis (brother of the then Lord Mayor of London), who was shot in the back while in the act of haranguing the 20th. Choking in blood, he fell from his horse, and was hewn to pieces. The work of slaughter thus fairly inaugurated, the sepoys gave way to the most dreadful excesses; while the troopers of the 3rd, with yells, rushed to the gaol, burst in its gates, and released not only their comrades, but every felon and miscreant in the place. Joined by these wretches, and all those



NATIVE OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

vagabonds who usually infest our Indian military stations, the European bungalows were sacked and given to the flames, while an indiscriminate massacre ensued of all Christians, without regard to sex or age. The women and children, who took refuge in the gardens, were all tracked out and shot down amid the most fiendish yells.

None who witnessed the horrors of that Sunday night at Meerut ever forgot them. "On all sides," wrote one, "there shot up into the heavens great pinnacles of waving fire, of all hues and colours, according to the fuel that fed them; huge volumes of smoke rolling sullenly off in the sultry night air, and the crackling and roar of the conflagration mingling with the shouts and riot of the mutineers." "Bungalows began to blaze around us," wrote another, "nearer and nearer, till the frenzied mob reached that next our own. We saw a poor lady in the verandah, a Mrs. C——, lately arrived. We bade the servants bring her over the low wall to us, but they were too confused to attend to us. The stables of that house were burned first. We heard the shrieks of the horses. Then came the mob to the house itself, with awful shouts and curses. We heard the doors broken in and many shots, and at that moment my servants said they had been to bring away Mrs. C——, but found her dead on the ground, cut horribly, and she on the eve of her confinement." "It was not until sunrise on Monday," wrote a third, "that we knew, with anything like certainty, the extent of the atrocities committed by the savages within the cantonment of Meerut. What spectacles of terror met the eye almost simultaneously with the return of day! The lifeless and mutilated corpses of men, women, and children were to be seen, some of them so frightfully disfigured, and so shamefully dishonoured in death, that the very recollection of such sights chills the blood." *

It is difficult to believe that there was at this time, in Meerut, an European force consisting of H.M. 60th Rifles, the 6th Dragoon Guards (only half-horsed, however), a troop of horse artillery, and 500 artillery recruits—about 2,000 men in all, and fully officered. But, unfortunately, the command was in the hands of General Hewitt, an old man, who, though he had done good service in his day, was now unfitted by age, enervated by long residence in India, and unable to act with proper promptitude at such a crisis—or as Rollo Gillespie acted at Vellore, when, half a century before, with a handful of dragoons and his galloper guns, he crushed the mutiny there, and saved the Deccan.

He pleaded, in his report, that he did not think the result was premeditated, and that much valuable time was lost in calling out the Europeans, whose barracks were at some distance from the native lines. When the Queen's Carbineers were, at length, in their saddles, they dashed off at a brisk pace, through clouds of blinding dust and darkness, for it was then eight in the evening, and there is no twilight in India. Instead of riding straight for the scene of outrage, for some unknown reason they skirted it, and finally debouched on the left rear of the native infantry cantonments, which were then sheeted with fire.

On reaching the parade-ground of the 11th, they found the 60th Rifles and artillery already there; but the mutineers and others were all off *en masse* for Delhi, horse and foot, where a sure welcome awaited them.

Had the wretched General Hewitt at once set off with the Carbineers and horse-artillery guns, leaving the Rifles to follow, he would undoubtedly have overtaken and cut them to pieces, and thus prevented the horrors that took place at Delhi; but he contented himself with little more than a reconnaissance. An officer of the Carbineers volunteered to push on with a party, and possess himself of the bridge of the Jumna, but this was not permitted.

The 60th Rifles contrived to pick off a few of the rearmost of the fugitives, and then the horse artillery galloped to the front, unlimbered, and opened a useless fire upon a copse, in which it was supposed many were concealed. The heavy discharges of grape crashed and tore among the trees, but did no other damage; and after this demonstration, on the plea of protecting the station against any other nocturnal assault, the force returned to Meerut, while, flushed with their partial success, the mutineers, without further molestation, pushed on for the city of the Moguls.

* "The Chaplain's Narrative."

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE ATROCITIES AT DELHI.—VIGOROUS MEASURES IN THE PUNJAUB.—PROGRESS OF THE MUTINY.

About eight o'clock on Monday morning a disorderly party of the 3rd Cavalry were seen from Delhi galloping down the Meerut Road towards the pontoon bridge, which spans the Jumna near the walls of the Selinghur Fort. On this being reported to the commissioner, Mr. Simon Fraser, some suspicion led him to have the city gates closed; but ere this could be done the mutineers, horse, foot, police, and convicts were all pouring within the walls, when, without a moment's delay, the work of destruction commenced. They made their appearance in front of the stately palace, calling clamorously for the king, announcing that they had come from Meerut, resolved to fight for their faith, and to murder all Europeans.

They set fire to all the bungalows in the Durya Gunge, killing every European they met; they plundered the dispensary near the fort, and on seeing Mr. Fraser driving in his buggy, shot him, cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph. At the palace gate they shot down Captain Douglas, the brave commander of the guards, who ventured to remonstrate with them. Rushing upstairs they found the station chaplain, the Rev. W. Jennings, and his daughter, who had lately arrived from England, and was on the eve of her marriage. Despite her tears and shrieks, they butchered her father before her eyes, and then put her also to death, after subjecting her to the most dreadful indignities.

While similar atrocities were occurring everywhere throughout that beautiful city, a grand instance of self-devotion was given by two British officers in the magazine of the arsenal, which was the greatest in India, stored with many heavy guns, and a vast quantity of firearms, powder, percussion caps, and material of war. There was another magazine outside the walls at two miles distant in the cantonments; these were occupied by the 38th, 54th, and 74th Bengal Native Infantry. On the mutineers entering the city, Lieutenant Willoughby went to the great magazine, and had the gates closed and barricaded, and every measure for a defence taken. This magazine contained 300 pieces of cannon, 20,000 stand of muskets and bayonets, 200,000 rounds of shot and shell, and other munition to correspond.

"Inside the gate leading to the park were placed two six-pounders, double-charged with grape, under Sub-conductor Crow and Sergeant Stewart, with the lighted matches in their hands, and with orders that if any attempts were made to force the gate both guns were to be fired at once, and they were to fall back on that part of the magazine in which Lieutenant Willoughby and I (Lieutenant G. Forrest) were posted. The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns, with the *chevaux de frise* laid down on the inside. For the further defence of this gate, and the magazine in its vicinity, were two six-pounders, so placed as to command the gate or a small bastion beside it. Within sixty yards of the gate, and in front of the office, and commanding two cross-roads, were three six-pounders and a twenty-four-pound howitzer, which could be managed so as to act upon any part of the magazine in that neighbourhood. After all these guns had been placed in the several positions above-named, they were loaded with double charges of grape. The next step taken was to place arms in the hands of the native establishment, which they most reluctantly received, and appeared to be in a state, not only of excitement, but of insubordination, as they refused to obey any orders issued by Europeans, particularly the Mussulman portion of the establishment. After the above arrangements had been made, a train was laid by Conductors Buckley, Scully, and Sergeant Stewart, ready to be fired by a preconcerted signal. So soon as the above arrangements had been made, guards from the palace came and demanded possession of the magazine in the name of the King of Delhi. To this no reply was given. Immediately after that, the soubahdar of the guard on duty at the magazine informed Lieutenant Willoughby and me, that the King of Delhi had sent down word to the mutineers that he would without delay send scaling-ladders from the palace for the purpose of scaling the walls, and which shortly after arrived. On the ladders being erected against the walls, the whole of our native establishment deserted us by climbing up the sloped sheds inside of the magazine, and descending the ladders on the outside; after which the enemy appeared in greater number on the top of the wall, and on them we kept up an incessant fire of grape, every round of which told well, as long as a single round remained." *

* Lieutenant Forrest's "Narrative."

The assailants were all in the uniform of the King of Delhi, and the only persons to work the four field-pieces against them were Lieutenant Forrest and Conductor Buckley. The crisis had come! The magazine had been entered at two points; the capture of the guns was certain, and already these two officers had been wounded, one by two musket-balls in his left hand, and the other by one above the elbow. This was at half-past three p.m. Lieutenant Willoughby gave the signal, Buckley repeated it, and Scully fired the magazine.

A roar followed as if the earth were splitting asunder, and while all Delhi, from the bank of the Jumna to the Cashmere Gate, shook and trembled, the mighty magazine exploded, and, for a time, a dark cloud overhung the palace and the city. Hundreds of the mutineers were blown into the air, and won the death they deserved; but none of the brave defenders escaped without injury. Conductor Scully was so dreadfully wounded that for him escape was impossible, as his head and face were so scorched and contused. Many women and children who had taken shelter in the magazine also perished. Willoughby and Forrest succeeded in reaching the Cashmere Gate. The latter escaped, and the former was murdered on the road to Meerut; but Buckley and another, who sought the same place by a different route, reached Hewitt's head-quarters in safety.

While the struggle at the magazine was in progress, horror was reigning supreme elsewhere in Delhi, and a general massacre of the Europeans ensued everywhere. The bank was pillaged. Mr. Beresford, the manager, his wife and five children, had their throats cut by pieces of broken glass; the treasury, the church, and the office of the *Delhi Gazette*, were all demolished. The presses were hurled into the river, and the types used as slugs, while the printers and compositors were hacked to pieces. About thirty persons, who barricaded themselves in the house of a Mr. Aldwell, made a resolute but futile defence, as Mrs. Aldwell and her three children alone succeeded in escaping, disguised as natives, and after many painful adventures reached the palace of the king, who had there some fifty other Europeans, whose lives he guaranteed, with what faith we shall soon have to show.

As soon as the brigadier commanding found that the mutineers were in Delhi, he got the troops under arms at the cantonments, and lost no time in sending down the 54th Bengal Native Infantry, under Colonel Ripley, with two guns; and that officer, while hoping like the rest for better things, foresaw but too clearly the terrible sequel. There were *no* European troops in or near Delhi, and nothing was left to our officers but the slender and desperate chance of putting down a revolt by soldiers who, however well disciplined, sympathised with it. The consequence was, that the three regiments in Delhi, when brought face to face with the mutineers, fraternised with them, or—like the infamous 54th—stood by while their officers were all murdered in succession by the 3rd Cavalry.

All thought of making head against the mutineers was abandoned now; but Brigadier Grove deemed it possible that the Flagstaff Tower, a work of some strength, near the cantonments, might be defended till succour came; but from whence it would come none knew. There, accordingly, the surviving officers, and some European residents who had escaped from the city, took refuge. The defence seemed practicable, and there the brigadier took post, with two guns and 300 sepoys who still obeyed orders. But this exception to the general treachery was of brief duration; and when they revolted, the handful of Europeans could only disperse and fly for their lives in the night, but under a fire of cannon and musketry from the walls of Delhi. Some officers and their wives succeeded in making their escape; and many a tale is told of the heroic bearing of delicate ladies, some bearing children in their arms, while, under the scorching sun of the Indian May, they sought refuge in the deep jungles, or waded through streams, with little clothing and no food. Meanwhile, the mutiny within the city assumed the form and magnitude of an organised rebellion; and the king, either in execution of a premeditated design, or as he afterwards vainly pretended, under the influence of intimidation, assumed the sovereignty of India. An old silver throne was brought into the marble hall of audience. On this he took his seat under a salute of twenty-one guns, received public homage as the heir of the Mogul, and began to issue royal mandates.

His son, Mirza Mogul, was named commander-in-chief, and a very helpless one he proved. The fugitives in the place, chiefly women and young girls, could all have been saved and concealed by these infamous princes, had their number been 500 instead of fifty; but they were capable of committing in cold blood atrocities greater even, when measured thus, than those of the mutineers.

For five days and nights these unhappy creatures, stripped to the skin, were kept in the palace, and all they were compelled to undergo will never be known. On the fifth day they were ordered to be put to death in the great courtyard, and by ten a.m. great numbers of people came flocking to the palace as to a festival. Mrs. Aldwell and her three children were the only Europeans

who escaped; this she achieved by skilfully adopting Mohammedan disguises, and teaching them to repeat the Mohammedan confession of faith. In this way, with their fair skins, they passed for Cashmerians.

This lady relates, that on the order being issued to bring the victims to the courtyard they cried piteously. After they were all counted, a rope was thrown round them to prevent any escape. Four men who were found among them were taken forth and shot. The rest, on a given signal, were suddenly attacked, by the king's body-guard and some of the mutineers, with the sword, and all were stabbed, hewn down, and cut to pieces.

From 100 to 150 men were employed in this work. Soon after, the bodies were placed in carts and flung into the Jumna. These were some of the first-fruits of the revolt at Delhi.

On an appointed day, the King of Delhi—this monarch without a kingdom—proceeded with much pomp and circumstance through the magnificent "Street of Silver" (which is ninety feet broad and 1,500 long) and other parts of Delhi, and enjoined the bazaar people to open their shops. Prince Mirza Abubeker was appointed general of the cavalry. The troops held the old king responsible for the supplies, but refused to give up the public money found in the treasury—more than half a million sterling. Several native officers were promoted to high nominal commands, and most active measures were taken to place the blood-stained city in a state of defence. A kind of discipline was generally maintained, and a determination was expressed to do battle to the death with the British if they approached the walls.

Thanks to the telegraph—that element of civilisation for which India had been so recently indebted to Lord Dalhousie—the electric wire flashed down to Calcutta the tidings of these terrible events, and the establishment of a Mogul dynasty; and then to Madras, to Ceylon and Bombay, Lord Canning sent immediately for every available royal regiment, while a steamer was dispatched to intercept the Earl of Elgin, then on his mission to China, and to entreat him to forward to Calcutta the European force which accompanied him, while orders were given to dispatch to the front the Highlanders and other Europeans returning from Persia as fast as they arrived.

The telegraph gave our officers in the Punjaub immediate notice of the crisis at Delhi, which operated as a common signal to all the native regiments throughout Bengal; and accordingly, in many localities the tidings of it no sooner came than a determination was evinced to join in the same career of crime and bloodshed. Our authorities had now to prepare for the worst; and to diminish the means of mischief, it was resolved to disarm the sepoys whenever they could be overawed; and nowhere was this policy so quickly adopted and ably carried out as in the recently-annexed Punjaub.

As its inhabitants were warlike in spirit, there was a necessity for keeping a firm hand over them; hence the troops in the "Land of the Five Waters" were 59,656 strong. Of these 35,900 were Hindostanees, 13,430 were Punjaubees, and only 10,326 were Europeans. It was considered Lord Dalhousie's "pet province," and he drained the old districts of their best officers to enrich its establishments. "Never," says Marshman, "since the introduction of British power into India had so large a number of statesmen and generals of the first order been collected together in the administration of any province. At the head of this galaxy of talent stood Sir John Lawrence, a tower of strength, with a genius for military organisation, although a civilian, second only to Lord Wellesley and Lord Dalhousie; while among the foremost of his assistants were Robert Montgomery, Donald Macleod, Herbert Edwardes, Neville Chamberlain, and, above all, John Nicholson. But it is not easy to select any names without doing injustice to other distinguished men, civil and military, whose zeal, devotion, and energy achieved the success of which their country is justly proud. . . . Cut off from all communication with the Government of India in the capital, they were constrained to act on their own judgment and responsibility; and when the vigour of their proceedings is contrasted with the official feebleness too visible in Calcutta, this isolation cannot but be considered a fortunate circumstance."

The Hindostanee troops in the Punjaub, though the strongest force there, were so cantoned as to be scarcely capable of combined action, and were without the sympathy of the inhabitants, who viewed them as foreigners; hence, had they mutinied, they might have had more than the Queen's troops to face. These advantages were not forgotten by the authorities; thus the Punjaub, from which, at this crisis, the greatest danger was apprehended, not only remained tranquil, but materially assisted in the final suppression of the revolt.

On the 12th of May the telegraph informed our officers at Lahore of the outbreak at Meerut and the revolt at Delhi; but Sir John Lawrence was then at Rawul Pindee, an old walled town of mud-built houses, 165 miles N.N.W. of the capital; and owing to a stoppage in the telegraph he could not

be communicated with at this time, when instant action was necessary, as dissatisfaction among the sepoys was notorious. Mr. Robert Montgomery, the judicial commissioner, assuming the requisite responsibility, summoned a council of the civil and military authorities, and suggested the propriety of depriving the sepoys of their percussion caps, if not of their arms. The latter, as the bolder course, was preferred. Six miles from Lahore, in the large cantonment of Mean Meer, were the 8th Bengal Cavalry, with the 16th, 26th, and 49th Bengal Infantry, to control and overawe whom the only European force consisted of H.M. 81st Foot (850 strong), with two troops of the Company's horse artillery.

In spite of the great disparity of force, as a portion of the 81st had to keep Lahore from becoming a focus of mischief, and only 300 bayonets with twelve guns could be brought against them, the sepoys, 3,500 strong, when ordered to pile arms, at once obeyed; and it was afterwards ascertained that this prompt measure had not been enforced one hour too soon, as these regiments had formed a plot for seizing the fort at Lahore, and massacring every European there and at Mean Meer. But now ensued something of a blunder at Ferozepore.

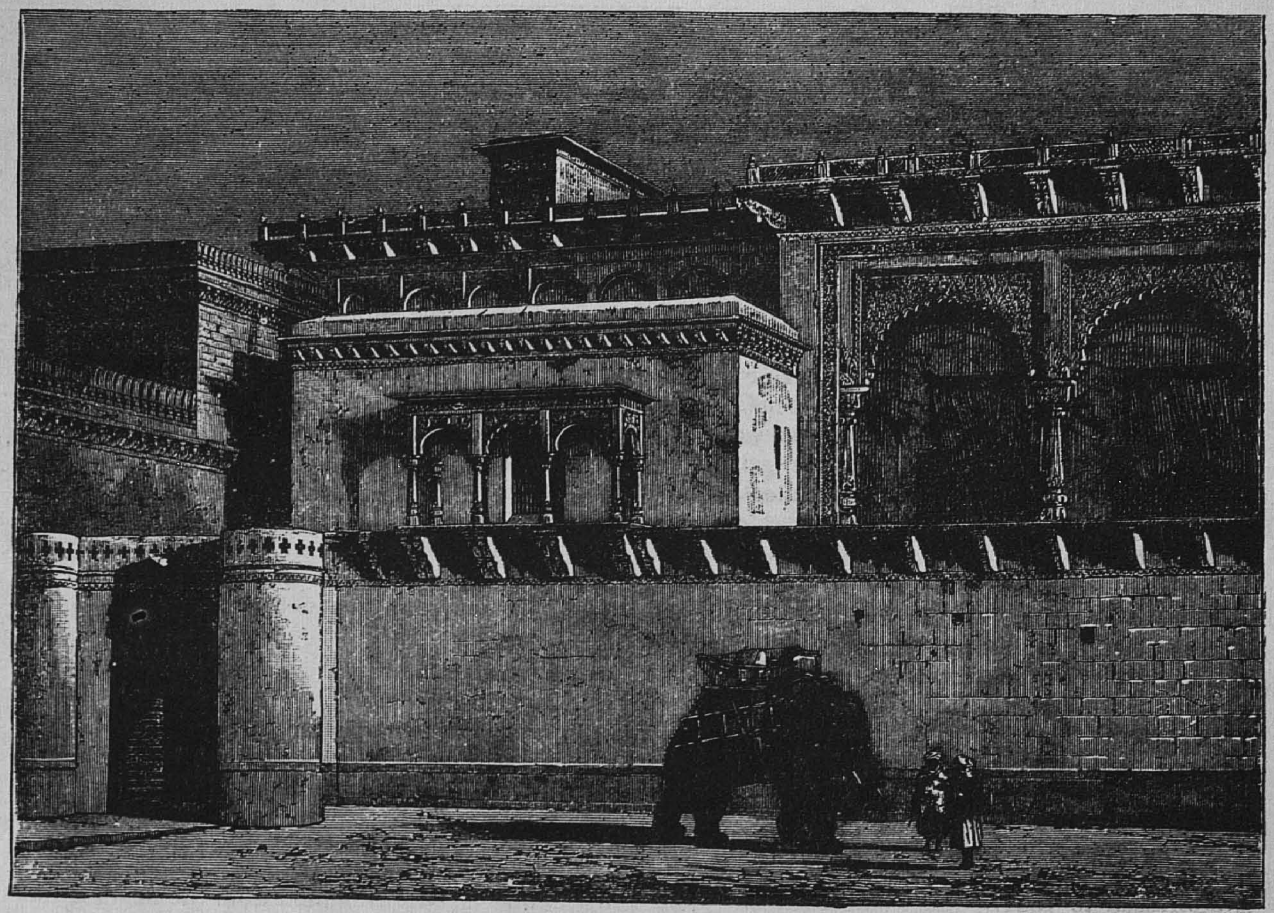
On his first intelligence of the mutinies, Mr. Montgomery sent off an express to that place to inform Brigadier Innes. The intimation, which reached that officer on the 13th May, for some reason, failed to impress him sufficiently. In his care was an immense arsenal full of military stores; and though he could not but be aware of the imperative necessity of properly securing it, the 45th and 57th Bengal Native Infantry were permitted to retain their arms, and lost no time in showing how little they deserved the trust he reposed in them; but, as Sir John Lawrence stated in his report on the subject, "it was fortunate that



PORTRAIT OF LORD CANNING.

the European barracks were close to the arsenal, into which building a company of Europeans were introduced just before it was assailed by the native infantry. But after the arsenal had been secured and the mutineers repulsed, they were allowed to return and burn buildings in the cantonments at their pleasure during the whole night of the 14th of May. No adequate efforts were made even to punish them. Even those who in their flight from at Ferozepore, no murders of Europeans were perpetrated.

So early as the 19th of April, the appearance of incendiary fires at Umballa announced the discontent of the native troops there; and by the 8th of May wandering Fakirs and others, went about with a prediction "that in the following week infidel blood would be shed at Delhi and Umballa, and that a general rising would take place."



COURTYARD OF THE PALACE OF GOVINDGHUR.

the station towards Delhi had been seized by the police and the country people, were not brought to trial until reiterated orders to that effect had been issued. But unfortunately, at Ferozepore, errors did not end; for when, at a date subsequent, the light cavalry were disarmed, their horses were not taken away. When, however, the taking of the horses was insisted on at last, the troopers had a full opportunity of concocting their plans for an outbreak; as the order, instead of being kept secret, was formally copied, and circulated in the order book!"

But notwithstanding these unfortunate blunders

But only two days after, on the 10th, as if they feared others would anticipate them in the sanguinary game, the 5th and 60th Native Infantry rushed, by tacit arrangement, to their bells of arms, and clamorously began to load and cap their muskets. They were eventually quelled, and, most strange to say, unconditionally forgiven, after which the most of both battalions marched off to join the rebels at Delhi.

These minor blunders were exceptions to the able management evinced in the Punjaub and Cis-Sutlej provinces. The fort of Phillour, on the Doab frontier, was fortunately saved by having a

company of European infantry and some European gunners placed into it, while the native troops were expelled. The same promptitude saved the fort of Govindghur, one of the most important strongholds in the Punjaub, having complete command of Umritsir, the holy capital of the Sikhs. When the revolt took place, it was held by a strong detachment of the 59th Bengal Native Infantry and only seventy European gunners, who must have been overpowered and destroyed, had they not been reinforced by a subdivision of H.M. 81st, hurried over from Lahore in native one-horse gigs.

What the 59th would have done may be deduced from the fact, that it was necessary soon after to deprive them of their arms and ammunition.

CHAPTER XLIV.

AFFAIRS IN PESHAWUR.—ACTS OF DISARMING.—MUTINIES IN THE DOAB, AT BAREILLY, AND ELSEWHERE.

At the time of these occurrences, our troops in the valley of Peshawur consisted of 2,800 Europeans, and 8,000 natives, with eighteen field-pieces and a mounted battery. On hearing of the mutinies, it was suggested by Colonel John Nicholson, an Irish officer of great gallantry, to form a movable column of select troops, while, at the same time, a rigid supervision of the sepoy correspondence was made at the Post Office; and the 64th Bengal Native Infantry, which was notoriously disaffected, was broken up into small detachments, which were posted far apart. But the insolent demeanour of the men was no longer concealed, and letters, addressed to them through the post, revelled in descriptions of the atrocities perpetrated elsewhere on the Feringhee men, women, and children, and urging them to emulate the example.

A letter from a portion of the 51st Native Infantry, stationed at Attock, addressed to the 64th, fell into the hands of Brigadier Cotton, commanding at Peshawur, and part of it ran thus:—"The cartridge will have to be beaten on the 22nd instant. Of this you are hereby informed. This is addressed to you by the whole regiment. Oh, brothers! the religion of Hindoos and Mohammedans is all one; therefore all you soldiers should know this. Here, all the sepoys are at the bidding of the jemadar, soubahdar-major, and havildar-major. All are discontented with this business, whether small or great. What more need be written?"

Another hand in the same letter added—"In whatever way you can manage it, come into Peshawur on the 21st instant. Thoroughly understand that point; in fact, eat there, and drink here!"

Made thus aware of what was about to take place, and that (as Colonel Edwardes said at a council of war) "whatever gave rise to the mutiny, it had settled down into a struggle for empire under Mohammedan guidance, with the Mogul capital for its centre," the authorities were able to counterwork the plot of the 55th and 64th. On the 21st of May, the day appointed, a party of the former corps quitted their post on the Attock ferry, and marched towards Nowshera, where Major Verner, who commanded there, had been informed of their intentions, and thus intercepted and disarmed them. But the moment he entered Nowshera with his prisoners, three companies of the 55th, stationed there, rescued them, broke into the magazine, filled their pouches with ammunition, crossed the Cabul, and, on hastening to Murdan, where the rest of the battalion was quartered, its mutiny was complete.

