the voyage between England and India. The Court of Dire willingly supported his arrangements for the creation of a fleet on the Ganges, but his efforts to improve the communica with England by a steam service to Suez did not command enthusiasm at the India House, and the new service was all to drop. The regular communication between Europe and Indi Suez was deferred until 1843, when it was undertaken by the newly formed Peninsular and Oriental Company, which flourishes.[1] Lord William Bentinck did not attempt to intro railways into India. That innovation was left for Lord Dalh in 1848. The earliest railway in Great Britain had been open 1825 on a small scale.

Finance. The all-important subject of finance receive due share of attention from Lord William Bentinck, who well-considered steps to increase the revenue, especially that the opium monopoly, as well as to reduce the expenditure. reductions in the military budget were, perhaps, excessive; on the whole the financial administration was successful, transformed the deficit into a surplus.

N. W. P. 'settlements'. The 'settlements' in the N Western Provinces, now called the Province of Agra, made Regulation IX of 1833, already mentioned, increased the re at the same time as they provided a record of rights and an ment generally fair, although sometimes rather heavy. largest share of the credit for the successful working of the R tion is due to Mr. Robert Merttins Bird, who was appoint 1832 member of the newly constituted Board of Reven Allahabad. He was aided by a staff of highly qualified settle officers, whose reports are still a mine of information.[2]

'Resumption'. A considerable increase in the land re of the permanently settled provinces was obtained by the 'r tion' and assessment of a large number of estates which had alleged to be revenue free. The process, which continued Lord William Bentinck's time to 1850, is the main explan of the increase in the land revenue of Bengal from 286 lak 1790–1 to 323 lakhs in 1903–4.

Extension of employment of Indians. The financial re and economies effected by Lord William Bentinck were intim connected with his personal policy concerning the larger em ment of the cheaper Indian element in the judicial and exe administration of the country. He had the courage to r boldly the erroneous policy of Lord Cornwallis and to act deci on the principles laid down by Sir Thomas Munro and Sir C

[1] The Company, originally established for the service of the ports 'Peninsula', meaning Spain and Portugal, obtained the right to its operations to India under royal charter granted in 1840.

[2] Probably the author is now (1918) the only person living wh read all those old *Reports*. He had to go through them when pre the *Settlement Officer's Manual for the N. W. P.*, published at Alla in 1881.

Metcalfe. He followed generally the lines prescribed by Metcalfe the following passage:

Native functionaries in the first instance in all departments. European intendents, uniting the local powers of judicature, police, and revenue all their branches through the districts over which they preside. Com- sioners over them, and a Board over them, communicating with and ect to the immediate control of the Government.'

In pursuance of the new policy a Board of Revenue was constituted Allahabad; Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit were pointed; certain classes of judicial work were entrusted to ctors; the office of district magistrate was combined with that collector; the cumbrous and useless provincial courts were olished; Indian officers were entrusted with responsible judicial executive duties, decently paid; in especial, the functionaries known as subordinate judges were appointed; and, in short, administration was organized very much in the form which it (1918) retains. Madras, however, never adopted the institution commissioners. Lord William Bentinck, filled with the spirit ich carried the British Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832, was first of the modern Governors-general; and, in spite of the s noted in the early part of this chapter, deserves credit for clear vision which enabled him to construct for the first time ally workable, efficient framework of administration, offering the natives of the country reasonable opportunities for the rcise of their abilities, and capable of the expansion still in gress.

Indian army. Lord William Bentinck held sensible views t the Native or Indian Army, which had deteriorated rapidly value after 1818. The Madras sepoys, who had done such odid service in earlier days, were inefficient in Burma and g, while the Bengal Army was being slowly ruined by the sive indulgence of caste prejudices, the retention of worn-out rs, European and Indian, and general slackness of discipline. Governor-general in a minute recorded on March 13, 1835, first published by Mr. Boulger, rightly declared 'the Indian y to be the least efficient and the most expensive in the world'. general soundness of his opinions on army matters was proved the events of 1857, and by many incidents which occurred prior the outbreak of the mutiny in that year.

Abolition of suttee. The most famous of Lord William's ons, the abolition of suttee, was the result of a resolve certainly ed very early in his term of office, and probably almost decided before he quitted England. The proposal 'to wash out this stain upon British rule' had been often discussed by his decessors and private persons in a half-hearted fashion without ult, because the government dreaded the reproach of inter- ce with Hindu religion and was nervous about possible resent- t among the sepoys of the native army. Lord William Bentinck layed no undue haste in his preparations for the overdue m. He secured the unanimous approval of the judges of the

highest criminal court, and a decided preponderance of opin in his favour from army officers, high police officials, impor civil administrators, and many notable private individuals, am whom Rāmmohan Rāi is the best known to fame. The Gover general's inquiries satisfied him that no substantial danger popular excitement or of disaffection in the army was to be fear He then carried Regulation XVII of 1829, which settled the troversy for ever. The Regulation applied directly to the Be presidency only, that is to say, to all British India except the Ma and Bombay presidencies; but was quickly followed by sim enactments in those territories; the Bombay law taking a diffe form for special reasons. The burning or burying alive of wid was declared illegal and punishable by the criminal courts 'culpable homicide', equivalent to 'manslaughter' in Eng law. When violence or compulsion should be used, or the free of the victim should be interfered with by the administration drugs, the offence might be treated as murder and punished death. The Regulation was upheld by the Privy Council in 1 when the appeal of certain influential Bengālīs was dismissed. popular excitement was aroused, nor was the loyalty of the nat army affected by the measure. The reasoning of the Gover general's minute was justified in all points by experience, and action, as Thornton candidly allows, deserves 'eternal honour

The principle. The decision of Lord William Ben affirmed the important principle that a civilized legislature ma lawfully and rightly forbid acts which violate the universal of morality and the ordinary feelings of humanity, even such acts have, as suttee had, the sanction of immemorial cus Brahmanical tradition, and, to a certain extent, of ancient tures deemed sacred. Although it may be, and presumabl true that no section of Hindu opinion would now venture op to demand the repeal of the legislation of 1829 and the authori of suttee, the feeling in favour of the rite probably is not ext A case occurred in Bihār as late as 1905, and sporadic cases d the nineteenth century in various localities are on record. We however, believe that the sentiment which favoured the at is no longer general, and is dying out. If that belief be co the legislation of Lord William Bentinck may claim credit having effected a definite improvement in Hinduism. Other might be cited to show that contact with a foreign civiliz and a different code of ethics has been instrumental in develo a neo-Hinduism more humane than the old.[1]

[1] 'The term Suttee, or Satī, is strictly applicable to the person rite; meaning "a pure and virtuous woman"; and designates th who completes a life of uninterrupted conjugal devotedness by the *Saha-gamana*, accompanying her husband's corpse. It has come in usage to denote the act' (H. H. Wilson). For details of the horrors practice see J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, &c., 2nd London, Seely, 1830; 3rd ed. 1832. That book, based mainly on documents, deals also with infanticide, slavery, the cruelties con