It was but too apparent now, that it was impossible to delay the general disarmament of the native troops, and the movement began in Peshawur. There were stationed the 5th Cavalry, the 26th, 24th, 27th, and 51st Bengal Native Infantry. The 21st, having hitherto shown no sympathy with the mutineers, was exempted from the degradation, together with the 7th and 18th Irregular Cavalry—the latter not without considerable hesitation on the part of those in command. "But the case stood thus. Four native regiments were to be disarmed, while three, who were to be spectators of the operation, were by no means free from the suspicion of being more inclined to oppose than to assist in it."

On the morning of the 22nd, H.M. 70th Foot, and the 87th Irish Fusiliers, with the artillery, took post at each end of the cantonments; and so firmly and promptly acted our officers, that the four regiments dared not resist, but laid down their arms when ordered to do so. And this master-

stroke had a magical effect on the people and chiefs in the valley of Peshawur.

The next step was to deal with the 55th, in open mutiny at Murdan. At midnight, on the 23rd, a force of 300 European infantry, 250 irregular cavalry, with police, and eight guns, quietly left Peshawur, under Colonel Chute, of H.M. 70th, accompanied by Colonel Nicholson, as political officer. *En route* they were increased by a party, under Major Vaughan, from Nowshera, and by sunrise on the 25th, the whole were seen approaching Murdan. On this, the mutineers at once abandoned the fort, and fled towards the hills of Surat, but Nicholson's galloping troopers soon overtook them, and facing about, they made a desperate resistance.

Broken by a charge, they fled again in small parties; but 120 were slain, and 150 made prisoners. Many of these were marched back to Peshawur, and blown from the guns on parade.

About the same time, the 5th Native Infantry were in a state of mutiny at Umballa, although fully aware that H.M. 75th was then ready to annihilate them, for the blood of every Briton was at fever-heat now; but the officer commanding them, dreading the responsibility of bloodshed, merely disbanded them, on which they marched off to swell the fast-gathering army of traitors at Delhi. Thus every officer did not act with the wise energy of Nicholson, as Brigadier Johnson permitted Loodiana to be plundered, and the three regiments from Jullunder and Phillour to march off with all their arms to Delhi.

The 14th, at Jhelum, was found ready for revolt, but the officer sent against them by Sir John Lawrence disobeyed his instructions, and in the sharp conflict which ensued, as the sepoys had the advantage, they made their escape. This emboldened the discontented regiments at Sealkote to rise, in that way which was now the fashion, upon their officers, burst open the gaol, plunder the treasury and the European houses, and set out on the march to Delhi. But Nicholson was not far off, with his select movable column, and after having succeeded in disarming three more regiments, regardless of the then insufferable heat, he pushed on with untiring energy and speed.

Overtaking the Sealkote mutineers, he cut them to pieces, took all their baggage and ammunition, together with the spoil of the station. Four hundred of them were left dead on the field.

In short, within a month from that Sunday evening at Meerut, there was scarcely a native regiment between Allahabad and the banks of the Sutlej which had not revolted; and as the sepoys flocked towards Delhi, as the seat of the new government, the recapture of it became daily more urgent, and, to all appearance, more arduous. Lawrence and his gallant compatriots turned all their attention to the dispatch of men and munition for the intended siege; but with the slender means at his disposal, and the harassing local demands upon them, he thought of placing Peshawur and all the district that lay beyond the Indus, in the hands of Dost Mohammed, and thus obtaining the valuable aid of the royal forces quartered there. Colonel Edwardes earnestly opposed this idea, and referred to Lord Canning, on the 10th of June. "Hold on at Peshawur to the last," was his reply, dated the 15th of July, for so completely had the rebels cut off the communication between Calcutta and the Punjaub, that it was sent by steamer to Lord Harris at Madras, to be telegraphed to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, from whence he was to send it to the front as best he could.

Though the energetic measures resorted to in the Punjaub gave security there for a time, the revolt made alarming progress elsewhere. Early in May, the 9th Native Infantry were in the Doab; three companies were stationed at Allyghur, three at Mynpooree, three at Etawah, and one at Bolandshuhur. Though startled and shocked by the events at Meerut and elsewhere, their officers still had confidence in them, especially after parties of the revolted 3rd Cavalry, in search of plunder, came near them, and were fired upon and driven off. At the station of Bolandshuhur it chanced that a mutinous agent, or spy, was captured by them, and given over to the authorities, by whom he was hanged. Unfortunately, he proved to be a high-caste Brahmin, and this sequel so shocked and enraged the very men who had apprehended him, that a frenzy seized them on the 20th of May; they plundered the treasury, opened the gaol, and marched off to Delhi. By the 24th, every detachment of the corps had imitated their example. The men at Mynpooree were opposed and thwarted by the bravery and energy of a young English lieutenant, named De Kantzow, who succeeded, by an admirable display of patience, temper, and courage, in saving the contents of the treasury, for which he was warmly thanked by the Governor-General.

After a little pause, a simultaneous burst of insurrection took place, and in localities so far apart, that it seemed scarcely possible to have been the result of a previous understanding. On the 28th of May, the Hurriana Light Infantry, and the 4th Irregular Cavalry, quartered in the towns

of Hansi and Hissar, north-westward of Delhi, broke out into open mutiny. This they inaugurated by an indiscriminate massacre of all the Europeans, accompanied by atrocities as black and as sickening as any that had yet occurred. On the very same day, at the distant locality of Nusseerabad, fifteen miles south-west of Ajmere, in the heart of Rajpootana, the 15th and 30th Bengal Native Infantry, with a company of native artillery, revolted and made themselves masters of the guns, but not without a struggle. As if to show how little sympathy the army of their presidency had with the movement, the 1st Bombay Lancers thrice charged the mutineers, but without success, as the disparity of numbers was too great, and they were compelled to retire to Beawr, thirty miles distant, while the former set the cantonments in flames, and marched off to Delhi. During the struggle, many European officers fell, but, protected by the lancers, the survivors were enabled to escape. One of these, Lieutenant Prichard, writes thus of the dreadful suspense in which the Europeans were kept at that terrible time :—

"I think all who have passed through the eventful period of 1857 will agree with me that the most distressing time of all was the interval—short in some cases, long in others—which elapsed before the troops actually declared their mutinous intentions. To trust them really was impossible; at the same time we could not actually distrust them. . . . . Those who had families to protect, wives and children, whose fate might be so dreadful that the stoutest heart feared to contemplate it, and the bare possibility of which was enough to unman any one, experienced this anxiety to the utmost. But there we were, day after day, looking out eagerly for reports, discussing among ourselves anxiously the signs of the times, and the feeling of our men, and the prospect of their remaining faithful, with the chance of escape, or the first mode of action to be adopted if they mutinied. From the first thing in the morning to the last thing at night, we were kept with our mental energies strained to the very utmost, striving to maintain a careless, unconcerned demeanour, lest we should encourage disaffection by showing want of confidence. . . . . Expecting to hear from the lines every moment the sound of uproar that would herald in, we knew, a scene of outrage and massacre, we looked at our wives and little ones, and felt how powerless we were to save and protect those whom God had given us for protection, from a lawless and bloodthirsty rabble, drunk with lust and fury."

After denying the truth of those stories that some officers shot their wives to save them from indignities, he says, "The accounts of the atrocities heaped upon the ladies at Delhi and many other places, were, alas, no fabrication. They were too true. This has been proved by investigation made upon the spot, though the detailed results of those inquiries will probably never be made public, and perhaps it is just as well they should not be."*

Simultaneous with the rising in Rajpootana was a formidable outbreak at Bareilly, the capital of Rohilcund, where the wrongs suffered by the Rohillas, in consequence of the compact between Warren Hastings and the nabob, had never been forgotten, and were remembered now with all the unreasoning rancour of a transmitted feud.

On receiving tidings of the proclamation of a king at Delhi, the 18th and 68th Bengal Native Infantry, cantoned at Bareilly, were thrown into a state of high excitement, which was enhanced by the passage through their lines of 150 mutineers of the 45th, from another post. Their officers had foreseen the impossibility of averting an outbreak, and had wisely transferred all women and children to Nynee Tal. The men talked sometimes openly of revolting, but being loth that any of their intended victims should escape them, they employed all the arts of Oriental treachery to delude their officers, and professing contrition, begged for forgiveness for having been at all misled, and then urged, some with tears in their eyes, that the European ladies and children might be brought back from Nynee Tal. With this their relations were not so infatuated as to comply. But the request imposed so much upon Brigadier Sibbald, that he wrote to Government, extolling the fidelity of his sepoys; and ere the letter reached its destination, he was one of their first victims.

On Sunday, the 31st of May, by a preconcerted signal, they rushed to arms, and commenced the work of devastation and slaughter, by pouring grape and musketry into the officers' quarters, firing the houses, plundering the treasury, and loosing from gaol some 3,000 prisoners, who instantly fraternised with the populace, who were notorious as the most turbulent in British India; and Ruktawar Khan, a soubahdar of artillery, who assumed the rank of general, commanded the whole, and rode through the streets in the carriage of the murdered brigadier, attended by a numerous staff. The escapes of many on that night—for the revolt took place at eleven p.m.—were marvellous, but few were more so than those of Captains Peterson and Gibbs, and Lieutenant Warde of the 68th, who had to gallop along the line of the whole

* "The Mutinies in Rajpootana."

parade, exposed to volleys of musketry and grape, at 200 yards. An old native judge, one of the Company's servants, named Khan Bahadoor Khan, the descendant of an old Rohilla chief, proclaimed himself King of Rohilcund, and inaugurated this assumption by a cruel tragedy. Among the prisoners captured were Messrs. Robertson and Raikes, of the civil service, Doctors Hay and Bach, principal of the college. All of these unfortunates were brought to trial before a mock court; the forms of law were gone through, and they were hanged in front of the gaol. On the same Sunday, the 28th mutinied at Shahjehanpore, shot an officer dead, and sent a party to murder the Europeans in the church; but though Mr. McCallum was shot in the pulpit, and though others were cut down, the greater part effected an escape to Oude, only to be in the end barbarously massacred near Aurungabad. There the ladies were compelled to quit their carriages by the sepoys of the 41st, and "on their alighting they were shot one by one — the children, some bayoneted, others dashed on the ground." All the officers were then killed. "The police jemadar afterwards came up, and finding the bodies of the officers, ladies, and children lying there, had a large hole dug, and buried them all in it."*

Most atrocious was the mutiny at Jhansi, which stands 140 miles south of Agra, where a bitter feeling of disaffection existed, especially among those who regretted the fall of their independence, and the loss of their native court. The ranee had never concealed her hatred of the British Government, whose pension she had scornfully spurned; thus Jhansi was not long in taking a part in the terrible Bengal convulsion. The only troops there were the left wings of the 12th Bengal Native Infantry, and 14th Irregular Infantry, and with these the ranee and her advisers had begun to tamper on the first tidings of the outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi; but a dread of being unsuccessful kept them in a state of sulky repression till the 4th of June. Forewarned of the coming peril, the Europeans, whose whole number, women and little ones included, amounted to only fifty-five, had taken shelter in the Star Fort, and the task seemed indeed a dark and desperate one to withstand the bloodthirsty hordes who beset them. They barricaded the gates, and defended themselves for four days and nights, the ladies behaving admirably, cooking their scanty store of provisions, nursing the wounded, and casting bullets; but after Captain Gordon, Lieutenant Powys, and others had fallen, their position became most desperate.

Then the merciless ranee sent her elephants, and the gates were forced. By retiring to some buildings they were able to fight—as only men can fight who do so for those that are dearest to them—for a little longer; and, as an unconditional surrender was impending, they gladly accepted the terms offered—to surrender the fort on condition that their lives were spared. "This offer, after it had been confirmed by the most solemn oaths, was accepted, and all who had survived the miseries of the siege, having laid down their arms, were beginning to retire, when, in utter violation of all that had been stipulated and sworn, they were carried off to a place of execution, and put to the sword, man, woman, and child, with a barbarity too horrible for description."

The men were destroyed first, Captain Burgess taking the lead, with his elbows tied behind his back, and a Book of Common Prayer in his hands.

At Agra, once the capital of all India under Ackbar, and the centre of the leading province of his mighty empire, great anxiety was felt as the rebellion spread; but, as there was a European force there, whatever happened, there would be a sharp struggle. In garrison were the 3rd Bengal Fusiliers (now 107th of H.M. Line), a troop of European artillery, with the 44th and 67th Native Infantry. That the latter meant mischief soon became apparent, from the number of incendiary fires that broke out at night. By these they hoped to lure forth the white troops to extinguish the flames, when advantage would be taken of their absence to seize the fort; but the arrangements of those in command defeated this. Aware that everything depended on possession of the fort, no means were omitted to secure it. On the 14th of May the sepoy troops were harangued on parade, when they made the air ring with protestations of their inviolate fidelity. It chanced that the two native regiments were on bad terms, and Mr. Colvin thought to turn this to good account by employing each corps as a check upon the other; but, about the end of May, it became desirable to bring in a quantity of treasure from Muttra, thirty miles distant; and, not to weaken the European force, a company from each sepoy corps was sent to escort it, in the belief that their mutual hatred would preclude any act of common treachery. However, no sooner was the money in their possession than they forgot their feud, and marched off to Delhi with it. In consequence of this the remaining companies of both regiments were instantly disarmed, and many of the men deserted.

* "The Indian Mutiny," 1858.

The outbreak at Allahabad presented the usual features of cruelty and crime. There some of the native infantry, to "throw dust in the eyes" of the authorities, were so loyal in their protestations that they volunteered to march against Delhi, and the 6th in particular were thanked by the Governor-General, and on the 6th of June officers and men fraternised in a tableau "that would not have disgraced the earlier days of the first French revolution;" but in the same night all were worked up to a kind of frenzy by stragglers from other stations. Situated at the delta of the Ganges and the Jumna, the city is considered the key of Lower Bengal. Its arsenal contained 40,000 stand of new arms, a vast number of cannon, and other stores. A few Europeans—the magazine staff—were the chief guardians of the arsenal, while the garrison within the fortress consisted of a Sikh regiment 400 strong, and a company of the 6th, the other nine being in the cantonments. Further to



FLIGHT OF EUROPEANS FROM THE MUTINEERS.

VIEW OF THE GREAT IMAMBARA, LUCKNOW.

strengthen the fort, a body of European invalids, all of whom were men of extreme age, were brought by steamer from Chunar, and arrived at a crisis, when the company of the 6th who held the principal gate had conspired to admit the rest of the battalion.

On the 6th of June, at nine in the evening, as the officers were at mess, the bugles in the cantonments sounded the alarm. They hurried out; a fire was instantly opened upon them, and five officers of the 6th, with nine young ensigns attached to the corps, were all shot down. On this night, the bravery of the unfortunate Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3rd Oude Irregulars, who strove to hold the bridge of the Jumna, was gloriously conspicuous, till he was shot through the heart. Many other officers were barbarously murdered within the lines, while the work of unchecked rapine, fire and pillage, reigned everywhere around the fort, which a few Europeans, with the Sikhs (after driving out the company of the 6th), defended stoutly. As usual, the treasury was plundered, the gaol burst open, and prisoners to the number of thousands were liberated, and before dawn the whole were off to Delhi, the common focus, leaving more than fifty Europeans lying murdered in all directions; and now British authority had totally ceased to exist along the whole bank of the Ganges from Allahabad to Agra, more than 250 miles.

The houses of the Europeans at the former place had, as elsewhere, been destroyed; the railway-stations shared the same fate; the telegraph-wires had been cut down, "the lightning dawk" posts being deemed magical; the lines of rail were torn up for twenty miles. The locomotives were for some time left untouched, lest they might explode; but ultimately they were cautiously riddled with round shot from a distance, amid yells of triumph.

Sixty miles below this city stands Benares, the grand seat of Hindoo science and mythology, where, if religion had aught to do with the revolt, it might have been expected to have shown its utmost fury. Its population of 180,000 was famous for its turbulent character. The regiments there in garrison consisted of the 37th Bengal Native Infantry, the Loodiana Infantry, and the 13th Bengal Irregular Cavalry, while the only Europeans were the gunners of Major Oliphant's battery, a party of the Madras Fusiliers, and 150 men—"brave Irishmen of the 10th," as Colonel Edwardes justly called them.

As it was believed that the Sikh corps and the cavalry would be faithful, while the 37th were mutinous, a general parade was ordered for the disarmament of the latter, on the evening of the 4th of June. Prior to this, they discovered by some unknown channel the degradation that awaited them, and to make matters worse, tidings came that the 17th Native Infantry had mutinied successfully at Azimghur, a place fifty miles distant, and carried off £170,000 from the treasury. As there was no time to be lost now, the bells of arms were ordered to be locked; but the sepoys forced the doors, and secured their muskets by open force, and appeared with them on parade. On one side stood the Europeans, little over 200 strong; on the other were the natives, above 2,000; but the former had three pieces of cannon, while the latter had none.

Some of the companies of the 37th, on being ordered, piled their arms; but while in the act of doing so, a few dared to fire upon their officers. The Sikhs, supposing their only safety lay in joining the mutineers, now poured a ragged volley among the Europeans, and had three showers of grape from Oliphant's guns sent into them. They bravely charged up to the very muzzles of the cannon three times with the bayonet, and thrice were repulsed by the withering fire of grape. As darkness had now fallen, Colonel Spottiswood of the 37th took a blazing port-fire, and with his own hand set fire to the sepoy lines of huts. The flames spread fast, and threw up such a lurid light as to expose to full view the mutineers who, from cover, were firing on the handful of Europeans, who retorted so terribly, that in a few minutes 100 of the former lay dead, and twice that number were wounded, when the rest fled in the wildest disorder. Though Major Guise, of the cavalry, had been murdered early in the night, some of his corps and some of the Sikhs remained loyal or neutral, and craved pardon, urging that they had acted under terror of the sepoys. Colonel Neill, who was on the scene of action with his famous Madras Fusiliers, acted with stern promptitude and decision in scouring the country and bringing in prisoners, who were hanged, flogged, or shot, as their cases required. The most guilty sepoys and sowars (*i.e.*, riders) were placed in the fort, and when their crimes were made clear, they were blown from the guns, a mode of punishment more dreaded by them than any other. While the Colonel was endeavouring to enforce order at Benares, he was commanded by Lord Canning to march to Allahabad. "Can't do it," he curtly telegraphed; "wanted here."

On the 4th of June we had only four killed and twenty-one wounded; and this success had an excellent effect upon the population, who, contrary to what had been feared from their number and peculiar character, did not venture to rise; though at Jaunpore a Sikh detachment murdered its officers, and on being joined by the fugitives of the 37th, plundered the treasury and decamped.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE MUTINY IN OUDE.—SIEGE OF LUCKNOW.—COMBAT OF CHINHUTT.—MASSACRES AT CAWNPORE.

"THE first and most vivid impression received from the pages of early travellers in India," says a writer, "is made by the frequent recurrence of cases of premeditated cruelty. From the highest to the lowest among 'the mild Hindoos,' quite as much as among the fierce and fanatic followers of the Arabian prophet, princes and people alike appear to delight in the infliction of barbarous tortures, except where satiety of horrors has induced an utter indifference to human suffering." * As they were in the days of Mandeville and Marco Polo, so were the Hindostanees in the days of the Mutiny in their lust of cruelty and bloodshed.

Sir Henry Lawrence was meanwhile preparing for the worst in Oude, which was destined for a time to be a main centre of the revolt. His head-quarters at the Lucknow Residency were situated on the northern side of the city, near the right bank of the Goomtee. Close by were the treasury and other public buildings, all of stone, and a mile or more distant was the Chowpeyrah Istubul, an edifice used as barracks by the only European troops in the province—H.M. 32nd Foot. "At some distance to the north of the barracks stood another building called the Kuddum Rasool, converted into a powder magazine. In the same vicinity were the lines of the 3rd Regiment of Military Police. Immediately south of the barracks was the Tara Kotee, or observatory, where the law-courts were grouped. About a mile above the Residency, and on the same side of the river, were the Dowlut Khana and Sheesh Mahal, forming part of the palace of the old Kings of Oude. In one were the head-quarters of the brigadier commanding the Oude Irregular Force, and in the other a magazine containing many stands of arms and native guns. Still farther up the river, and to the westward, was the palace of Moosa Bagh, occupied by the commanding officers of the 4th and 7th Oude Irregular Infantry, which were cantoned in its vicinity. About a quarter of a mile above the Residency, the Goomtee was crossed by an iron bridge, the road from which led almost in a straight line to the Muraion and Moodkeepore cantonments."

In the latter, at the distance of three miles from the city, were the 13th, 48th, and 71st Native Infantry, the 7th Cavalry, two battalions of native, and one of European artillery. The 2nd Oude Cavalry were at Chukkur Kotee, on the left bank of the river. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had full military power, saw a necessity for altering these arrangements. Four guns were brought from the Muraion cantonment into the quarters of the 32nd Regiment, which furnished 120 men to guard the treasury and Residency in lieu of native troops. The women, children, and sick were placed in the Residency, and the rest of the 32nd were stationed close to the European battery; and as a place of strength, and for the concentration of stores—more than all, as a final asylum when the worst came—choice was made of the Muchee Bhawn, midway between the Residency and the Dowlut Khana.

The 24th of May, the great Mohammedan festival of the Eed, had, as in some other places, been generally fixed upon for a rising in Oude; but the terrible crisis, so fearfully looked forward to by all Europeans, did not arrive till the 30th. On that evening, when the gun was fired as usual at nine o'clock, its echoes had barely died away in the cantonments, when the light company of the 71st turned out with their arms, and began firing ball at random, while two parties of the same corps and the 7th Cavalry appeared suddenly at opposite points, and made for the mess-house, with the evident design of placing the officers between two fires, and rendering escape hopeless. At the sound of the first shot Sir Henry Lawrence was in his saddle, and he hurried with his staff to that part of the cantonment where 300 Europeans, with six guns, were posted. Two of these guns were placed on the road that led to Lucknow, to intercept any mutineers who might attempt to reach it; the other four swept the native parade, where the natives stood under arms, by regiments—first, the 71st; next, the 13th; and lastly, the 48th, for military order always prevailed when the native officers revolted with their men. The 71st shot down Brigadier Handscomb, and then advanced firing.

A shower of grape from the four guns sent them flying to their lines, where they barbarously murdered a European officer, whose body was found a mass of bayonet and bullet wounds. The 48th, who had been in the rear, and did not suffer from the grape, were not active in the mutiny, but refused to aid in its repression, and deserted in such numbers that only fifty-seven remained with the colours. The mutineers obtained a considerable amount of pillage; they burned the bungalows,

* James Hutton.

and ruined the cantonments, but had sustained a defeat. On the 31st they were seen in position near the lines of Moodkeepore; but after a few discharges from the guns, they fled in confusion towards Seetapore. Meanwhile, the greatest alarm prevailed in the city. A company of the 71st, which had been removed from the Muchee Bhawn to another station some days before, on being ordered to "pile arms," refused to obey; and on that evening—the 31st—the city mob, to the number of 6,000, rose, and crossed the river by a ford, and were moving, in a yelling and ferocious mass, towards Muraion, to join the mutineers; but when this scheme was frustrated by the cannon on the road, they returned to the city, and after rioting in the streets, were repressed by the native troops in the Dowlut Khana, who did not decline to act, and fired on them heavily for an hour; but after this the European women and children were compelled to take shelter in the Residency.

As if taking the signal from Lucknow, a revolt took place at all the principal stations in Oude, and with the same sickening details attending all. On the morning of the 3rd of June, the noise of musketry and tumultuous shouts announced to Seetapore that the 10th Irregulars were plundering the treasury. When hastening, with two companies of the 41st, to the rescue, Colonel Birch and two other officers were slain. In anticipation of some such event, Mr. Christian, the Civil Commissioner, had collected all the European civilians with their families at his house, under a guard of the military police, who, when the mutiny became general, murdered him and made an indiscriminate massacre of all who were in the mansion.

In Fyzabad most hideous crimes took place, when the 22nd Native Infantry and the 6th Oude Irregulars rose. Colonel Goldney, the commissioner, obtained shelter in the fort of a talookdar for the Europeans, while the treasure was assigned to the mutineers. On solemn promises given, the officers with their families began to descend the river in boats, but according to a concerted plan were overtaken by the mutinous 17th at a place called Begumgunge, where volleys of grape and musketry were opened upon them. Many perished instantly; others attempted to escape by swimming, but were shot or bayoneted the moment they reached the bank. Colonel Goldney alone was taken. "I am an old man," said he, "surely you will not disgrace yourselves by my murder?" But he was slain on the spot.

Of the massacre near Aurungabad we have already written; but while the mutiny spread thus in Oude, the condition of its capital became daily more alarming, and the idea of a siege, which many there had scouted, now began to be seriously, yet desperately, entertained. Sir Henry Lawrence was indefatigable; he had guns mounted at every commanding point, a store of provisions laid in, and in addition to his Europeans were 437 men of the mutinous garrison, who remained true, and, to all appearance, as much interested as the former in holding out against the insurgents. Throughout the month of June, Sir Henry not only repelled every attack, but inflicted severe chastisement on the rebels when they came too near. But, owing to the number of women and children who had taken shelter in the Residency, provisions began to run short, and it therefore became necessary to make a sortie in the direction of the enemy's camp. This brought on the affair which was known as the "battle of Chinhutt," a few miles east of Lucknow.

Intelligence came in, on the 29th of June, that the rebel advance guard, consisting of 500 bayonets and 100 horse, were then collecting supplies for their main body, which, on the following day, was to come from Nawabgunge Bara Bankee, in consequence of which the troops from the cantonments were sent into the Residency and the Muchee Bhawn, which literally means "the fish-house," a castle of the ancient Shikhs, over the gate of which a fish is carved. At four a.m. next day, a force, consisting of 250 of the 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment, 100 Sikh cavalry, thirty-five Volunteer Horse, a party of Carnegie's Burkandazees, with an eight-inch howitzer, and ten field-pieces, drawn by elephants and horses, and manned by natives, set forth as a sortie under Sir Henry, and early though the hour, the air was close and suffocating.*

Beyond the Kokrail Bridge the first difficulties were experienced, as the path there was the summit of an unfinished embankment of loose earth, with gaps where arches were to be built. After a halt under a blazing sun, and while—by some oversight—no refreshment was served out, the force moved slowly on, till their advanced files were fired on from the village of Ismailgunge, on the Chinhutt road, about 9 a.m. Followed by the rest of the guns, the howitzer now came clattering up and opened fire, while the column still struggled along the embankment, exposed to the round shot of the enemy, whose strength had been increased, and at that time, unknown to Sir Henry, actually amounted to 5,550 bayonets, 800 horse, and 160 artillerymen, with twelve nine-pounders.

These were seen posted in front of Chinhutt. The detachment of the 32nd deployed to the left, between Ismailgunge and the road; the native

* "Siege of Lucknow;" Rees' "Personal Narrative," &c.

infantry crossing the latter to the right, and drawing up in front of a small hamlet. And now, after a fire had been exchanged for about twenty minutes, the enemy seemed to be giving way, till our troops became the victims of treachery. The native gunners cut the traces of their horses, threw the guns into a ditch, and galloped off; at least the howitzer, six field-pieces, and most of the limbers were lost thus, while a murderous fire was poured on our slender force by the enemy. Then the Sikhs turned their horses' heads and fled. Sir Henry was constrained to retreat. The Europeans, who could be spared least, suffered most, 112 being killed, and forty-four wounded, among whom was the brigadier. "Men were falling, untouched by ball; the heat of a June sun was killing more than the enemy."* The loss in natives was also great, but far less by casualties than by shameful desertion.

After this reverse, Sir Henry was obliged to contract his lines of defence within the Residency grounds; and what was more disastrous even than the loss of life was the damage to that reputation, which had enabled him to keep the *budmashes* of the city in awe. The few natives who had hitherto remained nominally faithful, now mutinied in the Dowlut Khana, as did the police, who held a grand domed edifice, named the Imambara, or "House of the Twelve Patriarchs," midway between that building and the Muchee Bhawn. Meanwhile, the victorious rebels from Chinhutt had urged the pursuit unchecked, till they attempted to force the brick bridge above the old castle, and the beautiful iron bridge of three elliptical arches above the Residency. Though repulsed, by means of a ford they entered the city, and there established themselves in such numbers, that, before nightfall, the Muchee Bhawn and the Residency were both closely invested.

On the 4th of July Sir Henry expired of a wound received from a shell which burst into his room; and British India was deprived, when at its greatest need, of the priceless services of one of its most illustrious servants. On his death the command devolved on Brigadier J. E. W. Inglis, of the 32nd, an officer who had served with that regiment during the rebellion in Canada, and throughout all the operations of the Punjaub campaign. Had there been no women and children to hamper their movements, the brave handful of the 32nd would have cut their way to Cawnpore or Agra; but with 350 helpless creatures depending upon their humanity and valour, they had no alternative but to fight during that close and perilous siege of twelve weeks, till relieved by Outram and Havelock.

* "Siege of Lucknow;" Rees' "Personal Narrative," &c.

Three days before the little disaster at Chinhutt, there was perpetrated at Cawnpore that dreadful massacre of which it is impossible to think or write with adequate patience, too great pity, or horror.

Separated from Oude by the Ganges was the district of Cawnpore, one of the most fertile in Upper India, which, after the battle of Buxar, had been ceded to Britain by the vizier-king of Oude. In its capital, of the same name, situated on the west side of the river, and built in a straggling manner on a sandy plain, broken occasionally into sandy ravines, General Sir Hugh Wheeler, with only 200 European soldiers, held the command, and opposed to him was a strong brigade of native troops, consisting of the 1st, 53rd, and 56th Bengal Native Infantry, with the 2nd Cavalry; and he was compelled to rest satisfied for the worst eventuality with means that were miserably inadequate. In the hope that the sepoys, if they did revolt, would quietly march off to Delhi, he formed an intrenchment which, though incapable of long defence, would furnish a temporary asylum. Reinforcements from Government were expected; but, urgent though the case was, Sir Henry Lawrence could only, when applied to, send him, on the 21st of May, fifty men of the 32nd, conveyed in post-carriages, and two squadrons of cavalry.

In this great emergency, Sir Hugh received an offer which was too tempting to be declined. It consisted of two guns and 300 matchlock-men, furnished by Doondhoo Punt, the wretch better known as the Nana Sahib of Bithoor, who secretly had been most assiduous in fomenting a spirit of rebellion amongst the troops. His residence, Bithoor, was within a few miles of Cawnpore, and his protestations of friendship were lavish, while he only waited an opportunity for vengeance. A singularly brutal voluptuary and bloodthirsty miscreant, his relations with us were such as to make him madly vindictive. On the dissolution of the Mahratta empire, when the last of the Peishwas was bereft of all power, he was permitted to live at Bithoor, and take the title of rajah from that place. Being without children, he adopted Nana Sahib, and left him property to the value of four millions sterling. A pension allowed by the British to his patron lapsed, according to usage, on that person's death without heirs male. The Nana pleaded Oriental law and custom as an adopted son, and claimed the pension, which our Government declined to accord; and from that hour he became a deadly enemy to all Europeans.

This bitter emotion he carefully concealed under a mask of admiration for western civilisation and a taste for European customs; and he lavishly

entertained, *à l'Anglaise*, British civil and military officials and their families at his palace of Bithoor. It appeared to be his ambition to be regarded as an English gentleman; he spoke the language fluently, and filled his palace with European furniture and pictures; he used British horses and carriages, but withal professed himself a profound Hindoo devotee. Sir Hugh Wheeler's long residence in India, and intimate acquaintance with native manners, made him more open to the influence of such a character; but though warned to be on his guard against him, such was his confidence in the Nana, that to his troops he assigned the guardianship of the treasury.

On the morning of the 5th of June the whole of the native troops mutinied, set fire to their lines, and marched to the treasury, where they were joined by the Nana's troops. £170,000 was packed on elephants or in carts, and they departed for Delhi; but, halting at the village of Nawabgunge, they were joined by the Nana, who put himself at their head; and as his object was not to revive a Mogul dynasty, but to raise a Mahratta throne for himself as Peishwa, he prevailed upon them to return and drive the Feringhees out of their entrenchment, inside which, three days before the rising, all the Christian non-military residents had been removed. It was totally unfitted to stand an investment of any duration, being completely commanded from various quarters, and, moreover, was simply a bank or breastwork. "The selection of such a place," it has been said, "was certainly a fatal error; and it is difficult to explain how an officer of so much experience and ability as Sir Hugh Wheeler could have fallen into it. He had a choice of other places. His entrenchment was at the south-east extremity of the cantonment, below the town of Cawnpore; whereas, at an equal distance above it, at the north-east extremity, stood the magazine, amply supplied with guns and military stores, and near it the treasury, which happened at that time to be well replenished. Ravines on one side, and the proximity of the river on the other, gave the magazine strong natural defences, while a high enclosing wall of masonry, with numerous substantial buildings, supplied at once the means of resistance and, what was equally wanted, adequate shelter. The only plausible account of the preference given to the entrenchment is that Sir Hugh, after having so long served with sepoys, still clung to the belief that they would not mutiny at all, or would, at worst, after temporary outrage, quit the station, and hasten off to Delhi."

The whole number of persons crowded within the entrenchment amounted to more than 900. Of these not more than 200 were combatants, and 330 were women and children; but these numbers vary in the several accounts.

On the afternoon of the 5th the Nana seemed irresolute what course to pursue; but on the following morning he made a hostile demonstration against his former friends in Cawnpore. He sent a party of horse into the town, with orders to kill every European, Eurasian, and native convert they could find, without attacking the entrenchment, and then to fire the town. All this they did *con amore*. A high wind blew at the time, and a few minutes sufficed to involve the whole place in flames. The noise of the wind, the roar of the conflagration, the wild cries of the mutineers, maddened with bhang and excitement, and raging for blood, mingled with shrieks, oaths, and prayers, "formed an atmosphere of devilry which few of our countrymen could wish to breathe again. A few of the residents fought with the fury of despair; but they were a handful against many thousands of enemies, and silence gradually settled over the place, which a few hours before had been fair and flourishing." *

It was now that by beat of drum Nana Sahib proclaimed himself Peishwa of the Mahrattas, and unfurled two standards; one was announced as that of Mohammed, the other of Huneyman, the Monkey-god. Around the former all the Mussulmans crowded; around the latter mustered all the robbers, *budmashes*, and other villains of the locality. A position was taken up by the mutineers in front of the meagre entrenchment, which Sir Hugh Wheeler and his little band defended with the most heroic and romantic gallantry, hourly expecting help from whence no help could come. Various assaults were repelled at great cost to the mutineers, who at last cannonaded the place almost with impunity from twelve pieces of cannon, while Sir Hugh at times could only reply with one; hence the miseries of the besieged have seldom, if ever, been exceeded in the history of the world, while the dauntless courage and endurance they displayed have never been surpassed.

Captain John Moore, of the 32nd, who served at Moultan and Goojerat, wrote thus from Cawnpore on the 18th of June to Lawrence at Lucknow:—"Our troops, officers, and volunteers, have acted most nobly, and on several occasions a handful of men have driven hundreds before them. Our loss has been chiefly from the sun and their heavy guns. Our rations will last a fortnight, and we are well supplied with ammunition. Report says that troops are advancing from Allahabad, and any assistance

* "The Sepoy Revolt." By Henry Mead.

might save our garrison. We are, of course, prepared to hold out to the last."

Another letter, dated 24th June, after mentioning that the attack had been continued for eighteen days and nights without cessation, says, "The condition of misery experienced by all is utterly beyond description in this place. Death and mutilation in all their forms have been daily before us. The numerical amount of casualties has been frightful, caused both by sickness and the implements of war."



VIEW OF CAWNPORE.

The dead could only be disposed of by waiting till night, when the enemy's fire slackened; and they were thrown into a well outside the entrenchment. On the 13th of June, the enemy's live shells, which had compelled the officers to strike their tents, set fire to a barrack which was used as a hospital and shelter for the soldiers' families. The flames spread fast, and forty of the sick and wounded were burned to death; and now, as every other building was riddled by balls, the women and children had by day to burrow in holes in the ground, and there, too, they had to pass the night in the open air. It was impossible that with their thinning number and diminishing food, the dreadful sequel could be far off. The first thought was to assume the offensive, and by a desperate effort capture or spike the enemy's guns, or perish in the attempt. By this time a stray dog had been turned into soup; an old horse was considered a delicacy, and the well was nearly exhausted.

Meanwhile, outside Cawnpore, Europeans—men, women, and children—were daily dragged from their hiding-places in the surrounding country and put to death, every form of torture and indignity being previously resorted to; for infamies puerile and disgusting seemed to afford infinite delight to the Nana, who in some instances caused the noses and ears of his victims to be hung round their necks like beads.

It chanced that during the investment of the entrenchment, 126 British fugitives—the first who fled from Futtehghur—arrived opposite Cawnpore in boats. On these unfortunate and helpless people, some of whom were wounded, the Nana brought guns and musketry to bear, with the alternative of being sunk or submitting to his protection. Afraid to trust him, some declined, and

got away; while the majority accepted his promises of security as their only chance; and the moment he had them in his power, he ordered the work of slaughter to commence. "The women and children were dispatched with swords and spears; the men were ranged in line, with a bamboo running along the whole extent, and passing through each man's arms, which were tied behind his back. The troopers then rode round them and taunted their victims, reviling them with the grossest abuse, and gloating over the tortures they were about to inflict. When weary of vituperation, one would discharge a pistol in the face of a captive, whose shattered head would droop to the right or left, the body meanwhile being kept upright, the blood and brains besprinkling his living neighbours. The next person selected for slaughter might be four or five paces distant. And in this way the fiends continued to prolong for several hours the horrible contact of the dead and the living. Not a soul escaped; and the Nana Sahib thanked the gods of the Hindoos for the sign of favour bestowed upon him by the opportunity thus vouchsafed to torment and slay the Christians."*

The proposed sortie was a step which, with a force so slender, despair alone could justify; hence it cannot be wondered at that, before incurring a responsibility so terrible, Sir Hugh Wheeler should listen to terms offered by that artful demon, the Nana. On the 24th of June, an aged lady named Mrs. Greenway, who with her family had been taken prisoner, and only spared on the promise of paying a lac of rupees as a ransom, arrived at the intrenchment, bearer of a note from the Nana to the effect that all officers and soldiers who had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's government, would be sent in safety to Allahabad if they would lay down their arms. On this, provisions and conveyance would be amply furnished them. Sir Hugh Wheeler, ignorant of the fate of the Futtehghur fugitives, authorised Captain Moore to act in the matter as he should consider best; and on the following day a treaty was made, by which Sir Hugh, on the part of the British Government, agreed to give up all the money, stores, and guns in the intrenchment; the Nana, on his part, undertaking, and solemnly swearing "not only to allow all the inmates of the garrison to retire unmolested, but to provide means of conveyance for the wounded, and for the ladies and children." Hostilities at once ceased, and preparations for a departure were joyfully begun.

On the morning of the 27th, the miserable remnant of the garrison, with the women and children, quitted the intrenchment, and were permitted quietly to embark in boats; but the river-bank was lined with sepoys, "and then was perpetrated one of the most diabolical acts of treachery and murder that the darkest page of human annals records."*

Acting for the Nana, Tantia Topee took his seat on a platform and ordered a bugle to sound. Then two guns, that had been concealed, were run out, and opened with grape; while a fire of musketry was poured from both banks of the river. The thatch of some of the native boats was ignited by hot cinders; thus many of the sick, the wounded, and the helpless women were burned to death. The stronger women, many with children in their arms, sprang into the current, and were shot down in succession, or sabred by the troopers, who rode their horses into the stream. A number of both sexes, however, reached the shore, and then the Nana issued his orders that not a man should be permitted to live; but that the women and children should be taken to his residence. There they were added to some captives from Futtehghur, and they all huddled together in one room, a prey to sorrow, grief, and horror. They were fed on the coarsest food, subjected to every foul indignity, and taken out by couples to grind corn for the household.

It is difficult to give any correct narrative of the fate of the British women and children who were dragged from the boats; all the details are so different, and only agree in those which are too atrocious to place before the reader. The first demand of the Nana was that they should enter his harem; but the women replied that they would prefer death. Among them was a younger daughter of Sir Hugh Wheeler, who has been represented as displaying an amount of courage that certainly borders on exaggeration. Before her capture she is said to have shot five sepoys with a revolver. Mr. Shepherd, a commissariat officer, who had disguised himself as a native cook, asserts that she was taken away by a trooper as his particular prize; and that when in his hut she seized his sword, cut off his head, and then threw herself into a well. The ayah of a European family said that it was in the hut, and after cutting off the sowar's head, she shot four other sowars. Other accounts represent her being carried off by the trooper when the rebels retreated. Whatever was her fate, she was never seen or heard of more.

On the evening after this second massacre, the Nana celebrated the event by a series of salutes: one, of twenty-one guns, in his own honour as Peishwa, while he seated himself upon a throne,

* "The Sepoy Revolt."

* Marshman's "India."

and had Bithoor illuminated; another, of nineteen rounds, to his brother, Bala Sahib, now entitled Governor-General; and a third to Jowalla Pershaud, a rebel Brahmin soubahdar, whom he appointed Commander-in-chief. He concluded these ceremonies by a speech, in which he lauded his troops for their glorious achievements at Cawnpore.

Amid all this, on the 1st of July, another batch of fugitives from Futtehghur arrived. "All the men, like those at Cawnpore, were put to death. The women and children were carried off to join the others already imprisoned in a building called the Subada Ke Kotha, where they were destined to endure another fortnight of misery, and then become the victims of one of the most inhuman massacres ever perpetrated."

Not contented with the atrocities he had committed, the Nana, on hearing that a British force was advancing against him, resolved to cut off the noses and right hands of all the Bengalee clerks in the pay of commercial firms, or of the Civil Service, and all persons who were known to speak English; but already the British drums were beating not far from Cawnpore, and an army of vengeance and retribution was coming on.

CHAPTER XLVI.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE RECOVERY OF DELHI.—VICTORY OF BADULEE KE SERAI.—THE CORPS OF GUIDES.—THE SIEGE OF DELHI.—COMBAT OF NUJUFGHUR, AND ARRIVAL OF THE SIEGE TRAIN.

From Rangoon, Madras, and Ceylon, reinforcements of the Queen's troops were now pouring into Bengal; and in Britain, where the dreadful tidings brought by every mail from India, produced an amount of excitement and indignation that was unparalleled, and too often grief and horror, the general voice of the nation declared that, cost what it might in blood and treasure, the revolt must be suppressed and its crimes avenged; hence the embarkations of troops on a scale adequate to the crisis had commenced.

In India, one of the primary objects was the recovery of Delhi, and for this purpose all available troops were hurried on. Under the immediate direction of the Commander-in-chief, three European regiments—H.M. 75th, or Stirlingshire, the 1st and 2nd Fusiliers—which had been stationed near Simla, among the hills, arrived at Umballa, on the 23rd of May. To these were added the 9th, and a squadron of the 4th Lancers, the 60th, and two troops of horse artillery. These were formed in two small brigades, under Brigadiers Halifax and Jones, and with them the Commander-in-chief was preparing to move for Kurnaul when he died of cholera, on the 27th of May. General Reid, the next senior officer, was too unwell to be capable of undertaking the siege of Delhi, the operations against which were therefore entrusted to Sir Henry Barnard. To co-operate with the troops now advancing, a column came from Meerut, consisting of a wing of H.M. 60th Rifles, two squadrons of the 6th Dragoon Guards, fifty troopers of the 4th Irregulars, two companies of native sappers, Scott's battery of six guns (two of which were eighteen-pounders), under the command of Brigadier Wilson, encamped, on the 30th, near Ghazee-ud-deen Nugger, a fortified village, about fifteen miles from the capital, where the Meerut and Delhi road crosses the little river Hindon by a suspension bridge.

A rumour that the mutineers, emboldened by numbers and past successes, meant to dispute the passage, was regarded as improbable, and hence there occurred a species of surprise when, about four in the afternoon, a picket of irregular cavalry, which had been posted beyond the bridge, came galloping into camp with the announcement that the enemy was in front. As if to give solid proof of this, an eighteen-pound shot came crashing into the camp, just as the Rifles got under arms, and advanced supported by the Carbineers.

Two companies of the 60th proceeded at the double to secure the bridge, which the brigadier deemed the key of his position, while he detached four guns and a squadron of Carbineers along the bank of the river to turn the enemy's flank. The rebels having opened with heavy guns upon the advanced companies, two more battalion companies were sent forward to support them, while four guns of Scott's battery and a troop of Carbineers also went into action. When within eighty yards of the enemy's guns, the Rifles, filled with ungovern-

able hate and fury, charged with fixed sword-bayonets. This movement was decisive, and the rebels, though outnumbering them at least sevenfold, took to disgraceful flight, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them.

The struggle was not yet over. Trusting to the strength of the village in which they had intrenched themselves, the mutineers mustered courage for another encounter, and next morning—Sunday, the 31st of May—opened a sharp cannonade, but kept their guns at such a cautious distance that no more captures were made. This precaution, and the intensity of the heat, made pursuit impossible, and enabled them to escape with the tidings of their own defeat to Delhi.

The intense excitement of our troops, as a general rule, enabled them to surmount everything; they had but one ardent and intense longing—for battle and vengeance. "Our blood is roused," wrote one of them at this time; "we have seen friends, relations, mothers, wives, and children brutally murdered, and their bodies mutilated frightfully. This alone, without the pluck that made us victorious over the Russians, would enable us, with God's assistance, to be victorious over these enemies. As the riflemen charge—ten to a hundred—the word is passed, 'Remember the ladies! remember the babies!' and everything flies before them. Hundreds are shot down or bayoneted. The sepoys, it is true, fight like demons; but we are British, and they are natives." *

In this last encounter we had Lieutenant Perkins, of the artillery, killed, and forty rank and file more or less severely wounded.

The Meerut column did not move till the 4th of June, when it did so in the direction of Bhagput, and on the 7th it reached Alipore, and formed a junction with the two brigades from the north. Quitting Alipore next day, the united forces, with the immediate prospect of fighting, advanced in three columns, marching in order of battle. The rebels had strongly intrenched themselves at a place called Badulee Ke Serai, to intercept the approach of the British troops to the line of the cantonments, which at Delhi occupy a lofty and somewhat rocky ridge northward and westward of the city, facing the Jumna, and a tract of ground which, in wet seasons, is always inundated. It was at Badulee Ke Serai, then, that the encounter was to take place, and the despatch briefly records it thus:—"As soon as our advanced picket met the enemy, these brigades deployed, leaving the main road clear. The enemy soon opened a very heavy fire upon us, and finding that our light field-pieces did not silence their battery, and that we were losing men fast, I called upon the 75th Regiment to make a dashing charge, and take the place at the point of the bayonet; this service was done with the most heroic gallantry, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert, and every officer, non-commissioned officer, and man of the 75th Regiment, my thanks are most especially due. The 1st Europeans supported the attack, and on the second brigade coming up and threatening their right, and Brigadier-General Grant showing the head of his column and guns, the enemy abandoned the position entirely, leaving his guns on the ground." *

There, too, lay many of the wretches who had perpetrated the late massacres, terribly torn by shot or shell, and left to die like dogs in the summer heat, without aid or water, as the troops pushed on, for the work of the day was not yet over. This encounter took place five miles from Delhi, and Sir Henry Barnard, afraid to delay lest the enemy might form fresh works for him to storm, resolved, weary though his troops were, to push on at once. He formed his force in two great columns; one was led by Brigadier Wilson, with Shower's brigade in support, while he in person led the other, supported by Grove's brigade. Wilson marched along the Main Trunk Road, where he had to fight his whole way through gardens, high walls, and other obstacles, while the other, diverging to the left, proceeded straight through the cantonments, and came in sight of the magnificent city, with its vast marble palaces, its mosques and temples, its towering Koutab Minar, Houmayoun's tomb, and the vast extent of fortifications where, thick as bees, the armed rebels were clustered with all their cannon. But this point was not attained till the prowess of our troops had been sorely tested again.

The rebels had constructed another line of defence from the Flagstaff Tower to the late Maharajah Hindoo Rao's house, and there—as men who fought with halters round their necks—disputed every inch of the ground. They knew their fate if beaten, and how the column that came on from Umballa had been hanging, flogging, and shooting, or blowing from the guns, every mutineer that hands could be laid on. By nine o'clock the Army of Retribution—as it was justly named—had forced the ground, driven the rebels from their guns and into the city, and finally sweeping the ridge, met upon it at Hindoo Rao's house, which from that time became the key of our position. The whole cantonments and parade-ground were ours again. Of the former, blackened walls alone remained;

* "The Mutiny, to the Recapture of Lucknow."

* Sir H. Barnard's despatch.

the compounds were strewed with broken furniture, tattered books, leaves of music, soiled clothes, and fragments of female attire, all a suggestive scene of desolation that inflamed the minds of our men with a fierce desire for revenge.

On the following day they received a valuable addition by the arrival of the Corps of Guides, which formed the first instalment of troops from the Punjaub. This regiment had marched from Peshawur to Delhi, 570 miles, in twenty-two days, in the hottest month of the Indian year, and the cheers in the British camp were long and loud when Captain H. Daly marched in at the head of his three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry. The men of this corps were selected for their courage, sagacity, and hardihood. They were taught to rely upon themselves individually, and thus acquired perfect confidence in their mutual co-operation. It was said that there was scarcely a wild or warlike tribe in Upper India which had not contributed recruits to this corps, and most of them were genuine mountaineers, habituated to warfare from their childhood. Their uniform was of a drab colour, and the pay eight rupees a month for a foot-soldier and twenty-four for a trooper.*

During the subsequent operations before Delhi these famous Punjaub irregulars lost the whole of their officers three times over.†

After their long and arduous march—in one day alone, between Hotee Murdan and Attock, they got over thirty miles—they were certainly entitled to repose, but it was neither asked nor could be given, as a cannonade, which was continued all that morning, was followed up in the afternoon by a desperate attack on the right flank of the British.

In repelling it, the Guides displayed a valour that ended in rashness; they pursued the flying rebels close under the walls of Delhi, and exposed themselves to a dreadful fire, under which they suffered severely. Maddened to delirium with bhang, opium, and churries, many of the sepoys here acted, looked, and fought like incarnate fiends. Daly, the gallant Irishman who led the Guides, and Hawes were wounded; and Quentin Battye, a young lieutenant, commander of the cavalry, described as "a joyous, boyish, but noble fellow, whose every thought was honour," was struck in the stomach by a round shot, and died twenty-four hours after.

This sortie by the rebels was only one of a series in which they persisted for several days in their endeavours to turn our right flank by gaining possession of Hindoo Rao's house, a large square mansion with a terraced roof, crowning the summit of a slope, where Barnard's heaviest guns were placed in battery. Being foiled in this, they attempted our left flank, and on the 12th attacked it in strength. As it extended no farther along the ridge than the Flagstaff Tower, immediately in rear of which was a deep cut, through which a steep road that led from the city to the cantonments had been carried, near the tower we had some guns in battery, which rendered it impossible for the rebels to advance by it; but north of the tower the ridge sloped steeply down towards the bank of the Jumna. In order to avail themselves of every facility for attacking in this quarter, the rebels, after pillaging the mansion of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, which lay near the river, got some guns into a position there, and made it so strong that there was a fear of not being able to dislodge them.

Early on the morning of the 12th, under their carefully-trained native officers, they brought a formidable array of guns and a strong body of infantry within 400 yards of the Flagstaff Tower, while another stole quickly round the flank of the ridge, to gain the ruined cantonments, and thus place themselves in the British rear. The skill and peril of these movements became apparent the moment day broke; the whole position was endangered; but it was not long before means of resistance were mustered, and they were driven back, firing briskly the while from behind walls and rocks. "The heat was terrific," wrote an officer; "the thermometer must have been at least 140 degrees, with a hot wind blowing, and a frightful glare."