History of suttee. It is almost certain that the practice of voluntary self-immolation by a widow is a refinement on the earlier more savage custom of sacrificing widows and slave girls at master's sepulchre without asking their consent. That custom prevalent among many of the tribes in Central and Western and even in Eastern Europe, who may be called Scythians general way, and there can be little doubt that the suttee rite brought into India by early immigrants over the north-ern passes. The Greek authors state that it was practised the half-foreign city of Taxila along with other startling customs, that it also prevailed among the Kathaioi, who dwelt on the ks of the Rāvī. A custom that was notorious and well estab-ed in the Panjāb in the fourth century B. C. must have been duced much earlier. The high antiquity of suttee, therefore, t be admitted, and it is also true that the practice is com-ded in some ancient scriptures of recognized authority. The was never universal, either in all parts of India, or among all es and classes, nor was it ever regarded as obligatory on all ons. The voluntary self-immolation of a widow was ordinarily ted as a special act of devotion and an exceptional honour to family. But the sacrifice was often, and especially in the case princes, compulsory, so that scores or hundreds of women might and actually were, burnt at the funeral of a single Rājā, with without their consent. The most wholesale burnings on record those perpetrated from the fourteenth to the sixteenth ury at the obsequies of the Telugu Rāyas of Vijayanagar.[1] between the years 1815 and 1828 suttees were extremely rous in Bengal, and especially in the districts around Calcutta. worst year was 1818, when 839 burnings were recorded for the ts of the Bengal presidency, including Rohilkhand, of which curred in the Calcutta division. In 1828 the corresponding bers were 463 and 309. The evil, therefore, existed on a large and called urgently for remedy.[2]

The practice had been often locally prohibited both by Hindu ers and by European officers. It was forbidden in the Pēshwā's nal domains and in the Tanjore Marāthā principality. Early the pilgrimage to Jagannāth, the scandals of the pilgrim tax, and evils of unreformed Hinduism previous to 1830.

Duniz states that 'when a captain dies, however many wives he has, all burn themselves; and when the king dies, they do the same'. times the sacrifice was accomplished by burial alive. The same credits the King or Rāya with 500 wives, 'and all of these burn lves at his death'. The earlier traveller, Nicolo Conti, was informed the King had 12,000 wives, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 were selected ndition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves him, which is considered to be a great honour for them' (Sewell, *orgotten Empire* (1900), pp. 84, 370, 391). A cinder mound near puram, north-east of Vijayanagar, marks the scene of those appalling sts (Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, Madras, 1917, p. 41).

[2] figures give the suttees officially reported. Many unreported must have occurred.

in the sixteenth century Albuquerque forbade it at Goa ; and different times individual British officers had ventured to prohi it in their respective jurisdictions. But a general law was nec in order to effect appreciable reform.

The Regulation, as confirmed by later enactments, has b generally effective, and its provisions have been adopted subst tially by many of the Protected States. Modern cases of sutte British provinces are rare.

Thuggee. The government of Lord William Bentinck has its credit the suppression of a second semi-religious atrocity, organized secret system of murder called Thuggee, which practised by both Muhammadans and Hindus with the suppo sanction of the Hindu goddess, variously named Kālī, D Durgā, or Bhawānī. The initiated regarded their victims as sa fices pleasing to that deity, on whose protection they relied unquestioning faith. They never felt the slightest compunc or remorse for their crimes, however horrible, believing themse to be predestined to their mode of gaining a living, as their vict were to death. The system probably attained its highest deve ment in the early years of the nineteenth century, during wh thousands of travellers must have been slaughtered annu One man confessed to having been concerned in the murde 719 persons.

The Thugs, or cheats, as the word means,[1] formed a secret soci extending over the whole of India, except the Konkan on t western coast. They used among themselves a secret code words and signs intelligible to initiated Thugs everywhere. Ini tion was effected by an impressive ceremonial, including consumption of *gur* or raw sugar in a sacramental manner. T organization was complete, each man having his special d whether as strangler, gravedigger, scout, or other. The g varied greatly in strength, the largest recorded having numb 360 men. In every part of the country they enjoyed protec and aid from many chiefs, landholders, and merchants, osten respectable. Such persons were sometimes actually member the secret society. Thugs occasionally obtained employme the service of European gentlemen, and performed their duti the satisfaction of their employers, taking leave now and the go secretly on an expedition.

The Thugs, favoured by the insecure state of the roads and lack of efficient police, travelled in gangs large or small, usually armed, and appearing to be pilgrims, ascetics, or other harmless farers. By means of ingenious tricks and false pretences they sec the confidence of their intended victims, who were murdered place appointed where the graves had been dug in advance. burying places were extremely numerous. Sleeman publ a map showing 274 of them in the small province of Oudh, half the size of Ireland, and was horrified to learn that one

[1] The Hindī word is *ṭhag*, pronounced with a hard aspirated t verb *ṭhag-lānā* or *ṭhag-lenā* means 'to cheat'. *Ṭhak* is the Marāṭhī

stery was within a march of his court house at Narsinghpur the Sāgar and Narbadā territories, now included in the ntral Provinces. Murder was usually, but not invariably, ected by strangulation with a handkerchief or scarf used as noose, which experience showed to be the safest method. The ugs, although on rare occasions detected and broken up in some rticular locality by the action of a chief or magistrate, had little fear, and enjoyed almost complete impunity. The ordinary ants and watchmen frequently were in league with them and red their bloodstained gains ; while, as noted above, they ays had the support of powerful protectors. The moral feeling the people had sunk so low that there were no signs of general rehension of the cold-blooded crimes committed by the Thugs. y were accepted as part of the established order of things ; l until the secrets of the organization were given away by rovers, it was usually impossible to obtain evidence against the most notorious Thugs.