The impossibility of wresting Delhi from the vast and organised rebel army within its walls with the weak force which had so boldly broken ground before it was quite apparent now. The magazine, blown up by Lieutenant Willoughby, was chiefly that which contained small arms and made-up ammunition; consequently the rebels, who had come pouring in with all their arms and cannon, had an inexhaustible supply of all manner of the munition of war. On the 15th, encouraged by the junction of the 60th Native Infantry and 4th Bengal Lancers, they sallied forth again. Their attack was so fierce and well sustained, that for a time our out-marched and wearied soldiers were sorely tried; but British pluck prevailed, and once more the enemy was hurled in rout and disorder into the city; yet old soldiers, who had served at Moultan, Goojerat, and elsewhere, averred that the work before Delhi surpassed all they had ever undergone.

* *Allen's Indian Mail*, 1857.
† *United Service Magazine*, 1876.

The question was now mooted whether or not the city might be recaptured by surprise in the dead of the night by an infantry attack while the cavalry held the camp; but Sir Henry Barnard, after actually conceiving the plan, abandoned it as desperate with a force so small. The knowledge that such had been intended, only served to put the enemy on their guard against any similar attempt at a more hopeful time; so nothing now remained for the investing troops but to strengthen their position on the ridge, and await reinforcements and the siege-train, meanwhile submitting almost to change conditions with the rebels, and become the besieged instead of the besiegers. This was, indeed, a great disappointment to the Government, who had not only calculated on the early recapture of Delhi, but, in the eagerness of their wishes, allowed themselves to be imposed upon by unfounded rumours, which announced that it had actually fallen. As a regular siege was now inevitable, and would necessarily require months of preparation, every effort was made to strengthen the hands of Sir Henry Barnard, whose force was still so weak in men and guns, that he could do little more than hold the ridge which overlooked the city, while for every shot fired from our batteries the sepoys responded fourfold.*



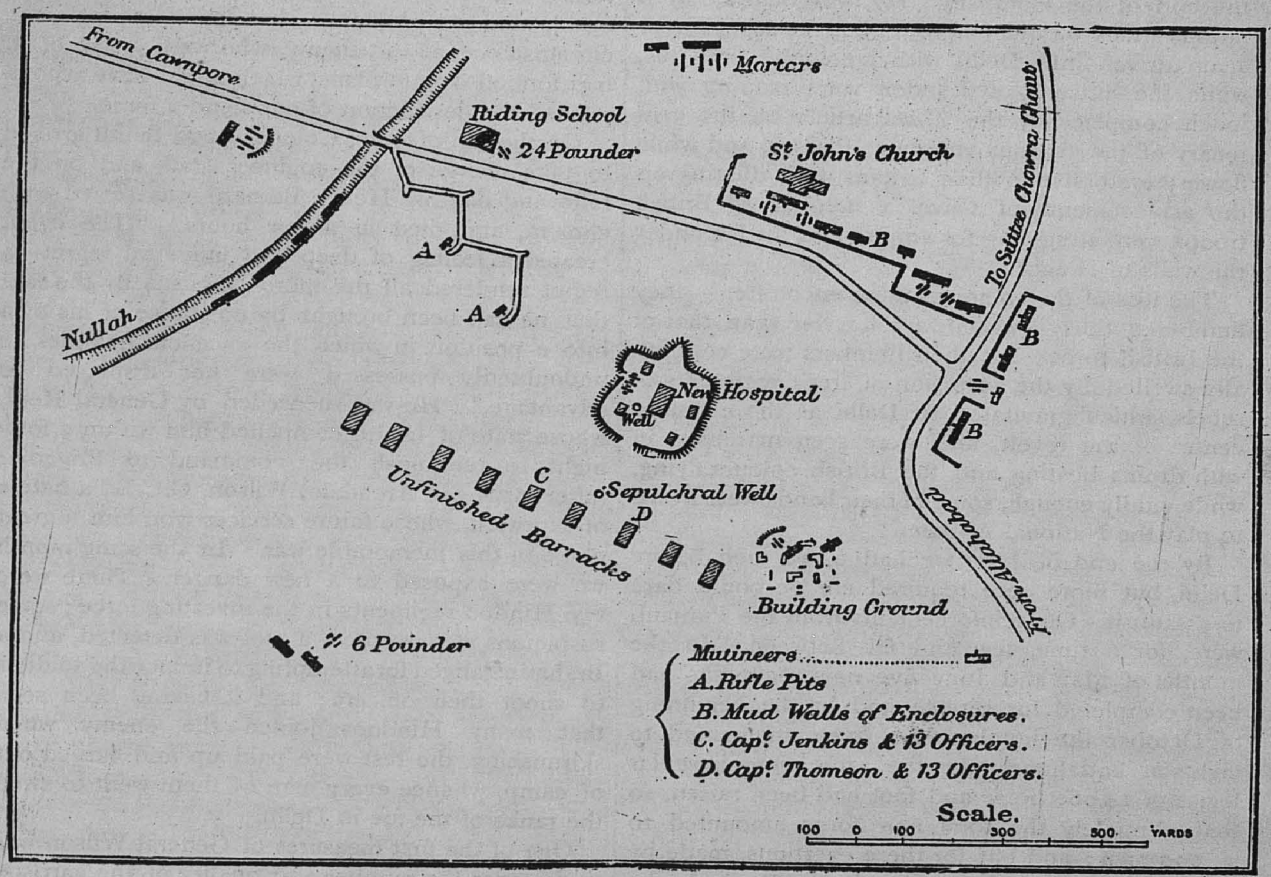
PORTRAIT OF NANA SAHIB.

Few days passed without an assault on the cantonments; and on the 17th of June the mutineers commenced a work at Kissengunge with heavy guns in such a position as to render Hindoo Rao's house untenable by enfilading the position. To withdraw attention from the locality and their operations there, they commenced a cannonade early in the day; but the advance of a force made

* Marshman.

them aware that they must either fall back from Kissengunge, or fight desperately to hold their ground.

The attacking force came on in two columns; one under Major Tombs consisted of two companies of the 60th Rifles, four companies of the 1st Fusiliers, thirty cavalry of the Guides, twenty sappers, and four guns; the other, led by Major Reid, consisted of his own Sirmoor battalion of 19th they were seen defiling, in British uniform and in great numbers, from the Lahore Gate and through Kissengunge, when they disappeared among the ruined houses and abandoned gardens which lay beyond that suburb. It was found that while our troops had been under arms, in expectation of an attack at Hindoo Rao's house, the rebels had made a détour, and were within a mile and a half of Barnard's rear in the evening.



PLAN OF THE ENTRENCHMENT AT CAWNPORE, JUNE, 1857.

Ghoorkas, four other companies of the Royal Rifles, and four of the 1st Fusiliers. The rebels, who expected an attack directly in front, were disconcerted when the columns, by two sudden flank movements, placed them between a cross fire. Their resistance, though by no means obstinate, cost them dear; the battery was captured, the magazine near it blown up, and forty-one sepoys, who were hemmed into a corner, were all shot down, for our troops were now in the mood to exterminate all who fell into their hands.

That memorable day in our military annals, the 18th of June, passed over quietly, as the foe were engaged in extensive preparations; and on the

On this Brigadier James H. Grant, commanding the cavalry, turned out with all he could muster—only 250 troopers, with 12 guns—a force most inadequate, as the enemy was 3,000 strong. Against such odds little could be effected in the fast-closing dusk; and our cavalry were retiring in some confusion, when the arrival of 300 Rifles and Fusiliers gave the enemy an unexpected check, while recapturing two of Grant's guns and compelling them to retreat. In the *mêlée* his lieutenant-colonel, Abercrombie Yule, of the 9th Lancers, who had served nobly in the campaigns of Afghanistan, the Sutlej, and Punjaub, was unhorsed and killed. His body was found next morning. Both thighs were

broken by musket-balls, another had passed through his head, his throat was cut, and his hands much gashed, as if held up to protect his head. Four lancers lay dead by his side.

The 23rd of June being the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, the first day of the new moon, and therefore auspicious to the Mohammedans; and also the *Ruth Futtra*, and consequently favourable to the Hindoos; and being more than all, the day fixed for the end of the Company's *raj*, was marked by a furious attack on our outposts; but the sepoys were again driven into Delhi with ignominy. "Thus, while the citizens of London were reading with much complacency the *Times'* article on the centenary of the glorious victory at Plassey, and while flowery orators in Willis's Rooms were dilating on the achievements of Clive, a handful of British troops were struggling for empire and for life under the walls of Delhi."

The loss of the enemy in these encounters—they numbered thirty—was always heavier than that of the British force; but their numbers were continually swelled by the accession of fresh regiments of rebels, which gravitated to Delhi as the common centre of the revolt, and were seen marching in with drums beating and the British colours flying, while, oddly enough, some of their bands were heard to play the National Anthem.

By the end of June we had 6,000 men before Delhi, but more were required ere we could dare to assault it. Our reinforcements from the Punjaub were, for a time, few and far between. In the months of May and June five new regiments had been completed for service, and by the beginning of October the number had been augmented to eighteen battalions. At the same time irregular levies of 14,000 horse and foot had been raised, so that ultimately the total new force amounted to 34,000 men; and but for these exertions, made by Sir John Lawrence and others in the Punjaub, the protracted siege of Delhi must have been relinquished.

When the month of June closed, our forces before Delhi had improved their position by driving the rebels from the important suburb of Subzee Mundee, which lies north-west of the city, on the grand trunk road to Kurnaul. But still there was no appearance of an assault being near, to seal at once the city's fate; nor was there any prospect of an effectual blockade, by which its defenders might be starved into a capitulation. Our batteries, at 1,500 yards from the walls, were too distant to achieve anything; and, moreover, commanded only two gates, the Cashmere and Cabul, leaving more than five others open for all the purposes of the enemy, and all this served to produce despondency, mingled with fierce impatience, in our ranks. Sir Henry Barnard, an officer who had served in the Eastern Campaign of 1855 as a brigadier, and been chief of the staff at the fall of Sebastopol, was unused to Indian warfare, and was not indisposed to follow the advice of those who urged that we should abandon Delhi and move eastward for the security of Agra and the furtherance of concentration. Suddenly the idea of an assault was revived again, and as suddenly abandoned, a fortunate circumstance, as the enemy, who were aware of it, had formed counterplans, which might have accomplished the destruction of our slender force.

On the 4th of July, Colonel Baird Smith arrived to take charge of the engineer staff, and on the following day Sir Henry Barnard was seized with cholera, and died in a few hours. "The event created a feeling of deep and universal regret—a regret rendered all the more poignant by the fact that he had been brought by no choice of his own into a position in which the excellent qualities he undoubtedly possessed were not displayed to advantage." He was succeeded by General Reid, whose state of health compelled him within a fortnight to relinquish the command to Brigadier (afterwards Sir Archdale) Wilson, G.C.B., a native of Norwich, whose future services won him a great name in this memorable war. In the same month we were exposed to a new danger. There were two Hindoo regiments in the investing force; some suspicions were excited, a plot was detected, and a Brahmin hanged for attempting to induce the soldiers to shoot their officers; and it having been seen that many Hindoos joined the enemy when skirmishing, the rest were paid up and turned out of camp, whence every man of them went to swell the ranks of the foe in Delhi.

One of the first measures of General Wilson was to discover the number and quality of the garrison there, and he reported it thus:—Bengal Native Infantry: 3rd, 9th, 11th, 12th, 15th, 20th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 36th, 38th, 44th, 45th, 54th, 57th, 60th, 61st, 67th, 68th, 72nd, 74th, and 78th; the 5th and 7th Gwalior Contingent, the Kotah Contingent, and Hurriana Battalion, with 2,600 other miscellaneous infantry. Native Cavalry: portions of five or six regiments, besides others of the Gwalior and Malwa Contingents. There arrived in the city mutinous regiments from sixteen different stations, all more or less stained with the crimes of murder and outrage, and estimated at 15,000 bayonets, 12,000 of whom were veteran sepoys, with 4,000 cavalry, well horsed and disciplined. The artillery were numerous in proportion.

When General Wilson took the command, he and Brigadier Showers were the only generals in perfect health, while 101 officers had died in action, of wounds, and sunstroke, or were then on the list of sick or wounded. He found our total strength to consist of—all ranks—4,023 infantry, 1,293 cavalry, 1,602 artillery and engineers; making a total of 6,918 effectives, exclusive of 765 sick and 351 wounded.

Early in July an addition was made to his force by the arrival of 450 men of H.M. 51st; but on the very same day the Bareilly brigade, consisting of three regiments and some cavalry, after mutinying as recorded, appeared with colours flying on the Meerut side of the Jumna. No attempt could be made to dispute their passage by the long bridge of boats, and they marched into the city, where the cordiality of their reception was enhanced by the known fact of their having a great quantity of treasure.

Strengthened thus, the rebels resolved to inflict summary vengeance on the village of Alipore, which formed the first station westward on the Kurnaul road, and was known to have furnished large supplies to the British camp. Marching out by the Lahore Gate in considerable force, they proceeded westward, reached Alipore before their destination was known, and spent their fury upon the unfortunate inhabitants. It was most desirable that this sortie should not be allowed to fall back with impunity, and also to prevent them from gaining a footing in that quarter, as the village lay in the direct line of communication between the camp and the Punjaub; and only the day before its destruction a large detachment of our sick had passed through it; and, but for a little delay after their slaughter, much valuable property and treasure would have fallen into the enemy's hands. Our troops overtook them, and handled them so roughly that all who were there had reason to remember their expedition to Alipore.

"What a sight our camp would be, even to those who visited Sebastopol," wrote an officer; "the long lines of tents, the thatched hovels of the native servants, the rows of horses, the parks of artillery, the British soldier in his grey linen coat and trousers; the Sikhs, in their red and blue turbans; the Afghans, with their wild air and gay head-dresses; and the little Ghoorkas, dressed up like demons of ugliness, in black Kilmarnock caps and woollen coats. . . . . If we go to the summit of the ridge which separates us from the city, we see the river winding along to the left, the bridge of boats, the towers of the palace, the high roof and minarets of the great mosque, the roofs and gardens of the doomed city, and the elegant walls, with batteries here and there, the white smoke of which rises slowly among the green foliage that clusters round the ramparts."

There was an old Khalsa prophecy that the Sikhs should one day enjoy the plunder of the city of the Moguls; and believing the day was at hand, they hailed with passionate ardour the prospect of its realisation, and enlisted under our banner in thousands, and, as the movable column under Brigadier Nicholson was no longer wanted in the Punjaub, he pushed on with it to Delhi.

On the 16th of July, the Jhansi mutineers, stained with the blood of their atrocious massacre, arrived at Delhi, and, after a day's halt, were, according to what had become an established custom, sent forth to signalise their zeal against "the infidels," but were repulsed. On several occasions our men, after defeating the enemy, in the ardour of pursuit exposed themselves to a whole line of fire from the walls of the city, till a standing order was issued that in future they were to content themselves with repelling the enemy, and not risking further loss of life. This changed the tactics of the sepoys, who, on finding they could no longer lure our men within the range of the walls, allowed days to pass without any attack. And now, with July, came the heavy rains, which, though causing much discomfort in camp, failed to damp the ardour of the troops. This respite was partly employed in the completion of a breastwork along the ridge, from right to left, enabling the men to move from point to point in safety, as if under a regular covered way.

The movable column, under Nicholson, came into camp 4,200 strong, on the 14th of August; the brigadier had preceded it by a week, and was welcomed with emotions of homage, "as if he had been the very god of war." The force thus added to the camp was as follows:—H.M. 52nd Light Infantry; H.M. 61st, one wing; No. 17 Field Battery; 2nd Punjaub Infantry; one wing 7th Punjaub Police; 4th Sikh Infantry; 250 Moultanee Horse, with guns, stores, and treasure. The 52nd, which Colonel Campbell had clothed in *karkee-rung*, native grey cloth, mustered 680 bayonets, but by the 14th of September, fever and cholera reduced the number to 240 of all ranks.*

The siege-train was moving but slowly on its way, as its line of guns and limbers, with carts and tumbrils, extended over thirteen miles of the road from Ferozepore.

Meanwhile the rebels were beginning to lose alike

* "Hist. Rec. 52nd Foot," p. 370.

their insolence and confidence; the dissensions between Mussulmans and Hindoos often ended in bloodshed, and wholesale desertions began to take place, till even the Delhi princes—the same wretches who had ordered and witnessed the barbarous treatment and massacre of the ladies and children in the palace—had the effrontery to send letters to General Wilson, by which they sought to avert the dire retribution that awaited them, by whining that "they had all along been fondly attached to us, and only wanted to know what they could do for us."

In Delhi the kotwal, or mayor, was changed every second day. The sepoys, masters of all, were incessantly plundering, and neglected, when they chose, orders, parades, and bugle-calls; while the very incapacity of the Delhi princes to lead them excited their scorn, and even the laughter of the old trained officers of the Company's service; and the alarm of the old king when our shells burst over his palace became a by-word among them, and though desperation existed in the ranks of his army, discipline was on the wane.

As the whole hope of reducing Delhi depended on the safe arrival of the siege-train, it was necessary, for its protection, to keep the Ferozepore road clear of all hostile parties; and it was known that its safety was endangered by a predatory and warlike horde, named the Raughurs, who were located in the districts of Paniput and Rohtuk, and taking advantage of the revolt, had withheld their revenue, and threatened war on being joined by a body of rebels from Delhi. To keep them in check, and ensure the safety of the train, Hodson—the brilliant and chivalric leader of a body of irregulars known to fame as "Hodson's Horse"—at the head of a small force, set out on the 16th of August, and pushed on for Rohtuk, to take the Raughurs to task. As his party consisted entirely of cavalry, he could hope to achieve but little against a reckless force shut up in a walled town, so meanwhile he bivouacked in its vicinity.

There, in the evening, he was visited by a deputation from Rohtuk, "having grass-tufts in their mouths," in token of submission; but this was merely a snare to throw him off his guard, as he was suddenly attacked next morning. He drove the assailants back, but finding himself exposed to a galling fire from behind trees and walls around the town, he feigned a retreat.

On this the rebels came rushing forward with discordant and exultant yells, to ensure their victory, when suddenly Hodson's Horse, at a word from him, went "threes about," and rushed to the charge. The fancied pursuit was suddenly converted into a headlong flight, and next morning Rohtuk was found to be abandoned.

The way was thus cleared in the direction of Rohtuk, while another column, having the same object, moved from camp in a separate direction. Mohammed Bukht Khan—an old artillery soubahdar, who had become the rebel commander-in-chief—swearing that he would either capture the siege-train or die in the attempt, sent out on the 24th a force consisting of 6,000 men of all arms, with sixteen guns. It was the revolted Neemuch brigade, deemed the very flower of the Delhi army.

An early hour of the following day saw Brigadier Nicholson depart with a column of 1,000 Europeans and 2,000 natives, to check this movement. Among the former were H.M. 61st, the 1st Fusiliers, and a squadron of Grant's Lancers, under Captain Sarcel. Torrents of rain had so flooded the roads and paddy fields, that in seven hours only ten miles had been accomplished. A halt became necessary, and, that time might not be lost, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who served with the column as a volunteer, and knew the country well, rode on with two officers in search of the enemy, whom they found encamped beyond a nullah, about five miles distant, at a point where the water crossed the road, and ran both deep and strong. Another two hours' plodding brought the column to a rising ground, from whence the foe could be seen, well posted alike for defence or retreat, near the village of Nujufghur, fifteen miles distant from Delhi. The rebels fronted the nullah, their right rested on a village where nine guns were placed, their left was on rising ground, and in the centre was old Serai, the key of their position, armed with four guns.

It was now half-past five p.m. Ere the line advanced, Nicholson harangued the Europeans, and bade them remember how at Balaclava the "thin red line" of the 93rd Highlanders had achieved such brilliant success by the reservation of their fire, and exhorted them to emulate that example. The nullah was forded, Nicholson's object being to force the enemy's left centre, and then changing front to the left, to hurl down their line of guns towards the bridge. But little resistance was offered, and every gun was taken; the affair seemed over, when suddenly it was reported that a village some little distance in the rear was still occupied. There the rebels fought with desperation, and were overpowered with difficulty; but the affair was not over till about two next morning. So many of our cavalry were employed in protecting the baggage, our own guns, and

those we had captured, that pursuit was impossible. The enemy's loss was 800, and to preclude any advance in that direction again, the bridge, which had been undermined by Captain Geneste, was blown into the air. Our loss was estimated at 120 killed and wounded. Great stores of the enemy's ammunition were destroyed; some ten or twelve wagons were blown up; bags of money were found, and one private got as much as 900 rupees. The column came into camp at six p.m. next day, the men very weary, but in high spirits with their success; and on the 3rd of September, before the rebels had recovered from the consternation produced by their defeat at Nujufghur, the siege-train came safely into head-quarters, escorted by a wing of the 8th, or King's, two companies of our 61st, detachments of the 9th Lancers, 60th Rifles, Cashmerian Dogras, and other troops; and then the erection of the breaching batteries was commenced forthwith.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE BATTERIES OPEN.—THE ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF DELHI.—THE PRINCES SHOT BY CAPTAIN HODSON, ETC.

THE siege-train consisted of forty heavy guns, mortars, and howitzers, with a vast supply of ammunition, and before a week elapsed the batteries were armed against the city in the following order:—The first, which was ready on the 6th of September, was planted on the plateau in front of Hindoo Rao's house, and consisted of six nine-pounders and two twenty-four-pounders, under Captain Remmington, and near it, fortunately, lay a dry nullah that formed a natural parallel. Advancing through it untouched, on the night of the 7th, our troops erected another battery of ten guns, within 700 yards of the walls, under Major Brind; and they were both opposed to the place where the rebels expected an assault; the erection of the third took them by surprise.

A post called Ludlow Castle, where they had a picket, was wrested from them, and there battery No. 3 was erected, mounting on its right flank seven eight-inch howitzers, with two eighteen-pounders; and on its left nine twenty-four-pounders, under Majors Kaye and Campbell. The character of this work indicated to all that the real attack would be from the left, when two other batteries were at once thrown up and armed, one with ten mortars, under Major Tombs, at the Koodsee Bagh (or garden), near the bank of the river, and the other at the old custom-house in front of it; and before the end of the week mentioned, the whole of these batteries were in full operation against Delhi, and the effect of their fire soon became apparent.

The Moree Bastion was soon silenced; the Cashmere Bastion, on its proper left, adjoining the Main Guard (within which stood St. James's Church), though recently strengthened by the British Government, soon began to crumble beneath the iron tempest that shook it to the base; while Remmington's battery did excellent service against the Shah Bastion in the north-west angle of the walls adjoining the Cabul Gate. But most heavy and destructive was our fire against the Water, or North-east Bastion, where, by the close proximity of the guns, every shot told with terrible effect, and soon a great breach yawned in the walls. In the meantime the besieged were most active. From every battery not silenced, and from every point within range of grape and musketry, they kept up a ceaseless fire, and succeeded in placing two batteries, one at Kissengunge, which enfiladed those in the ridge by a fire due north, and another on the opposite side of Jumna, which raked those of the Koodsee Garden and custom-house by a fire that went directly westward across the river; and these cost us the lives of many brave men.

On the 13th of September the breaches were reported practicable, and at three on the following morning the work of retribution was to be more fully inaugurated by an assault delivered on four points.

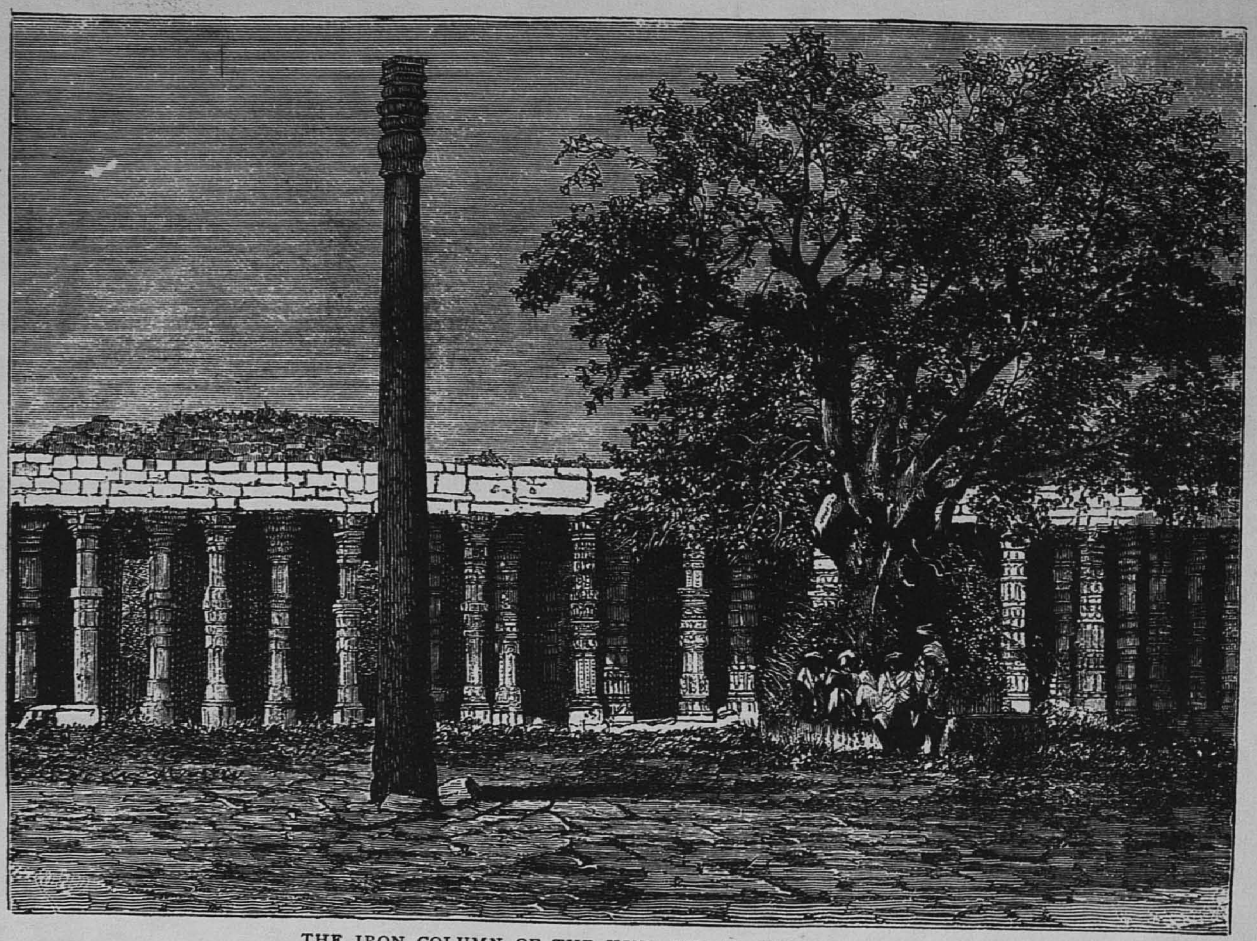
In the first column, led by Brigadier Nicholson, were 1,000 men, H.M. 75th Foot leading; in the second, led by Brigadier Jones, 850 men, H.M. 8th Foot leading; in the third, Colonel Campbell, were 950 men, H.M. 52nd Foot leading; in the fourth, Major Reid, 850 men, the Sirmoor Ghoorkas leading. The reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, consisted of 1,300 men, H.M. 61st Foot leading; and the order of advance was as follows:—

The first column was to attack the main breach, and carry by escalade the face of the Cashmere Bastion, while covered by a detachment of the 60th Rifles. The second to enter the breach at the Water Bastion, covered by another detachment of

the same corps. The third to attack the Cashmere Gate, preceded by a party of engineers, under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, to blow it open with petards and powder, while also covered by a rifle party. The fourth, similarly covered, to force an entrance by the Cabul Gate, while the cavalry, under Brigadier J. H. Grant, were disposed so as to guard the lines, sick and wounded.

the four columns that hurled their strength on Delhi now; and no danger daunted, no obstacle remained unsurmounted by them; and if daring can win glory, then glory was won there.

The breaches were entered, over stones, guns, corpses, and every ghastly *débris*, by both columns simultaneously, Nicholson leading. Wheeling to the right, our troops, with terrible impetuosity,



THE IRON COLUMN OF THE KING DHAVA, KOUTUB, DELHI.

By three in the morning all men were under arms, and in the hushed ranks every eye was lit up, and every heart and hand tingled with the fierce longing to grapple with the enemy, and in an hour after the assault began. In extended order, the Rifles opened a skirmishing fire, while the columns dashed on at the double quick, which speedily became a wild rush, Nicholson's first; but all suffered equally from the well-directed artillery and steady file-firing of the mutineers as they broke like a red blaze over tower and curtain wall. Seldom or never had assaulting troops such terrible impulses to inspire them as those of

hurled the yelling mutineers along the ramparts, and captured in quick succession the batteries, the Cashmere and Moree Bastions, with a tower midway between them, and then the Cabul Gate, in a few minutes scouring half a mile of the walls on the northern face of the city; but the Burn Bastion and Lahore Gate on the western face defied any assault, for there the mutineers met us with coolness and resolution, mowing down the stormers. Along a narrow lane that led from Trevelgah Gunge, Nicholson led his men against the Lahore Gate, which leads straight to the great thoroughfare of Chandnee Chowk, or

Silver Street; but that narrow lane was swept by concentrated grape and musketry—a veritable rain of death—and there the noble and enthusiastic young general fell desperately wounded, adding grief to the fury that now filled his soldiers. "Their efforts were fierce; but the lane was swept by bullets, as a tunnel by a fierce wind or a penetrating torrent."

The command now devolved upon Brigadier Jones, who finding the enemy in great force, prudently resolved on retaining the Cabul Gate, which the troops had already won.* Three sand-bags were thrown up for shelter, and the guns of the vanquished turned against the city, with such effect that their shot reached the Selinghur Fort and the Calcutta Gate, close by the palace, whose cowering inmates now felt that Nemesis was at hand.

Elsewhere the attack was in progress against the Cashmere Gate. It was a portal of vast strength, and a party of picked marksmen, stationed at a wicket, rendered all approach to it a matter of nearly certain death. This was the barrier to be forced by the Engineers, led by Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, with Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, and sappers carrying the powder-bags, which they laid against the gate. How they reached it alive seemed miraculous, as they had to clamber across a broken bridge in the clear light of a fine morning, under the eyes and rifles of the mutineers, who had long since lost all scruple about handling greased cartridges. As soon as the bags were laid, the party slid down into the ditch, to make way for the firing-party, led by the gallant Salkeld.



CAPTAIN HODSON ARRESTING THE KING OF DELHI.

The latter, according to the Engineers' Report, "while endeavouring to fire the charge, was shot through the arm and leg, but handed over the slow-match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had accomplished the onerous duty. Havildar Tilluk Sing, of the Sikhs, and Ramloll, sepoy of the same corps, were killed during this part of the operation. The demolition being most successful, Lieutenant Home, happily not wounded, caused the bugler (Hawthorn) to sound the regimental call, as a signal for the advancing columns. Fearing that amidst the noise of the assault the sound might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops

* General Wilson's Official Report.

advanced and carried the gateway with complete success." *

It was probably this circumstance of the bugler sounding thrice amid the frightful din of the time, that led a recent historian of the Sepoy War to indulge in a sneer at the 52nd Regiment—one second to none in the annals of glory—which has incurred the indignation of all who were present.†

Sergeant Smith, who feared that the match had failed in effect as it lay in the hand of the dying Burgess, rushed forward, but saw it burning, and had barely time to fling himself into the ditch when the mighty masses of wood and stone were upheaved, to fall in crushing fragments. Then rang out young Robert Hawthorn's bugle-call, and his comrades of the 52nd rushed to the attack, though Captain Bayley, who led them, fell, and the whole column, led by Colonel Campbell, with Sir Theophilus Metcalfe as a guide, burst with a bayonet charge into the vast extent of the Chandnee Chowk, in hope of gaining the Jumna Musjid.‡

The column was assailed with the most desperate bravery, and was actually driven back by the sepoys for nearly an English mile, close to the gate by which it had entered, and might have been driven out of the city but for the supports which came up; while the attack of the fourth column, under Major Reid, on the western suburbs, failed, through the inefficiency of the Cashmere Contingent and the contempt which the sepoys had for foes of their own colour; but it was not till after a dreadful conflict for the possession of the Eedgah, that the Cashmerians, Sirmoor Ghoorkas, Guide infantry, and European pickets gave way, and the attack on the western suburbs was abandoned, and the column fell back on the camp.

Within the town we held all the captured posts, and when night closed over the sanguinary scene we had to enumerate (according to Marshman) a loss in killed and wounded of sixty-six officers and 1,104 men. The first and second columns held all the line of walls from the vicinity of the Cashmere Gate to the Cabul Gate; the third column and the reserve held the Cashmere Gate, St. James's Church, Skinner's House, the Water Bastion, Ali Khan's House, the College Gardens, the Moora and Nusseer Bastions, the Killa Ghaut Gate, and many open spots in that part of Delhi. Next morning the bank and its extensive grounds were captured, and this enabled General Wilson to get his guns turned on the king's magnificent palace—a stately and royal castle indeed, but since June the scene of manifold crimes and cruelties. On the same day the Jumna Musjid, a splendid and enormous edifice built of red and white marble by Shah Jehan, was stormed, and the adjutant-general reported to Government the capture of 205 guns, with vast quantities of warlike stores.

On the 17th, dawn came in upon both armies, eager still for battle and conquest, and a series of combats ensued which left all the northern defences almost entirely in our hands. On the 18th, Wilson hurled columns of attack against the southern portion of the city, capturing all the great buildings in succession; while the magazine supplied us with great mortars wherewith to shell the palace, and then the women and children began to fly, and with them the wounded were permitted to depart. On the 19th, the Burn Bastion was taken, and Hodson captured the cavalry camp. The palace was now attacked, and its gates were blown open, but save by the wounded and some Mohammedan fanatics, who died like tigers, fighting to the last, it was found deserted.

Delhi was now ours, but with the loss of 3,537 killed, wounded, and missing, nearly a half of the whole engaged; and in the palace of the Great Mogul, General Wilson (who here won a baronetcy) and the officers of his staff drained goblets of wine to the health of her Majesty as Empress of India, while a thousand triumphant voices shouted with fervour, "God save the Queen!"

The sepoys in despair cut the throats of their wives and children, and then shot themselves. The helpless, of course, were spared; but the male inhabitants were slain whenever encountered. "The sights which met the gaze of the British, when the enemy being completely vanquished they had time to look around them, were horrible. Christian women had been crucified nude against the houses, and native women and children, butchered by the sepoys to avert the same fate at the hands of the British, lay scattered in the streets and houses. Shattered ruins, mangled limbs, dead bodies, slain and wounded horses (600 of these perished) lay in every direction." Large sums of money were found on the dead and wounded; "the English soldiers, breaking the spirit depôts, drank to excess, and in this state bayoneted numbers of the inhabitants who had found temporary security in hiding-places."

Of the rebels 5,000 effected their escape in safety into the Doab, the remainder fled down the bank of the Jumna, to join mutineers elsewhere.

On the 21st Captain Hodson, ascertaining that the king had fled to that wonderful pile, the tomb of Houmayoun, a few miles southward of the city, galloped thither at the head of fifty horse, and

* Despatches. Col. Baird Smith.
† Sir J. Kaye's "Hist. of the Sepoy War," vol. iii.
‡ Col. G. Campbell's Despatch.

dragged him, together with his favourite wife, Zeenat Mahal, who had been a chief instrument in the revolt, back to the palace, in which they were lodged as prisoners. Next day this fiery and indefatigable officer went in search of the two sons and grandsons of the king—the chief inciters of the Delhi atrocities—who were concealed in the tomb, and surrounded by a multitude of armed scoundrels from the city. The time was not one for hesitation or delay, so the fearless Hodson with his own pistols shot the princes dead on the spot, and had their bodies conveyed to the city and hanged up in the Kotwallee, or Mayor's Court, being literally, as in the Hebrew story of old, exposed at the gates of the city. There they remained in view of the people, till sanitary reasons required their interment. Several months after, the king was tried by a military court in the imperial palace, and found guilty of the massacre of the British in Delhi and levy of war upon the Government. Lord Canning spared his forfeited life, but sentenced him to be transported to Burmah; and thus ended the royal line of Baber, three hundred and thirty-two years after he had ascended the Mogul throne.

During the closing events of the siege, General John Nicholson, whose sufferings neither skill nor friendship could alleviate, died in the camp on the 23rd of September, of his wound. The army mourned him truly; he was only in his thirty-fifth year, when he passed away in the midst of his fame. He was succeeded in the command by Brigadier Penny, C.B. a brave and experienced veteran. To his widowed mother the East India Company granted a pension of £500 yearly. Lieutenant Philip Salkeld—son of a Dorsetshire clergyman—died of his wound on the 10th of October; but his brother-officer, Lieutenant Home, won the Victoria Cross, but did not live to wear it long, as on the first of the same month, he died of a mortal wound, when in pursuit of the Delhi fugitives.

The Victoria Cross was awarded to Lance-Corporal Smith, of the 52nd, for conspicuous gallantry in the storm; nor was the bugle-boy, Robert Hawthorn, forgotten, as he too obtained it for "not only most bravely performing the dangerous duty on which he was employed, but having previously attached himself to Lieutenant Salkeld of the Engineers, when dangerously wounded, bound up his wounds under a heavy musketry fire, and had him removed without further injury."*

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE MARCH OF HAVELOCK.—VICTORY AT FUTTEHPORE.—COMBAT AT AHERWA.—THE THIRD MASSACRE AT CAWNPORE.—BITHOOR DESTROYED.—SIR COLIN CAMPBELL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, ETC.

We have now to bring the gallant Havelock on the scene, and return to Oude, where we have already adverted to the position of the few British at Lucknow, after the disastrous combat at Chinhutt, and the subsequent death of Sir Henry Lawrence, an event which made a deep impression on all. Had his constitution been less shattered, he might have survived the shell wound—could he have undergone amputation; but in his enfeebled state the utmost that could be done was to apply the tourniquet to stop the bleeding, which procured him a respite of two days of agony. During these he remained quite collected, dictated his final instructions, appointed Major Banks Chief Commissioner, and Lieutenant-Colonel Inglis, of the 32nd, to the command of the garrison, and alternately his dying thoughts wavered between the great change he was to undergo and the half-helpless charge he was leaving.

"Save the ladies," he often said, and then urged that the modest epitaph, which his tomb now bears, should be inscribed upon it: "Here lies Sir Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty. May God have mercy on him;" and he often spoke of the mutability of human life, adding "What is it worth *now?*" His spirit was one of a noble order; he was tender and affectionate by nature, and, as the soldiers said, was simple-hearted as a child. "His services, particularly in the Punjaub, of which he was one of the earliest and most successful administrators, entitle him to a foremost place among Indian statesmen; but even could these be forgotten, the noble institution which bears his name as its founder, and by which the children of European soldiers serving in India, instead of being left to grow up as outcasts, are duly cared for, would suffice to keep his memory

* Field Force Orders, Delhi, 21st Sept., 1857.

in perpetual and honoured remembrance. The siege of the garrison at Lucknow, and its gallant defence, furnish perhaps the most interesting episode in the history of the Mutiny."

"No military honours," says one who was present, "marked our last acts to his corpse. The times were too stern for idle demonstrations of respect. A hurried prayer, amid the booming of the enemy's artillery, and the rattle of their musketry, was read over his remains, and he was lowered into a pit with several other, though lower, companions-in-arms; and so closed the 4th of July over Lucknow."*

The Residency was a fine building, three storeys in height, but little adapted for defence, while its many lofty windows gave free entrance to the enemy's shot, and its flat roof, which was only enclosed by a cornice and balustrade, was completely exposed. Hence the upper floor, during the siege, was abandoned; the entrance floor was occupied by the soldiers, while the women and children were placed in the *tykhanas*, or rooms that are formed underground for coolness in the hot season. The banqueting-hall, a two-storeyed edifice, eastward of the Residency, was converted into a hospital, but, like the latter, it was too much open, though the doors and windows on the exposed faces were completely barricaded. Beyond this, farther eastward, stood the arched Bailey Guard gate, opposite to which was the house of Dr. Fayrer, a large and flat-roofed building. Being used for defence, it was familiarly known as "Fayrer's garrison." A breastwork of sand-bags surrounded its roof, amd when firing became heavy, all the female inmates could take shelter in its tykhanas.

South of this were successively the Financial garrison, Sagos, and the Judicial, overlooked on the west by Anderson's and Duprat's, with the Post-Office garrison. On the west, with the Cawnpore battery at its extremity (facing the road that led thereto), was Gubbins' garrison, a post to which the judicial commissioner of Oude, by his gallant services during the siege, and his book thereon, has given some celebrity.† But all these defences were formidable only in name; the real and strongest works were the Redan and Cawnpore Battery, armed with only three guns each; and in many places the defences of the Residency, with its buildings and grounds, were so feeble that nothing was wanting, amid the vast masses of the besiegers, to have enabled them to hew a passage into the heart of the place.

* Rees' "Siege of Lucknow."

† "Mutinies in Oudh," R. Gubbins (Bentley, 1853).

Among the many disadvantages our people had to contend with, were the number and proximity of the native houses; and though in the vicinity of the Redan and Mr. Gubbins' garrison some demolitions had been made, elsewhere the ground remained covered with houses, of which the enemy's marksmen made an incessant and destructive use, while Havelock's little band was struggling on to succour the isolated garrison.

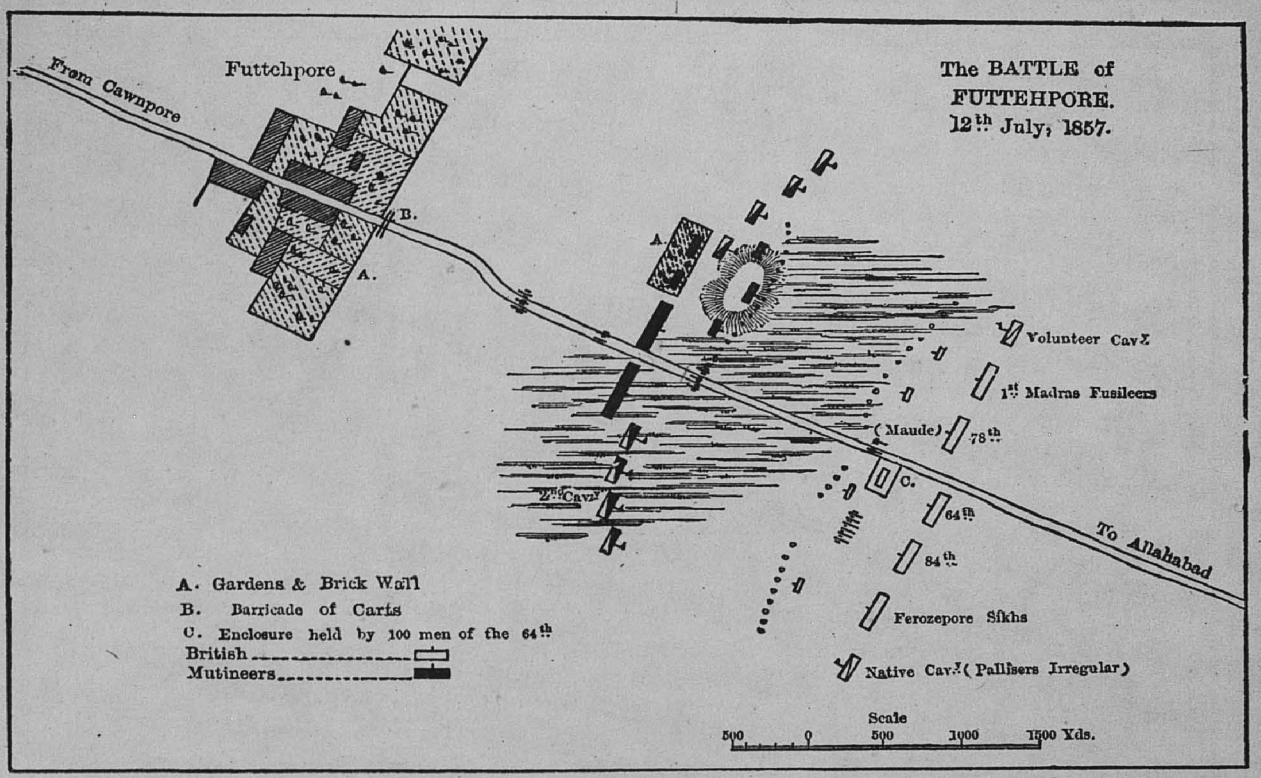
We have narrated the narrow escape of Sir Henry Havelock and others off the coast of Ceylon, after his return from Persia. On the voyage he had mapped out a plan of operations against the rebels, and recommended the formation of a movable column, to proceed upwards from the lower provinces to the scenes of revolt, and this arrangement was at once made on his arrival at Calcutta, with Sir Patrick Grant, who became, provisionally, successor to General Anson. This column was placed under his command, as Brigadier-General, with orders, after suppressing disturbances at Allahabad, to lose no time in proceeding to support Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore, and then Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow—a mission peculiarly acceptable to a man of his character, who, to the high spirit of an enthusiastic soldier, added much of the stern Puritan. Among the troops in his column were the 64th (or Staffordshire), and 78th Ross-shire Highlanders, both of which had been with him in Persia, and it was with emotions of mutual gratification that they undertook the errand of mercy, to conquer and to save, while the orders were that "he should take prompt measures for dispersing and utterly destroying all mutineers and insurgents."

Havelock was of opinion that if he had "1,000 Europeans, 1,000 Sikhs, and 1,000 Ghoorkas, he could thrash everything; but now, in this dire emergency, he could only gather some 2,000 men of all arms."

His first object was to obviate delay by want of carriage. He knew that during the mutiny at Allahabad 1,600 bullocks collected by the commissariat there had vanished, and he therefore proposed that the carts and bullocks on the Grand Trunk Road should be utilised for the transport of ammunition and stores, while the troops, with their camp equipage, should proceed by river conveyance; and having obtained the sanction necessary for these arrangements, and also a liberal supply of secret service money, for the purpose of making his intelligence department as perfect as possible, he started from Calcutta on the 25th of June, and three days after saw him in the great city of Benares.

By this time one of the primary objects which he had in view had been frustrated by the perpetration of the first Cawnpore massacre, which was not made known to him and his already infuriated troops till the 3rd of July, three days after he reached Allahabad, where another disappointment awaited him. The European column was to have included four regiments; but, from circumstances beyond all control, when, on the 7th of July, he marched for the recapture of Cawnpore, he had with him only 1,400 European bayonets. The day before he entered Allahabad, the first Cawnpore massacre being unknown, Colonel Neill had detached for its relief Major Renaud, of the Madras Fusiliers, with 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs, 100 irregular cavalry, and two nine-pounder guns, with ample orders to inflict summary vengeance on all who were in any way suspected of disloyalty; and for three days the major marched on, leaving behind him traces of retributive justice in desolated villages and ghastly corpses dangling from the branches of trees.*

Renaud's movements had to be made with intense caution, for had the enemy borne down upon him he must have been overwhelmed by mere numbers, even if every man of his detachment had been faithful to him. Should it have proved otherwise—and he strongly suspected some of the natives—destruction would have been inevitable; and, instinctively aware of all this, Havelock pushed on to join him by forced marches. On the other hand, the rebels were equally active and well-informed; thus they hurried on to Futtehpore, near the right bank of the Ganges, and about forty-five miles below Cawnpore, in the hope of cutting off the detachment of Renaud, whose successful junction with Havelock was effected on the 12th of July.

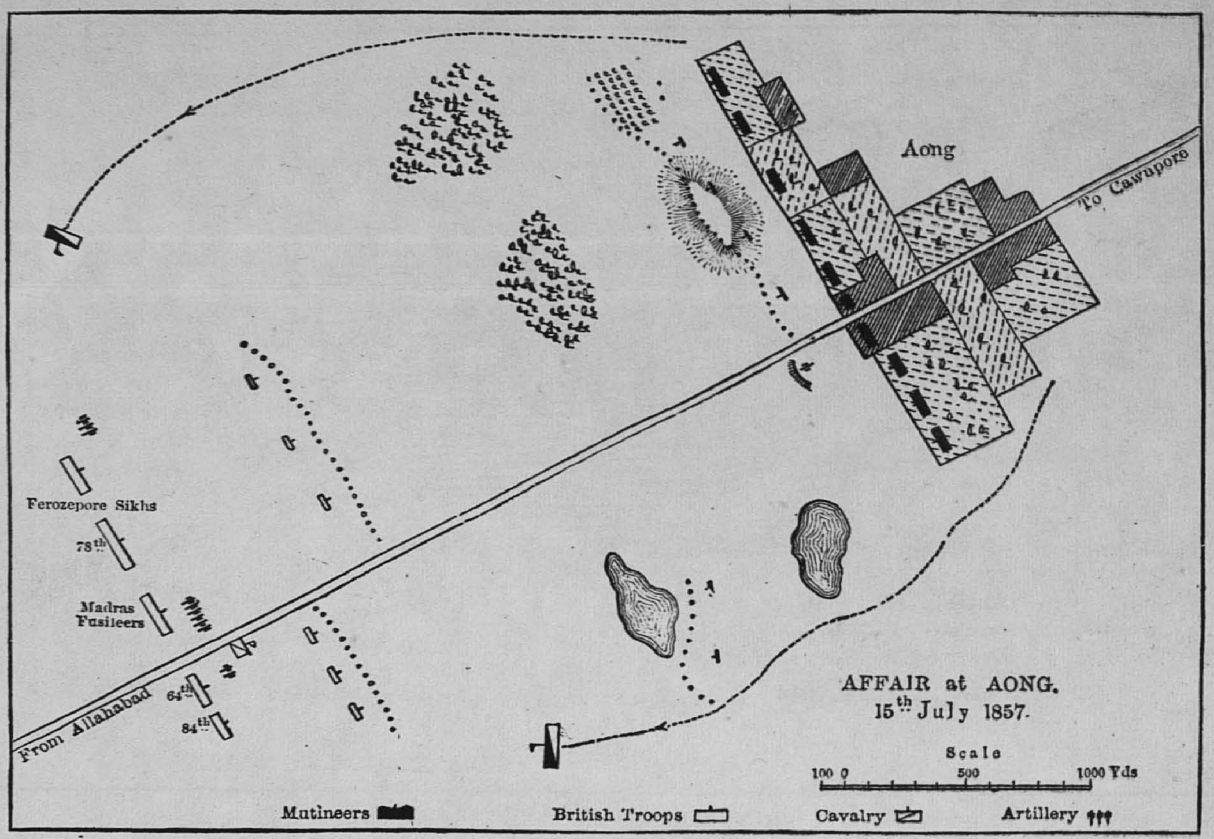


PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF FUTTEHPORE.

Their united forces consisted of 600 men of the 64th, 600 of the 78th, 500 of the 1st Madras European Fusiliers, a company of Royal Artillery, under Captain Maude, from Ceylon, Brazier's Sikhs, and some twenty mounted gentlemen volunteers. Wearied by a long march, about eight o'clock the whole halted near Futtehpore, but the tents were scarcely pitched when Colonel Tytler, who had been reconnoitring, came galloping in with intelligence that the enemy were coming on. The latter, believing that the troops before them were only Renaud's force, in the hope of another easy massacre, came confidently on, but soon discovered

* Marshman, &c.

their mistake, as Havelock thus records:—"Futtehpore constitutes a position of no small strength. The hard and dry trunk road subdivides it, and is the only convenient access, for the plains on both sides at this season are flooded by heavy lodgments of water, to the depth of two, three, and four feet. It is surrounded by garden enclosures of great strength, with high walls, and has within it many houses of good solid masonry. In front of the swamps are hillocks, that short space of time the spirit of the enemy was entirely subdued. The rifle-fire reaching them at an unexpected distance filled them with dismay; and when Captain Maude was enabled to push his guns through the flanking swamps to point-blank range, his surprisingly accurate fire demolished their little remaining confidence. In a moment three guns were abandoned to us on the chaussée, and the force advanced steadily, driving the enemy before it at every point." *



PLAN OF THE AFFAIR AT AONG.