History of Thuggee. The secret society of Thugs undoubtedly extremely ancient. The members believed that its operations epresented in the sculptures at Ellora, executed in the eighth tury, and they may have been right. They also believed that so called 'saint' Nizāmu-d dīn Auliya of Delhi in the fourteenth tury was a member of their order, and that he thus obtained ealth at his disposal, and not otherwise satisfactorily accounted The earliest definite mention of the Thugs in literature is in hronicle of Jalālu-d dīn Fīrōz Khiljī, Sultan of Delhi, at the of the thirteenth century, when a thousand were brought e him. He refused to execute them, merely deporting them engal, where probably they introduced the practice of river gee, common in that province until lately, and possibly not lly extinct. Tradition credits Akbar with having executed Thugs in the Etāwah District (now in U.P.) ; and the French eller, de Thevenot, has recorded an accurate description of proceedings in the days of Aurangzēb. Fryer describes the ution of fifteen stranglers at Surat by order of Aurangzēb.[1] ish magistrates in the south became aware of the crimes of Thugs after the capture of Seringapatam in 1799, when many ys mysteriously disappeared. The earliest accounts of the em in the English language were printed in 1816 and 1820. ividual officers occasionally succeeded in arresting and punishing of the murderers ; but the system remained unbroken until , when Feringhia, the approver, saved his life by betraying the secrets of the society to Sleeman and his colleagues. Sys- atic inquiries based on the testimony of numerous approvers, conclusively confirmed by the exhumation of bodies and in ndred other ways, enabled the officers placed on special duty unt down the gangs, and break up the society. Probably the of Thug tradition has been severed, and the crime in its old may be regarded as extinct. But in India it is never safe to

[1] *A New Account*, ed. Crooke (Hakluyt Soc.), i. 244.

assume that an institution many centuries old is absolutely d
Cognate crimes, especially the poisoning of travellers by *datūra*,
still common, and I have tried or investigated many cases of
kind.[1] Some of the *datūra* poisoners appear to be descend
of Thug families. The murder trade, like everything else in I
was hereditary. 'Thuggee Sleeman,' otherwise known as
William Sleeman, K.C.B., took the most prominent part in
stroying the Thug organization. He was aided by many compe
colleagues, and supported cordially by Lord William Bent
who passed a series of special Acts to regulate the proceedin
the officers selected to
the gangs. During the
1831–7, 3,266 Thugs
disposed of in one wa
another; 412 out of
number being hanged,
483 admitted as appro
The approvers and their
scendants were detained
many years in a specia
stitution at Jubbulpore
balpur).



SIR WILLIAM SLEEMAN.

**Renewal of the Char
1833.** As the time for
renewal of the charter of
East India Company in
approached, all parties
cerned made preparation
the inevitable discussion
contest. The directors,
they appointed Lord Wil
Bentinck to be a refor
Governor-general,
thinking of the advan
they would gain in the
debates by their ability to produce a good budget of re
A parliamentary select committee, appointed in 1829, submitt
1832 a voluminous report on things Indian; and outside of o
circles, merchants and manufacturers agitated for the aboliti
the monopoly of the China trade, for the legalization of land-o
by Europeans in India, and other changes desired.

Neither the ministry nor Parliament was yet prepared to
over the direct administration, so that little serious oppo
was offered to the renewal of the charter for the customary
of twenty years. The Company was unable to resist the de
for the opening of the China trade. Thus the Company of merc
founded in the days of Queen Elizabeth lost the last vest

[1] The *Datūra* genus of plants is common in India. The white and p
species are alike used by thieves to stupefy victims, but the white i
sidered the most efficient (Balfour).

commercial character and became merely an agency, per-
ing its duties, as declared by the Charter Act, 'in trust for
Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the service of the Govern-
of India.' The fleet of 'Indiamen' was dispersed. Compli-
financial arrangements provided for the liquidation of the
pany's commercial assets and the payment of a fixed dividend
forty years. The directors succeeded in retaining the right to
governors and military commanders, a prerogative on which
set a high value.

hanges in India. The government of India was empowered
legislate by passing formal Acts, not merely informal Regula-
, for the whole of India. The title of the head of the govern-
was changed from 'Governor-general of Bengal in Council'
overnor-general of India in Council'. The power of legislation
withdrawn from Madras and Bombay, but had to be restored
Europeans were allowed to acquire and hold land in India,
ically without restriction. That enactment was specially
ned to benefit the growing industry of indigo planting, but
lso permitted the formation by enterprising speculators of
rably managed estates in undeveloped regions. In the
khpur and Bastī districts of the United Provinces, being part
territory ceded by Oudh in 1801, many such estates were
ed by the clearance of forest on a large scale. Those pro-
, with which I am familiar in detail, are models of estate
inistration. The new liberty did not produce such good
lts in the indigo planting regions, where grave abuses grew
which resulted in serious trouble in 1859 and 1860.[1]

The Council of the Governor-general was reinforced by a fourth
ber, the Law or Legal Member, empowered to act as member
uncil only at meetings for the purpose of making laws and
ulations. Macaulay was the first law member. The investiga-
initiated by him resulted many years later in the Penal Code
the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure.

new presidency at Agra was sanctioned, but that provision
came into operation, because the Upper Provinces were
st immediately placed under a Lieutenant-governor instead
Governor-in-Council by an amending Act.

ar of race, &c., removed. Probably the most important
ision in the Act was sec. 87, which laid down the principle
t

native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His
sty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth,
, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place,
or employment under the Company'.

language then used is even more emphatic than that of the
ar paragraph in Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858,
ch is:

the drama, 'Nil Darpan', or the 'Indigo Planting Mirror', of
an English translation was published in Calcutta in 1861. It is
pleasant reading.

'And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of what race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.'

The promises implied in those solemn declarations by the Sovereign and Parliament have been redeemed gradually and cautiously; too slowly to satisfy impatient reformers. At the moment of writing (1918) gentlemen of Indian birth share in the highest executive and judicial offices, excepting only the post of Governor-general, lieutenant-governor, chief commissioner, or ruler of a province under any other designation. Further extension of the application of the principle is under consideration (1918).

Higher education. The subject of education was connected intimately with the reforms prescribed by the Charter Act. The provisions for the employment of natives of India in high office could not be carried into effect until Indians possessed of adequate educational equipment should be available in sufficient numbers. The work of administration in a British government must necessarily be conducted in the English language, and the old-fashioned Hindu and Muslim modes of instruction clearly could not produce candidates suitable for responsible appointments. That consideration alone was enough to determine that the higher education should be imparted chiefly through the English language.

Macaulay, who was appointed President of the Board of the Committee of Education, at once became the leader of the Anglicists, in opposition to the Orientalist conservatives, who championed the claims of Arabic and Sanskrit. His able and somewhat one-sided minutes induced the Governor-general in Council, just before the retirement of Lord William Bentinck on March 20, to issue the Resolution dated March 7, 1835, to the effect that

'the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed in English education alone'.

The word 'alone' went too far; and subsequent legislation and orders redressed the error by providing due encouragement for the vernacular tongues and classical languages of the East.

The controversy of 1835 is dead, and nothing would be gained by rekindling its ashes. Everybody may accept the judgement of Mr. Boulger that

'the momentous decision to make the English language the official literary language of the Peninsula represents the salient feature in [Lord William Bentinck's] administration, and makes his Governorship stand out as a landmark in Indian history'.

The missionaries, under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff, gave the government of India valuable aid in promoting the cause of sound education.

Lord William Bentinck, in the same month of March 1835, saw the issue of the Resolution on education, crowned his

foundation of the Calcutta Medical College, which proved a eminent success in spite of the croakings of wiseacres who confidently predicted its failure.