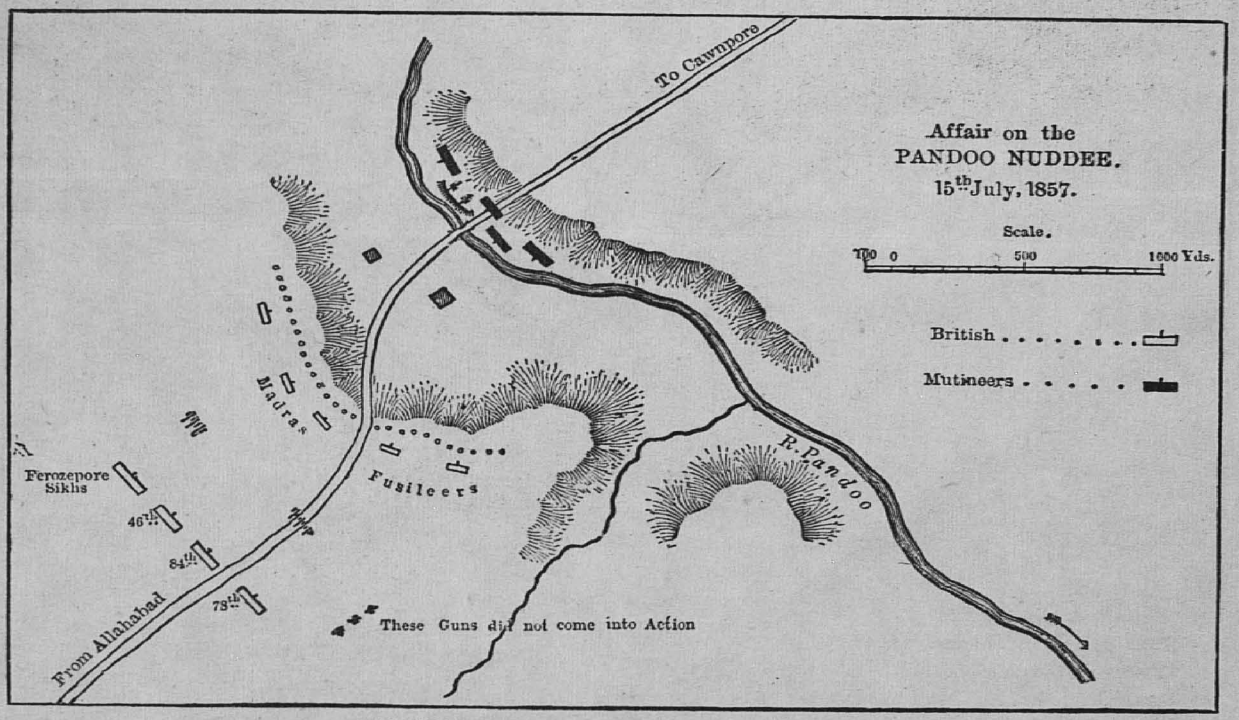
villages, and mango groves, which the enemy already occupied in force. I estimate his number at 3,500, with twelve brass and iron guns. I made my dispositions. The guns, now eight in number, were formed on, and close to the chaussée, under Captain Maude, R.A., protected and aided by 100 Enfield riflemen of the 64th. The detachments of infantry were at the same moment thrown into line of quarter-distance columns at deploying distance, and thus advanced in support, covered at discretion by Enfield skirmishers. The small force of volunteer cavalry and irregular cavalry moved forward on the flanks on harder ground. I might say that in ten minutes the action was decided, for in

Out of the inclosures and into the streets, out of the latter into the open country beyond, they were driven into headlong flight; but the excessive heat, and the exhaustion of the previous marching, rendered pursuit impossible, and the irregular cavalry conducted themselves in so shameful a manner that two days after they were disbanded. This was the first check the mutineers had received below Delhi, and it produced a most salutary impression.

On the 14th Havelock resumed his march, and on reaching the village of Aong, midway between Futtehpore and Cawnpore, found the enemy posted a little beyond it, and in rear of an entrenchment

* Despatches.

which they had thrown across the road. Colonel Fraser-Tytler advanced with about a third of the force, and found the enemy strongly lining garden walls and other enclosures. As a little delay ensued during the formation of the British, the enemy mistook it for hesitation, and confidently advancing, occupied the village which lay 200 yards in their original front. The Madras Fusiliers gallantly dashed forward to dislodge them, and did so effectually, but with the loss of their brave Major Renaud, who was struck in the left leg, and had part of his scabbard driven into the wound, but



PLAN OF THE AFFAIR AT PANDOO NUDDEE.

after a successful amputation he suddenly expired. One of his officers lingered near to assist, but the last words of the fine old soldier, who thought only of duty, were, "Go—go on with your men."

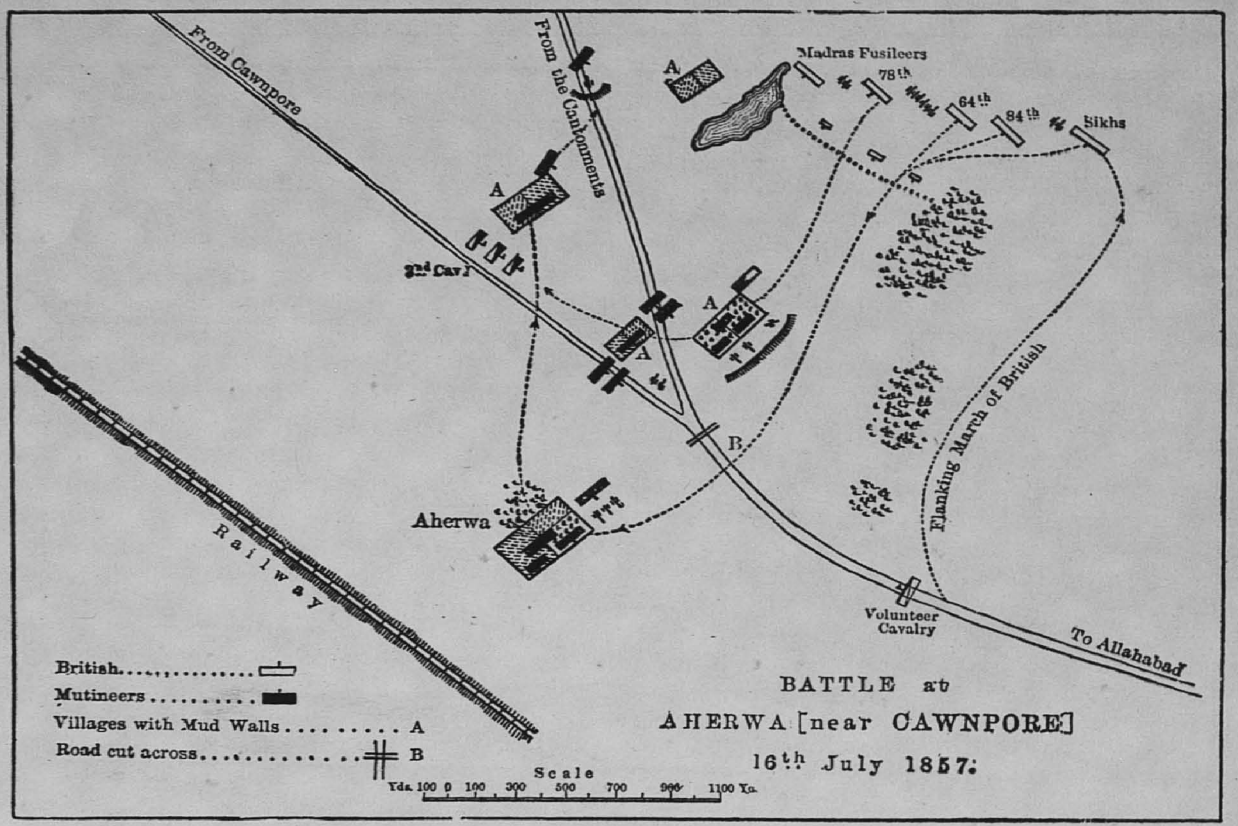
After clearing the village, Fraser-Tytler gave the foe not a moment of respite, and compelled them to fly with precipitation, leaving their baggage and guns behind them. While his detachment was occupied thus, the main body, under Havelock, was assailed repeatedly by cavalry in heavy squadrons, who made attempts upon his baggage, and were completely foiled; but the perilous work of the day was not yet over.

The moment the troops had breakfasted, bugle and bagpipe sounded the advance, and for two hours the troops pushed along the main road to Cawnpore under a blazing sun, but one thought inspiring every man in the ranks, a thirsty eagerness to save and free the unfortunates who were then in the power of the merciless Nana; though the primary cause of this unwonted exertion was to obtain possession of the bridge which spans the Pandoo Nuddee before the enemy could blow it up. "The stream, though usually fordable, was now flooded, and might have proved a serious obstacle to the advance if the bridge had been removed. Fortunately the enemy were surprised in the very act of mining, and after a short but sharp contest were compelled to retreat on Cawnpore. That place was now only twenty-three miles distant, and every man was anxious to push on for it without the loss of a single hour. Above 200 European children (a number vaguely stated), reserved by Nana Sahib when he perpetrated his two previous massacres, were reported to be still alive What a glorious enterprise to rescue them, and at the same time take summary vengeance on their inhuman gaoler!"

The Nana's brother, who was in the field, galloped back to Cawnpore, with the alarming intelligence that we had forced the passage of the bridge, and were in full march on the town.

According to generally received opinion, it was after Havelock's successful passage of the floode

river that the fatal order of the Nana was given; but, notwithstanding the intense eagerness of the troops to push on, delay was unavoidable. Night had fallen before the commissariat cattle came up, and most of the men, before animal food could be cooked, contented themselves with some mouthfuls of porter and biscuit, and then sank on the ground exhausted; but morning had hardly dawned ere the eager soldiers were again on the line of march, and, pushing on at a pace far beyond the ordinary quick-



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF AHERWA.

step, after traversing sixteen miles, reached the village of Maharajahpore.

Only seven miles now lay between them and Cawnpore!

With eight guns and 5,000 men, Nana Sahib had taken post at the village of Aherwa, at a place where the road from the old cantonments diverges from the road to the town. Five fortified villages, with entrenched approaches, supporting each other, skilfully defended his position; and if ever anything on earth could have given this indescribable miscreant any confidence in the battle, it must have been the strength of the ground he occupied.

On reconnoitring it, Havelock saw that to attempt to force a passage in front would be but to court destruction; he therefore resolved on a flank movement, commencing upon the enemy's left. Leaving the baggage in his rear, at Maharajahpore, he advanced along the trunk road, in columns of subdivisions (or half companies), his little band of volunteer cavalry taking the lead. A three miles' march brought them to the point where the two roads diverged. His infantry then wheeled to the right, and under cover of a border of thick trees he achieved the coveted flank movement unobserved, and marched on quite unseen for 1,000 yards, the enemy supposing that the volunteer cavalry, whom they saw leisurely pursuing the direct road, were followed by the main body.

At length, some openings in the trees enabled them to see the red coats of the brigade, and the green tartans of "the petticoated devils," as they termed the 78th, and they found their flank was turned. Every available gun was now fired on the flank of the marching column, while an attempt was made, when too late, to change front and meet it. While they were yet in surprise and consternation, the column emerged from the grove, the subdivisions deployed

into line, and that line advanced with terrible celerity, under an effective artillery fire.

So skilful were the arrangements of Havelock, that the rebels were unable to use the artillery of the centre and right without mowing down their own left; still, the twenty-four-pounders of the latter made such havoc in our ranks, that the true old British resort—the bayonet—became necessary. Then it was, as Havelock tells us, he appealed, not to the senior regiment, but to the Ross-shire Buffs. "The opportunity had arrived for which I have long anxiously waited of developing the powers of the 78th Highlanders. Three guns of the enemy were strongly posted behind a lofty hamlet, well intrenched. I directed this regiment to advance, and never have I beheld conduct more admirable! They were led by Colonel Hamilton, and followed him with surprising steadiness and gallantry under a heavy fire. As they approached the village they cheered and charged with the bayonet, their pipes sounding a pibroch. Need I say that the enemy fled, the village was taken, and the guns were captured?" *

When the enemy's left had been thus annihilated, their infantry were seen rushing in consternation to the rear, when they broke into two columns, one falling back some hundred yards on the cantonment road, and the other halting near a howitzer which was posted in their centre.

To the 78th Havelock again turned, crying, "Now, Highlanders, another charge like that wins the day!" With a cheer and a rush, in which the 64th joined them, the howitzer was taken, and the dusky masses around it scattered like chaff before a gale. The enemy's entire right had also given way, but the fighting was not yet over. From one of the five villages, wherein some of the fugitives rallied, there came a sharp and incessant fire, till the general, to excite emulation, called aloud, "Come, who'll take that village—the Highlanders, or the 64th?" The appeal was instantly responded to, and once more the Highlanders, led by Colonel Hamilton, and the 64th, dashed on, and the village was cleared.

Still, the fighting was not yet over, and another effort was necessary; for at a time when the enemy seemed in undoubted retreat, a deadly fire was suddenly opened from a twenty-four-pounder and two field-pieces, which had been placed in reserve on the roadway. The troops which covered these were fresh (while our men were exhausted), having been just brought from Cawnpore. Our guns were then a mile in the rear, so, till they could come up, our infantry lay down for shelter from the fire, which swept over them. This gave fresh courage to the enemy, among whom Nana Sahib was seen riding to and fro, while the mingled din of drums and trumpets seemed to indicate that a grand attack was about to be made.

Extending in the form of a crescent, their cavalry threatened to envelop and cut off the advanced force of the British, which was only 800 strong, at a time when the artillery cattle, from exhaustion, were unable to bring on the cannon, so there remained nothing to be done but to form the detachments of the Fusiliers, 64th, and 78th, in line; "So," says Havelock, "calling on my men, who were lying down, to leap to their feet, I directed another steady advance. It was irresistible. The enemy sent round shot into our ranks until we were within 300 yards with such precision and determination as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th, led by Major Stirling and by my aide-de-camp" (his son, afterwards Sir Henry Havelock, M.P.), "who placed himself in their front, were not to be denied. Their rear showed the ground strewed with wounded; but on they steadily and silently came, then, with a cheer, charged and captured the unwieldy trophy of their valour. The enemy lost all heart, and after a hurried fire of musketry, gave way in total rout. Four of my guns came up and completed their discomfiture by a heavy cannonade; and as it grew dark, the roofless barracks of our artillery were dimly descried in advance, and it was evident that Cawnpore was once more in our possession." *

Here Havelock had only six men killed and about 100 wounded, including some of the bravest of his officers. All fought well, but the most successful competitors for glory were Major Stirling of the 64th, and Lieutenant Henry Marshman Havelock, of H.M. 10th, referred to in his father's despatch. In eight days, Havelock's force had marched 126 miles, fought four actions against overwhelming odds, had taken twenty-four pieces of cannon, field and battery guns, and in the hottest and most sultry month of an Indian summer. By the most superhuman exertions, and with hearts full of pity, ardour, and anxiety, they had reached Cawnpore only to find, to their bitter disappointment and grief, that those they had come to save were now beyond all help!

As it would have been hazardous to enter the town in the dark, the troops bivouacked for the night on the bare ground, and ere they could start next morning, spies arrived with the dreadful intelligence that in revenge for his successive defeats, the fiendish Nana Sahib had massacred the 210 women and children, whom fate or misfortune

* Despatches.

* Despatches.

had placed in his power. The manner of their death has been so often told that it need not be repeated, while the frightful spectacle in the prison house that met the gaze of our soldiers fresh from victories is too appalling to describe. "The pavement was swimming in blood, and fragments of ladies and children's dresses were floating on it. They entered the apartments, and found them empty and silent; but there, also, the blood lay deep on the floor, covered with bonnets, collars, combs, and children's frocks and frills. The walls were dotted with the marks of bullets, and on the wooden pillars were deep sword-cuts, from some of which hung tresses of hair. But neither the sabre-cuts nor the bullets were sufficiently high above the floor to indicate that the weapons had been aimed at men defending their lives; they appear rather to have been hurled at crouching women and little children begging for mercy.

"The soldiers proceeded in their search, and when crossing the court-yard they perceived human limbs bristling from a well, and on further examination found it to be choked up with the bodies of the victims, which appeared to have been thrown in promiscuously, the dead with the wounded, till it was full to the brim. The feelings of those who witnessed the spectacle it is easy to conceive, but difficult to describe. Men of iron nerve, who had during the march from Allahabad rushed to the cannon's mouth, and, unappalled, had seen their comrades mowed down around them, now lifted up their voices and wept." *

Amid the blood there was found, with many other relics, a prayer book, on the fly-leaf of which was written, "For dearest mamma; from her affectionate Tom, June, 1845." It lay open at the Litany. Amid the clothing was found a scrap of paper, containing some entries in pencil by a female hand, afterwards ascertained to be that of a Miss Caroline Lindsay, who, ere she perished herself, had witnessed the destruction of her family:—"Mamma died, July 12th; Alice died, July 9th; George died, June 27th. Entered the barracks, May 21st. Cavalry left, June 5th. First shot fired, June 6th. Uncle Willy died, June 18th; Aunt Lilly, June 17th. Left barracks, June 27th. Made prisoners as soon as we were at the river." Lieutenant John Saunders, of H.M. 84th, when brought before Nana Sahib, pulled out his revolver and shot down five of the guards. With his sixth round he missed the Nana, when he was seized, and underwent systematic mutilation and torture till death next day released him from unutterable agony.†

* Marshman.
† "Indian Mutiny to the Recapture of Lucknow."

Of the effect these stories had at home we find Macaulay writing thus:—"The cruelties of the sepoys have inflamed the nation to a degree unprecedented within my memory. Peace Societies, Aborigine Protection Societies, and Societies for the Reformation of Criminals, are silenced. There is one terrible cry for revenge! The account of that dreadful military execution at Peshawur—forty men blown at once from the mouths of cannon, their heads, legs, and arms flying in all directions—was read with delight by people who three months ago were against all capital punishment." *

A certain despondency now fell upon Havelock's force; their ranks had been thinned not only in combat but by cholera, which every day carried off some valuable life, and as their strength grew weaker, the magnitude of the task before them—to clear the way of rebels, and march to Lucknow—became more and more apparent. General Neill, when urged for reinforcements, could bring only 227 men with him, and more than these were necessary to garrison the town of which he took command, and where he instituted measures of such stern and inexorable justice as struck terror into the hearts of all evil-doers. The collector who had managed the massacre was caught on the 19th, and hanged from a tree.

"Whenever a rebel is caught," wrote General Neill, "he is immediately tried, and unless he can prove a defence, he is sentenced to be hanged at once; but the chief rebels or ringleaders I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of the women and children took place. To touch blood is most abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think by doing so they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so. My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. The first I caught was a soubahdar, or native officer, a high-caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very blood he had helped to shed; but I made the provost-marshal do his duty, and a few lashes compelled the miscreant to accomplish his task. When done he was taken out, immediately hanged, and after death buried in a ditch at the roadside. No one who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre can ever listen to the word 'mercy,' as applied to these fiends." †

In this spirit he continued daily to hang, flog, or blow from the guns all culprits, while Havelock prepared to advance into Oude, and was heard to

* "Lord Macaulay's Life," vol. ii.
† "Mutiny, to the Recapture of Lucknow."

exclaim, while thinking of the difficulties that lay before his slender force, "If the worst comes to the worst, we can but die with our swords in our hands." One of his first measures was to fortify a spot which would secure the passage of the Ganges, and the safety of the garrison he left behind. It was situated on the bank of the stream, and measured 200 yards in length by 100 in breadth. He made this field-work capable of defence by 300 men, and upon it he employed 4,000 labourers, who were encouraged to punctuality by daily payment; and it made such progress that it would evidently be in fighting order by the time the passage of the Ganges was achieved—a task of some difficulty, as it was now a swollen and impetuous torrent a mile in breadth. The bridge of boats had been cut by the mutineers, and there were neither craft nor boatmen to supply its place.

He procured a small steamer, in which, on the 21st of July, amid blinding torrents of rain, a detachment of Highlanders crossed, and landed in a swamp, where, had the enemy been on the alert, they might have been destroyed. A second detachment followed in the evening, and by the end of a week his whole force was over. It consisted of only 1,200 British and 300 native soldiers with ten guns, with which he began his eventful march into Oude by first advancing against the enemy at Onao, some eight miles from the Ganges, a small town flanked by an extensive swamp, the only approach to which was defended by fifteen guns, and where an advanced force of the mutineers was strongly posted within a village, the enclosure of which was in the form of a bastion, and all the houses of which were loopholed.

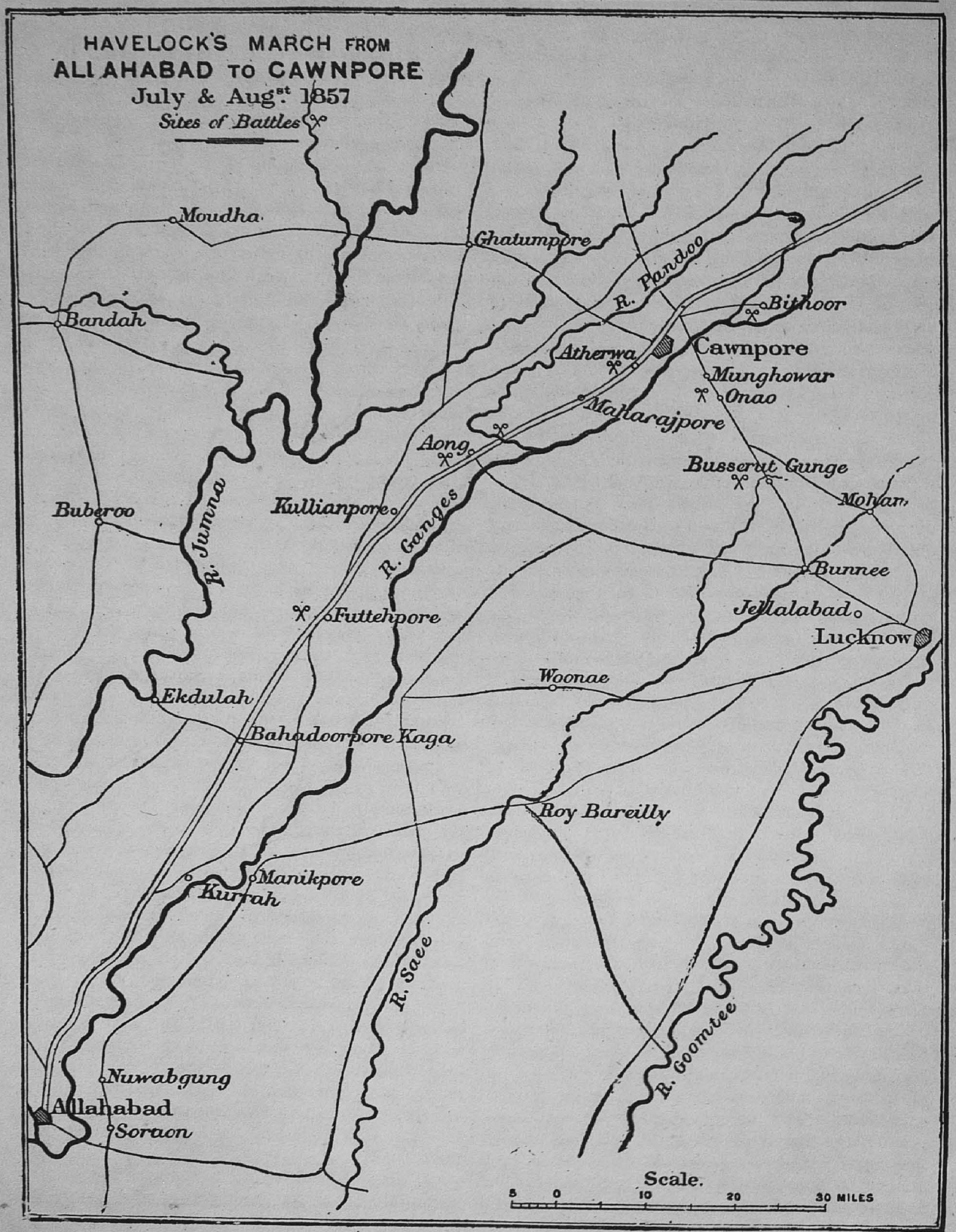
The attack was begun by the 78th Highlanders, who, with the Madras Fusiliers, flung themselves against the bastion and carried it, but met with such a biting fire from the houses that they were unable to capture the village till supported by the 64th, after which the guns were taken, and the whole force debouched between the village and the town of Onao, towards which the enemy were seen hastening in such strength, and with so many guns, that it was evident if they once established themselves there, all further advance would be barred, and the hope of succouring those now struggling in Lucknow might be destroyed.

Havelock had thus no alternative but to outstrip them. His column pushed on, and took post on the Lucknow side, where it commanded the high road, along which the enemy, still hoping to gain the race, were hurrying. Havelock allowed them to come on unmolested till they were in front of his line, when he suddenly opened with guns and musketry, and put them to flight, with the loss of 300 men and several pieces of cannon. During these manœuvres Jupah Sing, a lieutenant of the Nana, hung upon the British flank with cavalry, watching for the least symptoms of disorder to fall upon it.

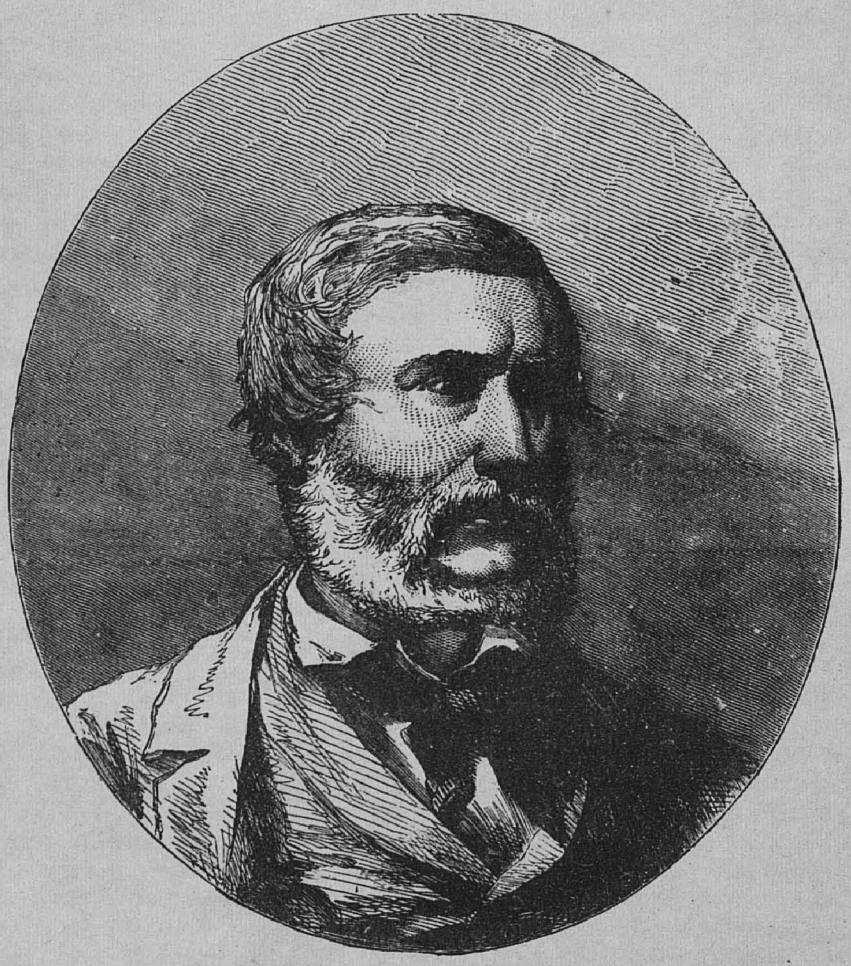
During the fierce noontide heat Havelock halted for four hours at Onao, and then pushed on to Busseret Gunge, a walled town, intersected by the Lucknow Road, which had been there trenched. Water protected the flanks of the town; four guns were above its gate, which was strongly barricaded; while the walls and turrets on each side were closely loopholed. But there was another gate on the left, to which the road was continued by a causeway across a sheet of water, about 150 yards wide and six feet deep. By this way the 64th were ordered to advance, while the Madras Fusiliers and 78th Highlanders were to storm the front gate, after a brief cannonade. A severe struggle ensued, yet the combined movements so alarmed the enemy that they abandoned the town, but not until we had eighty-eight officers and men killed or wounded.

Sickness now greatly impeded the triumphant march of the slender force, and though two victories had been won in one day, the prospect was a gloomy one, especially as fresh mutinies at Dinapore and elsewhere were adding to the strength and confidence of the rebels. Sickness and battle thinned the ranks so fast, that the whole ambulance available for those on the doctors' lists was already required. Havelock was, however, promised reinforcements—the 5th, from the Mauritius, and the 90th Perthshire Light Infantry, whose original destination had been China; but the pressure of affairs delayed the advance of these corps; and now a retrograde movement became imperative to deposit all convalescents safely in Cawnpore hospital. The order, equally repugnant to Havelock and his troops, was issued, and the column retired to Mungulwar, where they were within an easy distance of Cawnpore, and could encamp on a ridge which formed a strong position. There they were joined by 257 men, with five guns of Captain Olphert's battery, sent by General Neill; and even with this addition the force was no stronger than when it first crossed the Ganges; but it was now the month of August, and Havelock felt that another advance to Lucknow was imperative, or the massacres of Cawnpore and Delhi might be repeated there.

Quitting Mungulwar, the morning of the 5th saw him again before Busseret Gunge and before the


HAVELOCK'S MARCH FROM
ALLAHABAD TO CAWNPORE
July & Aug.st 1857
Sites of Battles
Moudha
Ghatumpore
R. Pandoo
Bithoor
Bandah
Atherwa
Cawnpore
Munghowar
Onao
Maharajpore
Aong
Busserut Gunge
Mohan
Buberoo
Kullianpore
R. Jumna
R. Ganges
Bunnee
Futtehpore
Jellalabad
Lucknow
Woonae
Ekdulah
Bahadoorpore
Kaga
Roy Bareilly
Manikpore
Kurrah
R. Saee
R. Goomtee
Nuwabgung
Allahabad
Soraon
Scale.
5 0 10 20 30 MILES

enemy, with only 1,400 men, but nearly all Europeans. His plan of attack was carried out more successfully than before. He formed his little force of volunteer cavalry in front, in such a manner as to make their numbers seem more than double what they really were, while under a furious cannonade the 64th and 84th pushed straight forward, and the 78th, Madras Fusiliers, the Sikhs, and Madras Battery, made a flank movement to the right, by which it had been discovered that access was easier than by the causeway on the left. As before, the enemy rushed out of the gate in that quarter, and made for the causeway, but Maude's Battery swept it by a dreadful storm of grape and shells, amid which they had literally to "run the gauntlet;" and so complete were their rout and panic, that they never halted till they reached Nawabgunge, five miles distant; but again Havelock was compelled to pause, for to reach Lucknow seemed more than ever impossible. The Gwalior Contingent had just mutinied in what was now the usual fashion, and he was informed that the Dinapore mutineers were marching into Oude from the east, and those of the contingent—in itself an army—well disciplined and perfect, had reached Calpee on the Jumna, only forty-five miles distant from Cawnpore. If he fell back, what would be the fate of the helpless garrison he was longing to succour? If he advanced, what might be his own? Hence, a prey to many corroding anxieties, he once more gave the bitter order to retreat on Mungulwar, whence he telegraphed to Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-chief, informing him of the precise condition of affairs.



PORTRAIT OF SIR HENRY HAVELOCK.

On the morning of the 11th of August, his force numbered precisely 1,000 fighting men, so heavily had sickness, sunstroke, and the late combat reduced its strength. Neill had only 250 men at Cawnpore fit for duty, and death had reduced the invalids to about the same number. About

Mungulwar and Lucknow the enemy were 30,000 strong, and three strongly-fortified positions lay between. At Bithoor a great force was collecting, and there the Nana had been joined by all the zemindars and villagers.

By means of rafts and boats, and taking advantage of three islands, a complete communication had been established between the Mungulwar and Cawnpore sides of the river, and the value of this was soon put to the proof, when Havelock was suddenly informed by General Neill that 4,000 men, with five guns, threatened his post. "I cannot stand this," he wrote; "they will enter the town, and our communications are gone; if I am not supported I can only hold out here; I can do nothing beyond our entrenchments. All the country between this and Allahabad will be up, and our powder and ammunition on the way, if the steamer, as I feel assured, does not start, will fall into the hands of the enemy, and we shall be in a bad way."

He was on the point of crossing to succour Neill when he learned that another 4,000 men, with some guns, had arrived at Busseret Gunge, and to do so then would have a fatal effect in Oude, so he resolved to try his strength with them ere leaving it. After sending over all his sick, wounded, and heavy baggage, on marching to Boorkiya, a mile and a half from Busseret Gunge (and on the way, seeing the peasantry flocking in arms to the enemy's post in such numbers as to double their strength), he found the mutineers strongly entrenched, with their right resting on the village and the main road, and their left on a ridge 400 yards distant, both flanks being defended by artillery. Along their front lay what seemed a dry grassy level, but which proved in reality to be a treacherous morass, when the right wing of his advancing force reached the margin of it. The pause was a very brief one. The 78th Highlanders, now, like the others, reduced to a mere skeleton corps, finding themselves cut up by the fire of two nine-pounders, suddenly uttered a yell of rage, and rushing on with charged bayonets, captured both pieces, and wheeling them round, opened fire with them on the enemy, who turned and fled.

"Well done, my brave Highlanders!" cried Havelock, as he galloped up to them; "you have this day saved yourselves and your comrades!" After this feat, the column returned to Mungulwar, without further molestation, and crossed the Ganges to Cawnpore, on the night of the 13th of August. But there was no repose for Havelock and his men. Only some ten miles distant were 4,000 rebels in position, under the Nana, at Bithoor, but Havelock and Neill concocted a plan for their dispersion, and on the 16th they marched for the purpose, at the head of 1,300 men, under a cloudless and vertical sun, the fierce glare of which was almost unbearable, and they found the enemy in one of the strongest situations they had yet occupied.

In front spread a plain dotted with villages and dense plantations of the sugar-cane and castor-oil plant, through which wound a stream on its way to the Ganges, and at that time too deep to be forded. Hence, the only access to the town, where stood the magnificent palace of the Nana, was by a narrow stone bridge, defended by a breastwork on its flank, and commanded by high ground and some massive edifices. In their ignorance, or, perhaps, from over-confidence, the enemy failed to make the most of this position, and by scattering themselves among the villages and plantations, left themselves no escape in case of defeat, save by the narrow bridge, which was in their rear, instead of being in front.

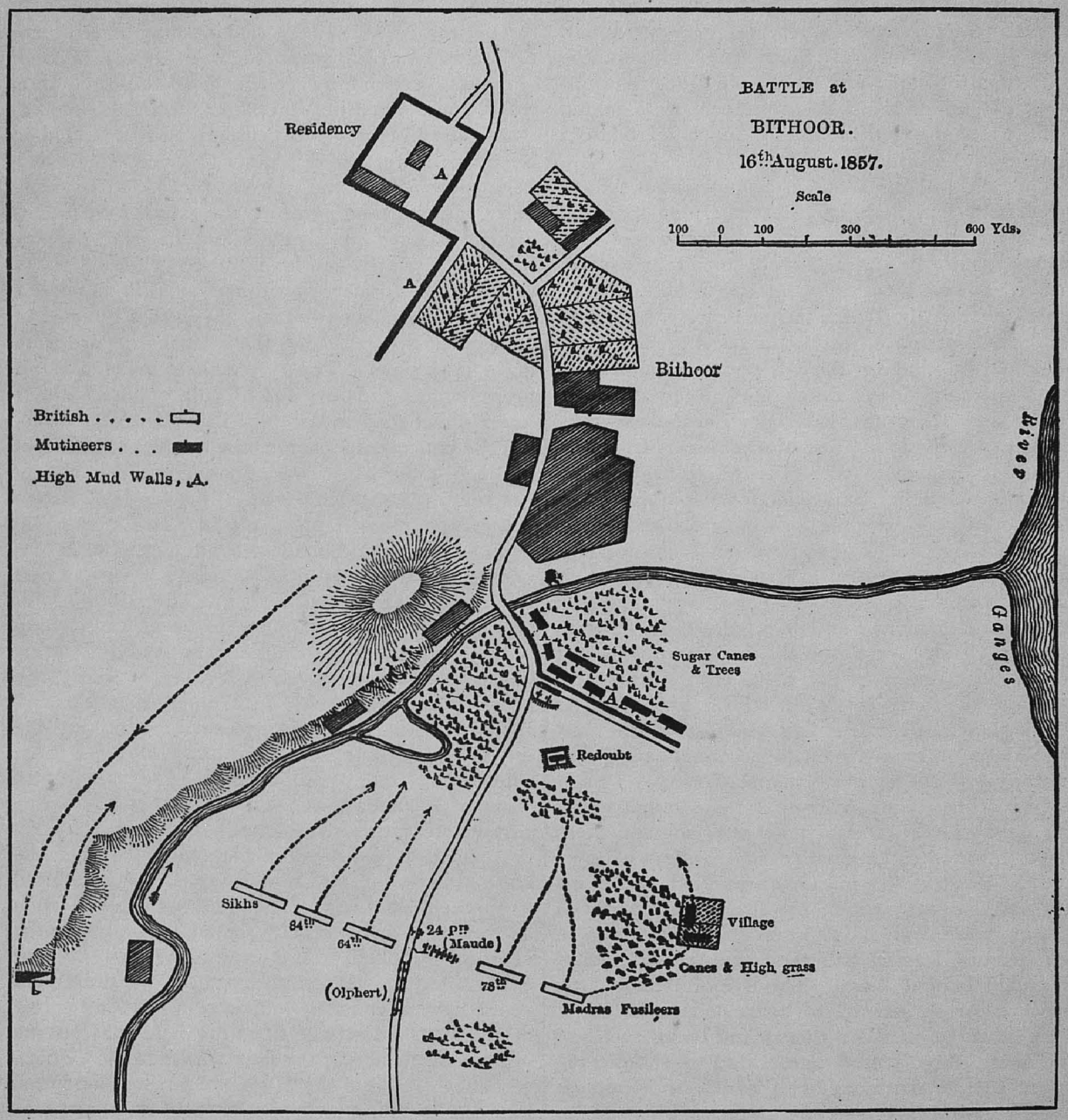
Advancing in echelon from the right, the 78th, the Madras Fusiliers, and Madras Battery, formed the right wing, the 64th, 84th, the Sikhs, and Olphert's Battery, formed the left. When the superiority of our artillery is considered, an easy victory might have been expected; but entrenched among the thickets and villages, the enemy stood well to their guns, till they were carried at the point of the bayonet; and when flight again became general, the want of cavalry was, as usual, felt, and Havelock asserted, that had he possessed some, not a rebel would have escaped. Moreover, we might have captured the infamous Nana, who fled with all his females across the Ganges into Oude, while our troops pillaged his palace, and gave it to the flames.

Neill was now compelled to urge that his handful of men, who had been marching and fighting for six weeks without intermission, should have some rest, or they must sink from sheer exhaustion. Havelock yielded to his opinion, but impatiently waited reinforcements. Aid from Allahabad was hopeless, for there, as at Benares, the British were in hourly alarm of attack or extended insurrection; so daily the situation of Havelock became one of greater peril; and after being full of hope to reach Lucknow, he was compelled to telegraph to the incompetent Government at Calcutta that he must abandon Cawnpore, as he had now only 700 men fit for duty, while 37,000 mutineers menaced him on every side. He had only eight ill-horsed guns, while the enemy had thirty, with all the necessary material. He declared his willingness to "fight anything and against all odds," but reminded the Calcutta

authorities that "the loss of a single battle would be the ruin of everything in that part of India."

On the 23rd of August he heard from Lucknow that the garrison was in sore extremity; that there were 100 sick and wounded; and 350 women and children to protect from cruelty and massacre.

The progress of those reinforcements he had at one time looked for with confidence, was arrested by a mutiny at Dinapore, a zilla, or collectorate, on the Ganges, a little above Patna, containing about 5,000 thatched huts, and only eight brick houses, irrespective of the European residences and public buildings. It had long been known that the native brigade there, consisting of the 7th, 8th, and 40th Regiments, had only been kept in check by the presence of H.M. 10th, a wing of H.M. 37th, and a six-gun field-battery. General Lloyd, who commanded there, was an aged officer, of the old



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BITHOOR.

Indian school, who believing in the faith of his beloved sepoys, turned a deaf ear to every suggestion for disarming them. Even when it was no longer possible to doubt their disaffection, he adopted temporising measures, and finally permitted them to march off with their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements; and before the Queen's troops could get under arms, the mutineers were in full flight, while the general was at lunch on board a steamer in the Ganges.

They crossed the Soane at a point about sixteen miles from Dinapore, and next morning marched into Arrah, a populous town of Behar, where they made a gaol delivery, and were joined by a rajah named Baboo Koer Sing, at the head of 3,000 armed men. Mr. Wake, the magistrate, had, with fortunate prescience, fortified a two-storeyed brick house, by building up the tall pointed windows of the upper and lower floors, and loopholing the latter, and there the resident Europeans—only sixteen civilians in all, one of whom was Mr. Boyle, a railway engineer—with fifty of Rattray's Sikh Police, took shelter, and defended themselves with desperation. Meanwhile, two days elapsed before General Lloyd could be induced to send a force in pursuit. It consisted of 230 men of the 37th, 150 of the 10th, fifty Sikhs, and twelve volunteers, officers and civilians; and the whole, under Captain Charles Dunbar, of the 10th, an officer who had seen much service in the East, left Dinapore by steamer, to rescue Mr. Wake's little garrison. At ten p.m. he made a brief halt near Arrah, and then pushed on, unluckily without reconnaissance, and severely was this omission punished.

In passing a thick grove of trees, through which the light of the waning moon was shining, there came upon them three successive volleys of musketry. Dunbar fell mortally wounded, while his soldiers strove to return the fire upon an unseen foe, but were compelled to make their way back to the steamer, leaving half their number killed and wounded behind them. The fate of Wake's little band at Arrah seemed to be sealed now. Still, their hearts never failed them; and being excellent rifle-shots, they struck terror into the besieging horde by the accuracy with which they aimed. On the 28th, two pieces of cannon were brought to bear upon the house, and the rebels were proceeding to undermine it, when the gallant Vincent Eyre came to relieve the little garrison, which must inevitably have been overpowered. He was on the march with his field-battery to Allahabad, and entered Dinapore on the very day of the mutiny. As Buxar and Ghazipore were reported to be in danger, he steamed to both, but finding no cause for alarm, resolved to relieve Arrah with all the Queen's troops he could pick up. Luckily, 160 of the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers had just arrived, and formed the nucleus of a field force, with which, and three guns, he started on the morning of the 2nd of August, and on advancing a little way beyond Gujragunge, found the rebels in force posted in a wood, and moving in two columns round his flanks.

As their intention was evidently to surround him, he opened fire with his guns at once. Screened behind broken ground, the enemy replied by musketry, notwithstanding which the skilful Eyre forced a clear passage for his guns and baggage beyond the woods, after which his advance became easy, as the road was formed by a causeway, with inundated rice-fields on either side, and these kept the enemy at such a distance that their musketry fire was quite innocuous. The major then made a flank movement towards the line of railway, along which was a direct road to Arrah. This change of direction he concealed for some time by a fire of artillery; but the moment it was discovered, the enemy hastened to arrest his progress; the horde of Baboo Koer Sing pressed upon his rear, while the disciplined Dinapore brigade moved parallel with him on his flank, and eventually took post in a wood that abutted on the railway; but, after a sharp combat, they were driven off, and early on the morning of the 3rd, the gallant fellows at Arrah were relieved, after a defence which Eyre records as "one of the most remarkable feats in Indian history." He then followed up his success by capturing the fort of Jugdespore, the stronghold of Koer Sing, who, undeterred by all this, assumed the title of King of Shahabad, and though in his 80th year, gave proof of considerable military talents.

As soon as the death of General Anson became known in London, Sir Colin Campbell was appointed to succeed him. When asked by the Premier when he would be able to start for India, he promptly, yet simply, replied, "To-morrow," and in twenty-four hours after he was on the sea. No appointment could have been more judicious. His long career of distinguished service since the field of Corunna—particularly during the later battles in the Crimea, when at the head of the Highland Brigade—pointed him out as the man in whom, amid an emergency so terrible as the sepoy revolt, Britain might repose confidence; and having spent many years of his active life in India, he knew the country well. By taking the overland route he outstripped nearly all the reinforcements of which "the Army of Deliverance" was to be composed; "but there was no reason to fear that the means placed at his disposal would prove inadequate, since the national

spirit, completely roused, was no longer to be satisfied with desultory efforts, and troops to the number of 30,000 had already left, or were preparing to leave, the British shores for India."

On the 13th of August, Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta, an event which had been preceded by that of another officer of the same stamp, Major-General Sir James Outram, who, after the conclusion of the Persian war, was without any fixed appointment, till he received the office of Chief Commissioner in Oude, with the local command of the Dinapore and Cawnpore divisions, now both vacant, one by the incompetency of General Lloyd, and the other by the murder of Sir Hugh Wheeler. He was thus placed over both Havelock and Neill, and lost no time in organising a movable column for the relief of Lucknow. On the first of September he arrived at Allahabad with the 5th Fusiliers, the Perthshire Light Infantry, and a company of artillery—in all only 1,500 men; but Captain Peel had formed a naval brigade of 500 seamen from his own frigate, the *Shannon*, and vessels in Calcutta, so, for the first time, the blue-jackets were sent into the interior of India.

The appointment given to Outram had an effect which was overlooked at the time. "It placed a superior officer in the district in which Havelock had achieved his glorious victories, and thus by reducing him to a subordinate position, really superseded him. The same thing took place in respect of General Neill when Havelock himself was appointed; and if regret was then felt, it is impossible not to feel it still more when, returning with Havelock from his victory at Bithoor, we see him take up the *Calcutta Gazette*, and receive from it his first intelligence of the fact that the command which had already given, and still promised to give him so many laurels, had passed into other hands." But with his characteristic magnanimity, Sir James—the Bayard of India—determined to leave to Havelock the honour of relieving Lucknow, and intimated his intention of accompanying him in his civil capacity alone, as Commissioner of Oude, and, with genuine chivalry, tendering his military services as a simple volunteer, and as such, he actually assumed the command of the Volunteer Horse, announcing that on the relief of Lucknow he would then resume his position at the head of the field-force.*

No time was now lost in resuming the advance upon Lucknow. On the 19th the relieving army crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats, and the rebels fell back on Mungulwar, where, on the 21st, they were attacked by Havelock at the head of 3,179 men with seventeen guns, and the slender Volunteer Horse. He completely routed them, and captured four guns. The soldier whose personal valour on this day was most conspicuous was Sir James Outram, who charged the battery sword in hand, at the head of the mounted volunteers, and captured the regimental colour of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry. As Havelock advanced the rebels rapidly retreated, abandoning four more guns, and throwing others into wells.

On the 22nd Sir James Outram reported to the Government the joyful intelligence, that firing at Lucknow was distinctly heard, and that a royal salute had been fired to announce the approach of the army of deliverance. And here it will be proper to return to the beleaguered force in that place, and show the condition to which a siege of more than two months of danger, toil, and anxiety had reduced it.

CHAPTER XLIX.

STATE OF LUCKNOW.—RELIEVED BY HAVELOCK AND OUTRAM.

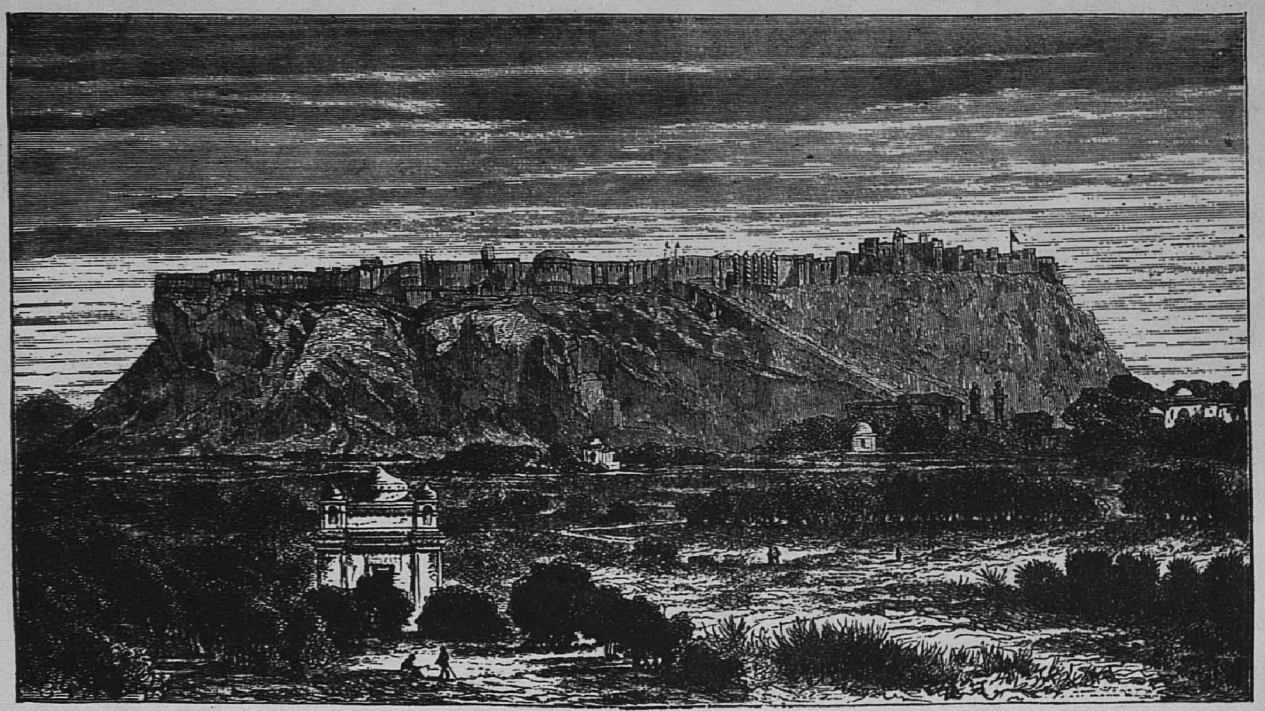
THE Mohurrum was near at hand, so that at Lucknow, as elsewhere, there was every fear that the stimulus of fanaticism would probably add to the courage and rancour of the enemy. From the Residency the incessant tom-tomming of their processions, and the shrill notes of their buffalo-horn bugles, were distinctly heard in the adjacent city. This Mohammedan festival is held on the anniversary of the deaths of Hossein and Hassan, whom the Shiahs view as martyrs to their faith, and reckon in the number of their twelve holy imaums. Nine days after the first of the forty days of the Mohurrum is the *Kutl ka Ruth*, or Night of Butchery, when the Shiahs sacrifice a goat to heaven; and in Lucknow it was never

* Division Order, Cawnpore, 15th Sept., 1857, &c.

doubted but that a holocaust of Feringhees would be a more acceptable offering; but some days before this, on the 23rd of August, Havelock received a letter from Colonel Inglis, of the 32nd, the brigadier commanding, in which he wrote thus, describing the situation of affairs :—