'Contact with a dead body', they argued, 'had for twenty centuries been considered a mortal pollution by the Hindoos, and it was traditionally known that native prejudices were invincible. But these anticipations, when brought to the test of actual practice, proved, as usual, to be the phantasms of a morbid imagination. Natives of high caste were found to resort freely to the dissecting room, and to handle the scalpel with as much indifference as European students. In the first year they assisted in dissecting sixty subjects, and the feeling of ardour with which they entered on these studies, and the aptitude for acquiring knowledge which they exhibited created a universal feeling of surprise.'

These observations, recorded by Marshman in 1867, now seem strangely out of date. It is needless to dilate on the eminent scientific attainments of modern physicians and surgeons of Indian birth.[1]

Sir Charles Metcalfe. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had accepted the office of Lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, and had also been nominated provisional Governor-general, had actually taken charge of his up-country appointment when he was summoned to Calcutta in order to relieve Lord William Bentinck, who wished to go home. Sir Charles Metcalfe continued to be head of the government for almost twelve months, and would have been confirmed had he not given mortal offence to the directors by his abolition of the restrictions on the press. His action in that business has been sufficiently discussed in connexion with the administration of Mr. Adam. Metcalfe, smarting under the censure of the India House, resigned the service and retired to England. Subsequently he was appointed Governor of Jamaica, and then Governor-general of Canada, being raised to the peerage. He died in 1846. He may justly be reckoned as the most eminent of the many illustrious Anglo-Indian officials, whose names fill so large a place in history from the time of Lord Wellesley to that of Lord William Bentinck.

CHRONOLOGY

William Cavendish-Bentinck Governor-general (July); financial economies	1828
Abolition of suttee by Regulation XVII	1829
Suppression of thuggee	1829–37
Annexation of Kāchār (Cachar); Singapore made capital of Malay Peninsula Settlements	1830
Restoration of Rājā of Mysore; journey of Burnes up the Indus; meeting at Rūpar with Ranjit Singh	1831
Reform Act	1832
Regulation IX (N. W. P. 'settlements'); renewal of charter; numerous reforms; abolition of flogging in the native army	1833
Annexation of Coorg	1834

[1] In 1908 twenty-two medical schools existed in India (*I. G.*).

Annexation of Jaintiā Parganas ; education Resolution ; foundation of Medical College, Calcutta ; retirement (March 20) of Lord William Bentinck; Sir Charles Metcalfe Governor-general; attack (June) on Resident of Jaipur . . . . . .
Death of Lord William Bentinck . . . . . .

AUTHORITIES

The only separate Life of Lord William Bentinck is that by D. Boo (R. I., 1897) ; a good little book, containing important documents previously published. The most useful of the general histories are t by H. H. WILSON and MARSHMAN. The works of Sir W. H. SLEEMA the primary authority on thuggee ; especially *Ramaseeana* (Calcutta, 1 a roughly compiled collection of documents, now rare, but access several libraries ; and *Rambles and Recollections* (London, 1844 ; ed V. A. SMITH (Oxford University Press, 1915). MEADOWS TAYLOR a fascinating account of the organization in *Confessions of a Thug* (1 ed. C. W. STEWART, Oxford University Press, 1916), with a small harmless admixture of fiction. R. V. RUSSELL and HĪRA LAL pr a lucid summary of Sleeman's works in *The Tribes and Castes of the C Provinces of India*, vol. iv (Macmillan, 1916).

The Charter Act of 1833 may be best studied in ILBERT. RAMSAY M also supplies a careful abstract. The most essential passages of MACAU *Minutes* are quoted by Boulger. His Minutes on education from 1 to 1837 were collected by WOODROW (Calcutta, 1862). A copy is in I. O. Library.

CHAPTER 3

Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough ; the First Afghan War ; annexation of Sind ; affairs of Gwālior ; abolition of slavery.

Lord Auckland. The directors' nomination of Lord Heytesbury, formerly ambassador to Russia, as successor to Lord Wil Bentinck was accepted by the Tory government of Sir R. Peel, and the new Governor-general was actually sworn in. W Lord Melbourne's Whig government came into power, the min declaring that Lord Heytesbury did not possess their confid revoked his appointment, and substituted Lord Auckland, a m ber of their own party. The precedent thus set was a bad as tending to engulf Indian affairs in the muddy waters of politics. Lord Auckland, a respectable official peer, with of personal friends, was regarded as a safe man, likely to con the administration of India on lines much the same as thos his peaceful predecessor. When appointed he was fifty-one of age, and up to that time nobody seems to have suspected he, being 'unstable as water', could not excel, or to have supp it possible that he would drag the honour of England in the and expose India to the most grievous military disaster and most shameful humiliation she had ever suffered. When he actually done those things, unscrupulous ministerial support

party spirit conspired to hush up his misdoings, and even tted him to become once more First Lord of the Admiralty. disastrous story' of the First Afghan War and the connected ctions with the Ameers, including the equally painful sequel unprincipled annexation of Sind by Lord Ellenborough and Charles Napier, will be told as briefly as possible. Before that is dealt with certain other transactions of less moment and notice.

Early domestic reforms. Lord Auckland's early proceedings ified the hopes of those who had recommended his appointment. eveloped his predecessor's plans for the promotion of education the cultivation of medical science, with the proper amendment overnment scholarships should not be confined to the pupils olleges where English was taught. He also gave effect to the ted instructions of the directors requiring the abolition of pilgrims' tax, the cessation of all official control of temple ements, and the prohibition of the complimentary attendance duty of the Company's troops or civil officers at popular ous ceremonials. Preliminary steps were taken towards the tion of great works of irrigation. So far so good ; and Lord land, if he had not been drawn by scheming ministers in and and evil advisers in India into political intrigues and ary adventures for which he had no capacity, might have spent ve years of office in the business of useful, quiet administration, then retired with unsullied reputation. His deplorable ness of character, which prevented him from devising any policy of his own, and made him the tool of other men's ion and craft, led him to commit a series of dishonourable ons foreign to his kindly nature, and to sanction a policy truly ibed as 'baleful, lawless, and blundering'.

Famine of 1837–8. In 1837–8, while the Governor-general on tour, Northern India suffered from a severe famine, which timated to have caused the death of at least 800,000 people. f works were undertaken by the State, the succour of the n and helpless being left to private charity for the most part. expenditure was considerable, amounting to 38 lakhs of rupees but the results were unsatisfactory.

Native States. The death in 1837 of the King of Oudh, a ithless debauchee named Nasīru-d dīn Haidar, resulted in ridiculous attempt at rebellion, made by the Pādshāh Bēgam, principal Queen-Dowager, which was promptly suppressed. misgovernment of the kingdom continued as usual.[1]

[1] Lord Auckland tried to force on the new king a revised treaty providing an additional subsidiary force at heavy cost. The whole treaty was vised by the Directors, but the Governor-general, with lamentable lack of candour, failed to communicate that fact to the king, informing only that the additional subsidiary force would not be demanded. The curious book, *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, by William Knighton, which passed through three editions in 1855 and 1856, gives many details of the disreputable court of Nasīru-d dīn Haidar. The Oxford University

The Rājā of Sātāra in the Western Ghāts, who had been set by Lord Hastings in 1819, engaged in a long-continued series foolish treasonable intrigues with the Portuguese and other p The Bombay government made every effort to convince the R of his folly, and gave him opportunities for repentance ; bu refused to listen, and was necessarily deposed, his brother ta his place (1839).

The Nawāb of Karnūl (Kurnool) in the Madras presid a descendant of Aurangzēb's officer, Dāūd Khān, made an em insane attempt to levy war, which resulted in his deposition the annexation of his territory (1842); which subsequently certain additions, was formed into the existing Karnūl distric

A warning to Holkar was sufficient to bring about desir reforms at Indore.

Palmerston's anti-Russian policy. The troubles of Auckland originated in the anti-Russian policy of Lord Palmer the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London, who alarm at dispatches from St. Petersburg giving informatio alleged negotiations between the rival chiefs in Afghanistan the Shah of Persia. The Foreign Secretary regarded with exce anxiety the prospect of Persia acquiring Herat, and holding city in dependence on Russia. Lord Palmerston seems to h neglected the sound advice to use large maps, afterwards give Lord Salisbury, and to have made the assumptions, as Sir H Durand puts the matter,

'that Afghanistan was at the time our frontier ; that the capture of H by Persia involved imminent peril to the security and internal tranq of our Indian Empire ; and that Persia, in prosecuting the siege of place had, acting in concert with Russia, entered upon a course of ceeding avowedly unfriendly, if not hostile to British interests, and variance with the spirit and intent of the definitive [Persian] treaty.

In reality Afghanistan was then separated from British In by the Panjāb, Bahāwalpur, Sind, and the Rājputāna de which, as the author quoted truly observes, constituted 'no frontier'. The exaggerated fears of diplomatists

'invested Herat with a fictitious importance wholly incommen with the strength of the place and its position in regard to Candahar the Indus'.

Or, to express the facts in the simplest language, it did matter to India whether Persia held Herat or not. But L Auckland had not the sense to see that truth, and was led away ill-chosen and unwise advisers to break treaties only six years to bully the weak ; to pursue a fantastic policy ; to persist that policy when the reasons for it, such as they were, had ce

Press is bringing out a new edition along with the companion work *Private Life of an Eastern Queen*. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, author of valuable *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India* (ed. Crooke, Ox University Press, 1917), also lived at Lucknow in the reign of Nasir dīn Haidar. Her book appeared in 1832.

to violate the principles of strategy ; to throw away ds of lives by entrusting them to incapable commanders ; ally, at least to acquiesce silently in the garbling of the ents submitted for the information of Parliament.

truth of all those propositions will now be established by mary narrative. The proceedings of the Governor-general fully were prompted by Lord Palmerston and his colleague, n Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, who publicly ed full responsibility for the war. The ministry was so deeply ted to the policy of which the war was the outcome that the most objectionable acts of Lord Auckland escaped official Advantage was taken of the storm of Ghaznī and certain favourable events in the earlier stages of the operations to public attention, and to veil the tricks of a tortuous diplo- behind a shining cloud of military glory. Outside of the n Office and the Board of Control the policy of the Governor- l was condemned by the Duke of Wellington and everybody ed to give a valuable opinion. The judgement of Anglo- n historians, too, seems to be substantially unanimous ; and unlikely that now anybody could be found who would be ed to justify either the First Afghan War or the treatment of Ameers of Sind by Lords Auckland and Ellenborough.

Government of Sind. In those days Sind was governed by ns Balōchī chiefs belonging to the Tālpur family, and known equently as the Tālpur Ameers (Amīrs or Mīrs). The family split into three branches ; one of which, and the most impor- had its capital at Hyderabad in Middle Sind. Another branch established at Mīrpur Khās on the western edge of the desert ; the third branch administered Northern Sind from the town Khairpur, east of the Indus. The Khairpur territory included important commercial town of Shikārpur and the island fortress Bakkur (Bakhar).

Government of Afghanistan. It is not necessary to plunge ply into the tangled history of the various regions now grouped ether by European writers under the name of Afghanistan. ay be sufficient to note that Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's grandson, h Shujā, who had become King of Kābul for some years, was en out of the country in 1809, and that after a time he settled the British cantonment of Lūdiāna as a pensioned refugee. Kābul territory had no established government for some years. 1826 Dōst Muhammad Khān, an able member of the Bārakzai made himself lord of Kābul and Ghaznī. The English called the King of Kābul, and he was the actual ruler with whom Auckland had to deal. He had assumed the title of Amīr 1835, after defeating an attempt of Shāh Shujā to recover the one lost many years before. Shāh Shujā then returned to his ence at Lūdiāna.

Political relations with Sind. British political relations with Ameers of Sind began in 1809, when Lord Minto negotiated eaty with three chiefs establishing 'eternal friendship between

the contracting parties', providing for the exchange of envoys and prohibiting 'the establishment of the tribe of the French in Sinde'.

That treaty was confirmed in 1820, when Americans, in addition to the French, were excluded.

The expedition of Burnes up the Indus, arranged in the time of Lord William Bentinck (1830–1) by Lord Ellenborough, the



MAP OF SIND.

President of the Board of Control, resulted in the treaties of 18[illegible]. The engagement then made with the Hyderabad Ameers stipulated, among other things, that 'the two Contracting Powers bind themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other'; that Indian merchants and traders might trade on business over the rivers and roads of Sind, on three conditions, namely:

'(1) that no person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river or roads:

(2) that no armed vessels or boats shall come by the said river:

(3) that no English merchants shall be allowed to settle in Sinde, but may come as occasion requires, and having stopped to transact their business, shall return to India.'

The shorter treaty with the Khairpur Ameers was to the same effect.

These treaties were in full force at the beginning of the Afghan [illegible].

Political relations with Kābul. Lord Auckland entered on the duties of his office in March 1836. Later in that year he received from the Secret Committee of the Directors a dispatch of June 25, which recited the anxiety felt by the British Foreign Office concerning Russian advances towards Herat, and instructed the Governor-general to

'say as to what steps it may be proper and desirable for you to take to watch more closely, than has hitherto been attempted, the progress of affairs in Afghanistan, and to counteract the progress of Russian influence in that quarter which, from its proximity to our Indian possessions, could not fail, if it were once established, to act injuriously on the system of our Indian alliances, and possibly to interfere even with the tranquillity of our own territory.

'The mode of dealing with this very important question, whether by deputing a confidential agent to Dost Muhammad of Kābul merely to watch the progress of events, or to enter into relations with this chief, of a political, or merely, in the first instance, of a commercial character, we confide to your discretion, as well as the adoption of any other measures which may appear to you desirable in order to counteract Russian advances in that quarter, should you be satisfied from the information received from your own agents on the frontier, or hereafter from Mr. McNeill, on his mission in Persia, that the time has arrived at which it would be right for us to interfere decidedly in the affairs of Afghanistan.