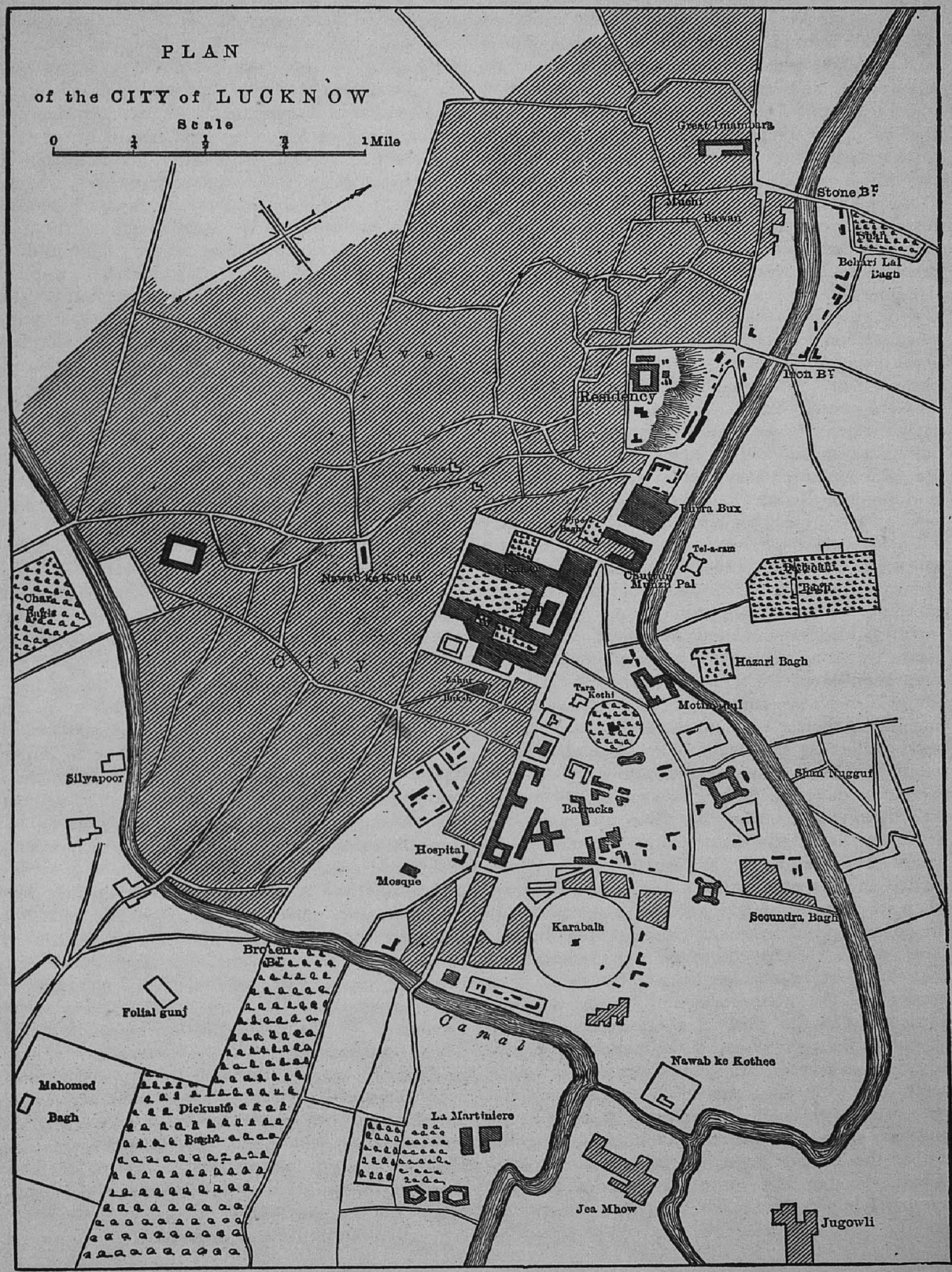
"If you hope to save this force, no time must be lost in pushing forward. We are daily being attacked by the enemy, who are within a few yards of our defences. Their mines have already weakened our post, and I have every reason to believe they are carrying on others. Their eighteen-pounders are within 150 yards of some of our batteries, and from their position, and our inability to form working parties, we cannot reply to them, and consequently the damage done hourly is very great. My strength now in Europeans is 350, and about 300 natives, and the men are dreadfully harassed, and owing to part of the Residency having been brought down by round shot, many are without shelter. Our native force having been assured, on Colonel Tytler's authority, of your near approach some twenty-four days ago, are naturally losing confidence; and if they leave us, I do not see how the defences are to be manned."

To detail the perils, dangers, and events of such a defence as that of Lucknow would require a history for itself. The hospital was always full, and many unfortunate creatures had to lie on cloaks or coats for want of bed and bedding. Though the windows were barricaded, shot and shell frequently forced their way in, and ended the miseries of many. Most arduous were the duties, and heroic the endurance of the slender medical staff; for the hospital was crammed as much with the sick as the wounded, owing to the pestilential atmosphere, the result of crowding in the Residency, the graves, and heaps of putrid matter accumulated everywhere; while among other annoyances were the flies, that came in clouds, blackening everything, and, as one correspondent has it, "obstinately disputing every mouthful of food." These flies were a source of great disgust and horror; they were large, cold, and clammy, and came from the corpses that were festering everywhere in the vicinity.



VIEW OF GWALIOR.

On the 28th of July the enemy adopted some new missiles, and threw in "a number of stink-pots, which were a very curious composition of large pieces of our exploded shells, sewn up in canvas, and surrounded by flax and resin, with dry powder in the centre. These had been thrown in daily from a howitzer; they made a fearful hissing noise, a great stench, and finally exploded. They were not very dangerous, unless they exploded close to a person."



PLAN OF LUCKNOW.

By the successful explosion of a mine nearly eighty of the rebels were slain. Immediately afterwards two sallies were made, one led by Captain Fulton, who attacked some adjacent buildings, drove the enemy out, and then blew them up; the other, under the gallant Lieutenant Bernard M'Cabe, of the 32nd, an officer who had served in eight pitched battles, and was the first man who planted the British standard on the ramparts of Moultan. He was not less successful, and returned with the loss of only one man, a soldier of the 32nd.*

But in describing this siege we cannot do better than quote the words of Brigadier Inglis. After detailing that the enemy had kept up an incessant fire of guns and musketry till the 20th of July, when at ten a.m. on that day they exploded a great mine within his outer line of defences for the purpose of destroying the Redan Battery—a measure which failed:—"But, as soon as the smoke cleared away," he continues, "the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan; but they were received with such a heavy fire, that after a short struggle they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes' post, and came on within ten yards of the palisades, affording to Lieutenant Loughman, 13th Native Infantry, who commanded the position, and his brave garrison, composed of gentlemen of the uncovenanted service, a few of H.M. 32nd Foot, and of the 13th Native Infantry, an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The insurgents made minor attacks at almost every outpost; but were invariably defeated, and at two p.m. they ceased their attempts to storm the place, although their musketry fire and cannonading continued to harass us unceasingly as usual. Matters proceeded in this manner until the 10th of August, when the enemy made another assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the brigade mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew in a great portion of the house occupied by Mr. Schillig's garrison. On the dust clearing away a breach appeared, through which a regiment might have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination; but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the brigade mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their number lying in the breach. While this operation was going on, another large body advanced on the Cawnpore Battery, and succeeded in locating themselves in the ditch. They were, however, dislodged by hand-grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling-ladders; but here, as elsewhere, they were met with the most indomitable resolution, and the leaders being slain, the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loopholed defences, from whence they kept up for the rest of the day an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. On the 18th of August the enemy sprang another mine in front of the Sikh lines, with very fatal effect. Captain Orr (unattached), Lieutenants Micham and Soppit, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air; but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a violent shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No less than eleven men were buried under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, and the enemy were consequently repulsed without much difficulty; but they succeeded, under cover of the breach, in establishing themselves in one of the houses of our position, from which they were driven in the evening by the bayonets of H.M. 32nd and 84th Foot. On the 5th of September the enemy made their last serious assault. Having exploded a large mine within a few feet of the bastion of the eighteen-pounder gun in Major Apthorp's post, they advanced with large and heavy scaling-ladders, which they planted against the wall and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were, however, speedily driven back with loss by hand-grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the brigade mess, but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in front of the post, bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader—a fine-looking old native officer—among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success. Their loss upon this day must have been very heavy, as they came on with much determination, and at night were seen bearing large numbers of their killed and wounded over the bridges in the direction of the cantonments."*

* Rees' "Journal."

* Brigadier Inglis' Despatch.

So passed day after day, and week after week, till the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting shelter for the women and children, so many houses had been destroyed by the round shot from the enemy's guns; and the effluvia from the churchyard became so dreadful that the chaplain, the Rev. J. P. Harris, though fearless in the discharge of his duty, was compelled to read the funeral service over the dead in the hospital porch, instead of accompanying them to the grave. Night after night the solemn service was read over the lifeless bodies of brave men and heroic women, and over little babes, and very piteous were some of the scenes that took place beside the death-beds of young children, while the din of cannon and musketry loaded the air round Lucknow.

On the 29th of August news came from Cawnpore in a letter brought by a boy. Relief was promised in three weeks, and the besieged learned the gallant efforts made by Havelock's little band before it had been compelled to fall back upon Cawnpore. On the 22nd of September, Rees has the following entry in his journal:—

"Spies came in last night. Generals Outram and Havelock are actually coming to our relief. This is true! How can I describe my joy even at the bare thought of our being relieved!"

The day of deliverance was indeed approaching. We have said that Havelock's army mustered 3,179 men. Of these 2,388 were British infantry, 109 British volunteer horse, 282 British artillery, 341 Sikh infantry, and 59 irregular cavalry. They were formed in two brigades; the 1st under General Neill, and the 2nd under Colonel Henry Hamilton, of the 78th Highlanders. On the 21st, after clearing the way at Mungulwar, they bivouacked under torrents of rain, and next morning an advance was made to Bunna, on the Sye, where it was never doubted the passage of that river would be hotly disputed by the rebels; but the latter, filled with genuine alarm by the events of the previous day, continued their retreat, without even attempting to secure it by the destruction of the bridge, and they were not again seen till the 23rd, on the morning of which they were found in force in the vicinity of the Alumbagh, a princely palace belonging to the kings of Oude, about four miles from Lucknow—"the garden of the Lady Alum, or the Beauty of the World." Within a park of great extent it was enclosed by a lofty quadrangular wall with turrets at the angles; and, in addition to the main building, had an extensive range of offices to accommodate the vast number of servants necessary for a great Indian household.

It was evident that at this point they were determined to risk a battle and cover the siege of Lucknow, as they were formed in a line that extended nearly two miles with their right and centre posted on some mounds, and their left resting on the Alumbagh. Their strength here was about 1,500 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, with six guns. Havelock's plan of attack was to turn the flank of their right wing, but an intervening morass rendered it necessary to make a considerable détour; and while this movement was being executed the troops were exposed to a sharp cannonade, till the guns were silenced by Vincent Eyre's brigade of twenty-four-pounders. At the same time the enemy's cavalry on the right were hurled back in confusion, and the whole line of infantry fell into disorder and dismay.

The greatest resistance was met with at the Alumbagh, in the front wall of which two port-holes had been formed after the conflict commenced, and guns run through them, the fire of which had a serious effect; till the field-guns and the 5th Fusiliers with their bayonets cleared the whole edifice, and ended all opposition. Leaving five guns behind them, the enemy fled to Lucknow, and just as the troops were about to bivouac for the night, tidings came in of the capture of Delhi by Wilson's conquering column.

As there had been no communication from the besieged for some time, their fate was more than doubtful; but on this day all anxiety was ended, for the guns of the Residency were heard in the distance answering that salute which announced the approach of the relieving force. Still the hope of the others was chequered with fear. Brigadier Inglis knew that Havelock's force was small, under 4,000 men at most, while the rebels, said to be 50,000 strong, were prepared to dispute their passage into Lucknow.

During the halt in the Alumbagh, on the 24th, Havelock, Outram, and Neill consulted as to the direction in which the relief was to be made. Advanced pickets were already posted at the Charbagh (or Four Gardens) Bridge, which crossed a canal about a mile and a half beyond the country palace, and from thence the Cawnpore Road, passing to the left of the Topkulla, led directly into the city of Lucknow. Aware that this was the shortest and most direct way to the Residency, the enemy had thrown up barricades, and cut deep trenches across it, while loopholing all the houses on both sides of the street, and filling them with men. The idea of fighting a passage in by this route was therefore abandoned, and the generals resolved, after crossing the Charbagh Bridge, to proceed eastward

along a lane, and passing the corner of the Kaiserbagh, a royal garden on the left, thus reach the Residency.

Under a guard of 300 men, the strongest force that could be spared for the purpose, the sick, the wounded, and the baggage were left in the Alumbagh, and at eight a.m. on the 25th, the force moved off for Lucknow, Sir James Outram leading with the first brigade, and Havelock following with the second; but the colours were barely uncased when the struggle began, and men were falling killed and wounded, ere they could reach the Charbagh Bridge, near which three guns, covered by the rebel marksmen, raked the way. At the bridge itself there was a desperate struggle, for there were planted six guns, one of them a twenty-four-pounder, while all the adjacent houses were loopholed and filled with musketry. So severe was the fire, that the men were ordered to lie down under such cover as they could find, and let it pass over them, while Captain Maude brought up two guns with which to encounter the enemy's six.

Our men stood in the open road, without shelter, while the enemy fired from a breast-high barricade; hence, to end this destructive work, the Madras Fusiliers were ordered to clear the way at the point of the bayonet, and bravely they did so. The moment the order was issued, Lieutenant Arnold, at the head of a section, rushed on without waiting for the rest, and received a shower of grape, which broke both his legs, and swept away ten men. Two staff-officers joined in this headlong rush. One, Colonel Fraser-Tytler, had his horse shot under him; while the other, Lieutenant Henry M. Havelock, spurred his horse to the bridge, where he kept brandishing his sword till the Fusiliers came up and cleared the way. Then Lucknow rose before them, with all its gilded minarets, its rich domes, its splendid mosques and many palaces, its regular and thickly-crowded streets of houses, but all relieved by beautiful gardens, stately parks, and foliaged trees. By this time, in the Residency, while their hearts beat high with hope and gladness, the besieged could see the smoke and hear the rattle of the musketry as the street-fighting went on, and the stream of fire approached their intrenchments; for, leaving the bridge in their rear, the relieving force proceeded in a northerly direction as far as the Secunder Bagh, where they made an abrupt wheel westward to the left, and passing Shah Nujjeef on the right, came within a short distance of the Motee Mahal, close by the Goomtee, and there the most desperate part of the work began.

At this point, nearly a mile eastward from the Residency, the whole strength of the enemy was concentrated for a final struggle. From the Kaiserbagh a heavy battery opened upon our troops, which, in unison with the musketry, poured a fire so terrible as to render all further advance next to an impossibility. Vincent Eyre, with two of his heavy guns, succeeded in twice silencing the battery for a time; but the opposition might not have been overcome at all if relief had not arrived from an unexpected quarter.

A detachment of the 78th Highlanders, who had been left at the Charbagh Bridge for a time, had been following the main body of the regiment, which, with the Perthshire Light Infantry, was under Havelock, till they came to a point where all trace of the advance was lost, and they knew not which way to turn in the hostile city; but, being most providentially guided by the sound of firing, they wheeled off to the left by a street, which brought them straight to the gate of the Kaiserbagh. This gave them an opportunity of taking the obnoxious battery in reverse, and then their bayonets made wild work among its defenders, after which they effected a junction with the rest of the troops.

Though the Residency now was only 500 yards distant, as night was at hand, and a whole day had been spent in fighting, a halt was proposed, but the whole troops refused to rest till the great end of their purpose had been achieved; so the Highlanders and Sikhs were ordered to lead the way. They pushed on through a literal storm of missiles, supported by the Madras Fusiliers, under the gallant Neill, who was here shot through the head, ere he had added the reputation of a general to his high renown as a soldier. He was the son of Colonel Neill, an Ayrshire proprietor. He had served in the first Burmese War, and commanded the Turkish Contingent in the Crimea. As he fell from his horse, a wilder impulse seemed, if possible, to seize the troops, and dashing on through every obstacle, they found the reward of all their toils and perils, when the gates of the Residency were flung open to receive them.

"Thank God!" exclaims Rees, "we then gazed upon new faces of countrymen. We ran up to them, officers and men without distinction, and shook them by the hand, how cordially who can describe? The shrill tones of the Highlanders' bagpipes now met our ears. Not the most beautiful music ever was more welcome, more joy-bringing. And these brave men themselves, many of them bloody and exhausted, forgot the loss of their comrades, the pain of their wounds, the fatigue of overcoming the fearful obstacles they had combated for our sakes, in the pleasure of having accomplished our relief." *

* "Siege of Lucknow." By Ruutz Rees.

LIBRARY. MADRAS

Another eye-witness, an officer of the staff, writes thus of the scene, as the Highlanders and Sikhs, who were the first in, arrived:—"Once seen, all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended, and then the garrison's long pent-up feelings of anxiety burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench, and battery—from behind the sand-bags piled on shattered houses—from every post held by a few gallant spirits, rose cheer upon cheer: men from the hospital crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten! The delight of the ever-gallant Highlanders, who had fought twelve battles to enjoy that moment of ecstacy, and in the last four days had lost a third of their number, knew no bounds. The general and Sir James Outram had entered Dr. Fayrer's, and the ladies in the garrison and their children crowded with intense excitement into the porch to see their deliverers. The Highlanders rushed forward, the rough-bearded warriors, and shook the ladies by the hand with loud and repeated gratulations. They took the children up in their arms, and fondly caressing them, passed them from one to another in turn. Then, when the first burst of enthusiasm was over, they mournfully turned to speak among themselves of the heavy losses they had sustained, and to inquire the names of the numerous comrades who had fallen in the way."

Under the guidance of Lieutenant William R. Moorsom, of H.M. 52nd, who acted as deputy quartermaster-general, and also as guide to Sir James Outram (being intimately acquainted with Lucknow, of which he had once made a survey),* the remainder of the troops, who were at the Fureid Buksh, 500 yards distant, at the time the Highlanders and Sikhs entered the Residency, were conducted thither without further loss; but the rear-guard, consisting of the 90th Perthshire, under Colonel Robert Campbell (who served in the Kaffir War with the 73rd) were less fortunate. They had been left at the Motee Munzil, to cover the advance of the Highlanders, who were not known at that time to have chanced upon a route that was more direct than that taken by the main body.

The regiment had with it two heavy guns, the tumbrils of spare ammunition, and the lately wounded, and remained halted at its post during the night; but when day broke, Mr. Thornhill, of the Civil Service, volunteered to lead the way for the wounded. Unfortunately, his knowledge of Lucknow proved unequal to the task; and he guided the convoy of litters into a square, where the enemy opened a sputtering fire from every point. The escort fell back, the dhoolie-bearers fled, and nearly forty of the wounded were instantly butchered by the mutineers.

In achieving the first relief of Lucknow—for eventually it only proved a temporary one—the killed, wounded, and missing of the force (the latter being wounded may be included among the former, as the foe murdered all who fell into their hands) amounted, on the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers, non-commissioned officers, rank and file.

The garrison of Lucknow consisted originally, at the beginning of the siege, of 927 Europeans and 765 natives. The casualties were 350 Europeans and 133 natives killed; of the latter, 230 deserted. Of the original garrison, when relieved on the 25th September, there remained alive, including sick and wounded, 577 Europeans and 402 natives.*

As an instance of the cannonading undergone, in the brigade mess alone, 435 round-shot were found; not less than 10,000 had struck the various buildings, and as for musket-shot, they lay about in myriads. More than 400 of the defenders of the garrison are interred in the churchyard.†

Had Havelock been a little later, nothing short of a miracle could have prevented all that had been done at Delhi and Cawnpore from being re-enacted at Lucknow; unless the garrison did as they once talked of doing—namely, blow up the women, children, and wounded, to save them from worse at the hands of the insurgents, and then to have died themselves fighting among the ruins.‡

Sir James Outram had organised an intelligence department, under Captains Carnegie and Orr, who discovered some curious circumstances in the city. There the mutineers had crowned as King of Oude a child eight years of age (a natural son of the ex-king), named Burges Kadr. He was to be, like his ancestors, a tributary king under the now captive Mogul, and was to govern under a council of state. The army was fully officered; but they were chosen by their men, who elected and degraded, or murdered them at will. The insurgents had in their hands some prisoners, among whom were Sir Mountstuart Jackson and Miss Jackson; Captain Patrick Orr, lately a deputy commissioner in the Malloon district, with his wife and child; Lieutenant Burns, Sergeant-Major Norton, and a Miss Christian, whose parents had been murdered at Seetapore. They had all been manacled and horribly treated, and Sir Mountstuart Jackson was

* "Records 52nd Foot."

* Gubbins' "Mutinies in Oude."

† Rees' "Personal Narrative." ‡ Ibid., p. 248.

afterwards murdered, negociations for the release of the party having failed.

The garrison and the relieving force now found themselves alike unable to quit Lucknow, which at first they had intended to do forthwith. There was found in the Residency, on a new examination being made, food sufficient to feed the whole united force for two months; this discovery on one hand, with a knowledge, on the other, that it was impracticable to procure the means of conveying sick, wounded, women, children, and stores, caused the generals to determine on an occupation of the Residency till further reinforcements came.

The little force left in the Alumbagh caused them much anxiety, and an attempt was made to open up a communication with it by the Cawnpore road on the 3rd October; but there were difficulties in the way of this, for the enemy had taken heart anew, resumed the offensive, and placed the whole force in a close state of blockade. Fortunately for itself, the isolated detachment was able, by the strength of the Alumbagh, to repel any attempt to surprise the post, and by frequent sallies in its vicinity, together with supplies brought under escort from Cawnpore, to be free from all fear of starvation.

The area occupied by the garrison of the Residency being insufficient for its accommodation now, an addition was made to it on the north, by which the mutineers were thrust back fully a thousand yards; the defences were rendered stronger, and points formerly weak were rendered perfectly secure. On the southern and western sides new works were thrown up and damages repaired, and a series of mines were constructed on both sides, which Sir James Outram, in one of his despatches, asserted to have no parallel in modern warfare. There were sunk twenty-one shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, with a gallery of 3,291 feet. Against the palaces and outposts the enemy ran twenty mines; of these three were exploded with a loss of life, three did no injury, and seven were blown in. The enemy were driven out of seven others at the point of the bayonet, and their galleries captured by our miners, thus evincing the skill of the engineer department.



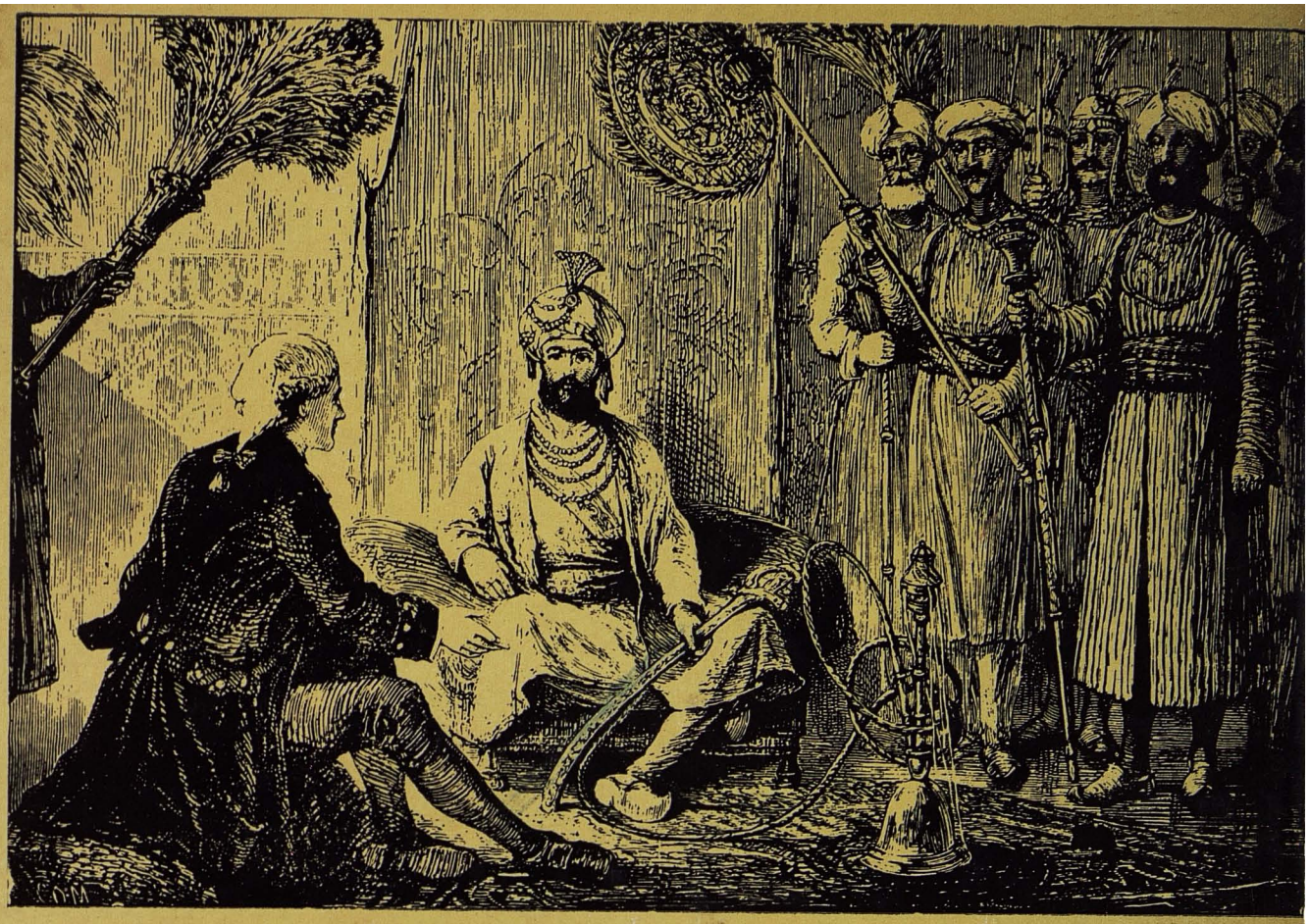
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