'Such an interference would doubtless be requisite, either to prevent the extension of Persian dominion in that quarter, or to raise a timely barrier against the impending encroachments of Russian influence.'[1]

That unhappy dispatch, the product of Lord Palmerston's chronic fears, was the foundation of Lord Auckland's discreditable proceedings. It also bound the British ministry to support him in the exercise of his discretion, and to see him through the consequences of his acts.

Burnes was sent to Kābul, on pretence of negotiating a commercial treaty, but in reality to talk politics. Dōst Muhammad wanted Peshāwar, which Ranjit Singh had annexed. Lord Auckland, who was much afraid of the Mahārājā, would not hear of putting pressure on him. Burnes consequently had nothing to offer the Ameer, who then turned towards Russia, and showed favours to an informal Russian agent who had come to his court. Burnes left Kābul in April 1838.

Tripartite treaty. In July the Governor-general executed a tripartite treaty with Ranjit Singh and 'His Majesty', the exiled Shāh Shujā. The instrument was directed to the restoration

[1] Not in Kaye. Quoted from Colvin, p. 87.

to the throne of Kābul of Shāh Shujā, who was expected to be a pliant instrument of Palmerstonian diplomacy; and was also to be popular in his own country, an allegation hardly borne by his history.[1]

Army of the Indus. Lord Auckland at first did not intend to send an army, hoping that the Sikhs and Shāh Shujā's name would effect his crooked purpose. But the Governor-general allowed himself to be drawn by his private advisers, John Colvin, Macnaghten, and others, into more ambitious schemes. He issued a verbose declaration on October 1, and gave orders to assemble the Army of the Indus for the invasion of the dominions of Dōst Muhammad, who had never injured the British government. The Persians had been obliged to withdraw from the siege of Herāt in September, and the news of that event, received during October, deprived Lord Auckland's warlike preparations of their justification. But he was not to be stopped by such a trifle, and went on with his plan to dethrone Dōst Muhammad. The Bengal section of the army, 14,000 strong, assembled at Fīrōzpur in November. The Bombay contingent, under Sir John Keane, was based in Sind. The two forces were to unite at Kandahār. In order not to offend Ranjit Singh the Bengal army was sent round through the Bolān Pass, and so had to traverse a distance of more than a thousand miles between Fīrōzpur and Kābul. The plan violated all the conditions of sound strategy, and was the work of a lunatic rather than of a sane statesman.

Military operations. The operations of the Bombay contingent involved an open breach of the treaties of 1832. Lord Auckland through his secretary, W. H. Macnaghten, cynically directed the resident at Hyderabad that

> 'while the present exigency lasts, you may apprise the Ameers, that Article of the Treaty with them, prohibitory of using the Indus for conveyance of military stores, must necessarily be suspended during course of operations undertaken for the permanent establishment security to all those who are parties to that Treaty'.

Shikārpur, Bukkur (Bakhar),[2] and other places in Sind were occupied with equal disregard of solemn engagements. Fresh charges of breach of treaty and accusations of hostility were advanced against the Ameers, who were forced in February 1839 to sign a treaty, so-called, which destroyed their independence. A subsidiary force was imposed on them; they were compelled to pay three lakhs of rupees a year for it; and to admit the Company's rupees as legal currency. In many other respects

[1] Masson, however, denied that the Shāh was 'unpopular with the Afghans'; who resented the presence of the British Army, not the Shāh (*Narrative*, 1842, p. viii). Durand held that 'the irascible temper of Burnes . . . impelled him to a line of conduct hasty and injudicious and which, wanting in truth, composure, and dignity, exasperated the Ameer' (p. 46).

[2] Bukkur (Bakhar) is the island fortress in the Indus lying between Sukkur (Sakhar) and Rohri (Rūrhī).

were fleeced and treated unfairly, but it is needless to pursue the unpleasant subject.

The Bengal and the Bombay forces managed to reach Kandahār after undergoing intense suffering from want of water and supplies. The miseries of the march through the sixty miles Bolān Pass were especially severe, and about 20,000 camels died. Shāh Shujā's public entry into Kandahār in April 1839 was a failure, as the public declined to attend.

General John Keane, who was now in supreme command, started for Kābul by the Ghaznī road. He had been told that Ghaznī would not resist, and in consequence had left behind his few heavy guns. He found, on the contrary, a formidable fortress, inaccessible except by guns. His troops, with only two days' rations in hand, were in imminent danger of starvation, when the situation was saved by the daring of certain junior engineer officers, who undertook to blow open the Kābul gate of the stronghold.[1] The 'gambler's throw' succeeded, the fuse being fired by Lieutenant Henry Durand, of the Bengal Engineers, who afterwards became Sir Henry, and lieutenant-governor of the Panjāb. In the storm which followed the explosion the loss of the Afghans was heavy while on the British side was small. The ministry in London, delighted at the undeserved success thus gained by their rash policy, showered honours and rewards upon Lord Auckland, Sir John Keane, and the political officers. The engineers received scant attention.

Occupation of Kābul. The unexpected fall of Ghaznī compelled Dōst Muhammad to quit his capital and escape northwards. The invaders occupied Kābul in August without opposition. It is said that Shāh Shujā's solemn entry was more like a 'funeral procession' than a triumph. Lord Auckland left 10,000 troops under General Cotton as an army of occupation, and General Nott was called up from Quetta to command at Kandahār. The other troops were sent back to India. The government was thenceforward conducted really by Sir William Macnaghten, the political agent, the Shāh being allowed little substantial power. His authority was maintained solely by the British force. Lord Auckland, having placed his protégé on the throne, should have left him to stand if he could. Dōst Muhammad surrendered in November 1840, and was sent down to Calcutta where he was well treated, and assigned a liberal allowance. Shortly afterwards General Cotton returned to India. Lord Auckland insisted on replacing him by General Elphinstone, who had been a good officer in his youth, but was now growing old, and was an invalid. He was warned by his predecessor that he would 'have nothing to do here; it is a peace'. Macnaghten, who was in charge of the political department, declared the general tranquillity to be 'perfectly miraculous', and officers were allowed to bring up their wives and families from India. In fact, all reasonable precautions were neglected, and many foolish things were done.

[1] Havelock (ii. 122) praises the tactical dispositions of Sir John Keane. Kaye's work includes good descriptions and many military documents.

Towards the close of 1840 the directors became alarmed [illegible] dangerous military situation and the excessive cost of [illegible] longed occupation. They suggested 'the entire abandon[illegible] the country, and a frank confession of complete failure [illegible] Lord Auckland insisted on going on with his mad scheme.

Disasters. I do not propose to repeat in its miserable [illegible] the remainder of the story, which may be read in a multi[illegible] books. Revolts broke out in all directions. The presence [illegible] infidel foreigners was detested by the Afghans, who had just [illegible] of complaint by reason of the licentious conduct of Burnes and [illegible] of the soldiers. General Elphinstone proved to be imbecile [illegible] everybody in a responsible position behaved with unexampled folly. The troops were withdrawn from the Bālā Hissār, or [illegible] and encamped in an indefensible position on the plain, separated from their stores. The higher officials, civil and military, quarrelled. The rank and file, practically leaderless, lost discipline and would not fight when called on. A few brilliant subordinates, Durand, Broadfoot, and others, types of the best class of British officers, were powerless to avert the ruin to which the incapacity of their seniors irresistibly dragged the whole force. In December 1841 the necessity for retirement to Jalālābād, where Sale occupied the fort with a small detachment, was obvious. By that time the isolated stores dépôt had been destroyed, and starvation could be avoided only by a decisive retreat, as recommended by Durand. But

'Elphinstone and his advisers thought otherwise. There was [illegible] earthly faintness upon their hearts; and it was as though some [illegible] crime had caused the wrath of God to settle down upon the host, [illegible] the hearts of its leaders, unnerving the right arms of England's [illegible] and leaving them no power to stand before their enemies.'

Macnaghten, who had himself incurred suspicion of bad [illegible] was entrapped on December 23 into an interview with [illegible] Muhammad's son, Muhammad Akbar, and treacherously [illegible] His three companions, Trevor, Mackenzie, and Lawrence, [illegible] overpowered, disarmed, and taken prisoners.

'The escort, instead of charging to the rescue, fled to the cantonments and left the envoy and his brave companions to their fate.

In the cantonments all was apathy, and indecision. Although [illegible] sight of the scene, no attempt was made to avenge the slaughtered [illegible] and to recover his body from a cowardly mob who bore off in triumph his mangled remains, to parade them in the city of Cabul.'

The final catastrophe. The general, disregarding the [illegible] of Pottinger, renewed negotiations. A treaty was signed on January 1, 1842; the guns, muskets, and ordnance stores had been previously given up. Snow fell, and the Shāh offered the English ladies an asylum in his citadel. Pottinger once more urged the occupation of the Bālā Hissār. Elphinstone again refused, sending in merely the sick and wounded.

On January 6 the dispirited army, still numbering about [illegible] troops and 12,000 followers, encumbered by a train of [illegible]



BĀLĀ HISSAR, KĀBUL.

litters bearing the women and children, started for
On the 8th only about 800 men of all arms emerged
Khurd Kābul defiles. The women and children, the
and wounded officers on that day ' were transferred
keeping '.

On the 11th only 200 were left.

' On January 13, Dr. Brydon, sorely wounded, and
exhaustion to sit upon the emaciated beast that bore him,
bad, and told that Elphinstone's army, guns, standards,
lost, was itself completely annihilated. Such was the
a line of policy which from first to last held truth in
under foot, and, acting on a remote scene, was enabled
scrupulously to mislead the public mind.'

Having written the epitaph of the victims in those
Durand proceeds to give Macnaghten credit for
which, however, ' cannot palliate moral delinquency

' Macnaghten was not single in his high courage.
a chivalrous soldier long bleached upon the barren
defiles between Cabul and Jellalabad. But if any called
swords of their countrymen with peculiar emphasis
European horse artillery, who, calm and stern to the last
and daring valour, fought and fell heroically, the
witnessed their conduct and survived to tell the tale.'

It is well to close the sad story on that heroic note.

Defence of Jalālābād. The steps taken by
to retrieve the disaster during the few weeks of
were not effective. His nerves broke down, and
sanction measures which would tie the hands of his
was on the way out from England. The interest
mediate period of the war lies chiefly at Jalālābād,
garrison held out, awaiting the long delayed relief
for the successful defence of the place rests with
Broadfoot, the garrison engineer, rather than with
who had accepted the advice of a council of war
After a prolonged debate Broadfoot's honourable
pleading won over a majority of the senior officers
plain duty and hold out to the last. Once that question
in the right way, every man in the garrison worked
with a will; so that, even when a violent earthquake
shattered the defences, the damage was instantly

Meantime General Nott maintained his grip on
Captain Halkett Craigie at Khelāt-i-Ghilzai defied a
but Colonel Palmer at Ghaznī was forced to surrender

Lord Ellenborough's arrival and action.
February the new Governor-general, Lord Ellenborough,
out to relieve Lord Auckland in the ordinary course
General Pollock, a capable commander, effected

[1] Both Sale and Broadfoot were killed in the first sikh
of the debate, discreditable to both Sale and Macgregor
length by Durand, and in Kaye's third edition.

April 16, finding on his arrival that the garrison had
finally raised the siege by means of a vigorous sortie.
Ellenborough's first instructions had been sensible and
well, although erring perhaps on the side of caution.
of the fall of Ghaznī and of a small reverse near
his resolution, so that he issued orders for the
evacuation of all posts held in Afghanistan, showing
for the recovery of the prisoners, about a hundred
in number, or for the vindication of the British name.
Shujā had been murdered, and strong remonstrances
letters, both in England and in India, forced Lord
to reconsider his decision. At last, on July 4, he wrote
Nott, professing to maintain the orders for
but permitting the two generals to act in concert,
to decide upon adopting the line of retirement by
Kābul'. Thus the Governor-general shifted his own
upon the military commanders, who accepted it
promptly concerted the needful measures.

Nott's advance. Nott, who had crushed armed re-
the neighbourhood of Kandahār during May, started
August 7, with 8,000 fine soldiers in high spirits and
history. He found Ghaznī abandoned, and, before
reduced the town and fortifications to ruins. After
on the road he came into touch with Pollock on

Pollock's advance. Pollock, taking all proper mili-
tions, had successfully forced the passes, and reached
September 15. A few of the English prisoners were then
few days later the judicious promise of liberal reward
the rest, who had been moved about from place to place
captivity, and were in danger of being sold into
as slaves. They do not appear to have been subjected
violence or outrage, and might be considered fortunate
as well treated as they were. General Elphinstone
in the hands of the Afghans.

Some of opinion was expressed as to the propriety of
some way the guilty city of Kābul. Some officers
the destruction of the Bālā Hissār, but Pollock
blew up the great covered bazaar, where Macnaghten's
exposed. Eight years later it was rebuilt by Dōst
The city also suffered much from unauthorized
plundering.

Lord Ellenborough having rightly adhered to
complete withdrawal from the Afghan 'hornets' nest',
turned to India, and early in November encamped at
Another army of observation protected it from the
enmity of the Sikhs, who could not be relied on since
's death in 1839.

Instructions. The Governor-general's proclamation, mis-
ed 1, but really written later, announced a complete

change of policy, and denounced the 'errors' of the pr… administration in language which, however true, was unbec… That manifesto was followed in a few days by a ludicrous pro… tion celebrating the recovery of the gates of Somnāth, said t… been carried off by Mahmūd of Ghaznī and afterwards pr… at his tomb. Lord Ellenborough had given stringent instru… to General Nott to be sure and bring back those 'sandalwood g…

The proclamation, a silly imitation of Napoleon's Pyr… manifesto, celebrated the return of the gates, 'which had s… been the memorial of the humiliation of the people of Indi… had now become the proudest record of their national glory'.

Nobody cared a straw about the gates, which were condu… solemn procession, amidst universal ridicule, as far as … where they were stowed away in a lumber room of the fort. … examined by experts they proved to be made of pine, not … wood, and to bear an Arabic inscription of Sabuktigīn. … are clearly local Muhammadan work, executed at Ghaznī, and … or may not have been made to replace the sandalwood or… carried off by Sultan Mahmūd from Somnāth. The procla… were followed by splendid reviews and other spectacles at Fi… a form of display which Lord Ellenborough loved too well.

Restoration of Dōst Muhammad. Dōst Muhammad … allowed to return to Afghanistan unconditionally, and to … the throne from which he had been so needlessly displaced. … retained it for the remainder of his long life, dying in 1863 … nearly 80 years of age. The Governor-general was made an … and the various commanders who had carried out the mea… of retribution were liberally honoured and rewarded. The … of thanks to Lord Ellenborough was opposed in Parliament … not without reason. But the war had been a Whig war, insti… by Sir John Hobhouse and Lord Palmerston, and the party poli… were keen to hide away the disgrace, while making the m… the retribution. The crime of the first Afghan War was co… over by the ministry as far as possible, and has not always … with the stern reprobation from the historians of England … its enormity deserves.

Designs on Sind. The Afghan difficulty having been … disposed of, and Lord Auckland's policy killed with the mea… had tried to put it into effect, Lord Ellenborough turned his a… tion to Sind. He was eager to find a pretext for the annex… of that country, and it was not long before his search was re… Lord Auckland had broken treaties with the Ameers of Sin… the most cynical fashion. Lord Ellenborough went further … deliberately provoked a war in order that he might annex … province.[2] So long as it remained independent the navigat…

[1] According to Burnes (*Travels*[2], ii. 150), Ranjit Singh, when ne… with Shāh Shujā, had required him to obtain the gates.

[2] It is not worth while to examine the flimsy pretexts. 'Cert… Thornton observes, 'the rights of princes were never assailed o… slender ground as these charges afforded.'

…dus was liable to be blocked by hostile tribes. The desire … control of the great waterway seems to have been the … motive of the annexationists in the time of Lord Auckland … as in that of Lord Ellenborough.

…Ameers, who were not strong enough to resist the exactions … upon them, had abstained from open hostility during the … War, even when the army of occupation was destroyed.

Charles Napier. In 1842 Lord Ellenborough removed … and the other officers of the Political Department which … and sent Sir Charles Napier to Sind vested with sole … civil and military, as representative of the Governor-… in all the territory on the lower Indus. Napier, who was … annexing the province, pursued a bullying policy, always … that the government of India was at liberty to do what … without the slightest regard to treaties.

…his proceedings goaded the Balōchīs into making a tumul… attack on the residence of Colonel Outram, who had been … to Sind as the British Commissioner (February 15, 1843). … outbreak gave the excuse which Napier desired, and of course … formal war inevitable.

conquest. Two days later (February 17) Napier, with … about 2,800 men and 12 guns, routed an army of 22,000 at … (Meeanee), a few miles from Hyderabad. The British loss, … considerable in proportion to the numbers engaged, was … in amount; that of the Sindians was believed to exceed … killed and wounded. In the following month another fight … on a similar scale had the same result. A proclamation … issued announcing the conquest and annexation of the … and, after some desultory fighting, the inevitable was … and the Ameers were exiled. Sir Charles Napier felt … in accepting £70,000 as his share of the prize-money; … chivalrous Outram, although a man of small means, … of his chief's policy, refused to accept the £3,000 … his share, and distributed the money among charitable … Outram, a warm personal friend of Sir Charles, … profess to think his conduct right. He wrote to him: … sick of *policy*; I will not say yours is the *best*, but it is undoubtedly … —that *of the sword*. Oh, how I wish you had drawn it in … cause!'

…tram. Outram, 'the Bayard of India, *sans peur et sans …*',[1] went home and exerted himself manfully to plead the … of the despoiled and exiled Ameers of Sind, urging that … never contemplated opposing our power, and were only … to do so from desperation'. But it was too late. As … adstone observed many years afterwards, 'the mischief … was less than the mischief of abandoning' the new …

[1] compliment was paid by Sir Charles Napier at an earlier date, and … ribed on Outram's tomb in Westminster Abbey (Trotter, *The … of India*, 1909, in Everyman's Library).

Napier as governor. The province was retained, and [illegible] was appointed its first governor.[1] The directors, while [illegible] condemning the policy which had resulted in annexation, [illegible] steps to undo the transaction. Napier ruled his conquest [illegible] until 1847, as a strong, masterful, military despot, and [illegible] returned to England was received with enthusiasm. Annexation has resulted in a great increase of material prosperity, and an elaborate irrigation system has been developed. The reason Lord Ellenborough in 1844 by the directors was based, not on the injustice of the conquest of Sind, but on other reasons, which will be explained presently. In 1844 several regiments of Madras and Bengal troops, who were unwilling to serve in Sind without extra allowances, mutinied. The mutinies were dealt with by the military authorities in a feeble manner.

Gwālior affairs. Yet another fierce conflict marked the [illegible] and stormy period of Lord Ellenborough's rule. The death in 1843 of Jankajī Sindia, the adopted son of Daulat Rāo, threw the politics of Gwālior into confusion. The danger of the situation to British interests consisted in the fact that, while court factions were quarrelling, all real power had passed into the hands of the army, which was more than 40,000 strong, possessed of 200 guns and thoroughly insubordinate. Such a force was a real peril to its neighbours, especially when, as the Governor-general observed, there was within three marches of the Sutlaj 'an army of fifty thousand men [Sikhs], confident in its own strength, proud of its victorious successes against its neighbours, desirous of war and of plunder, and under no discipline or control'. Lord Ellenborough assembled a force under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief; and at Christmas time, 1843, crossed the river Chambal. That act was taken by the Gwālior troops as a declaration of war. The Governor-general and commander-in-chief, although partially prepared for battle, came so suddenly on the enemy that Lord Ellenborough was accompanied by ladies and was intending to breakfast quietly under the trees, when he was greeted by artillery fire. The hard-fought battle which ensued took place at Maharajpur, near Gwālior, with the usual result, but at the cost of heavy losses to the victorious British. Another victory was gained on the same day by a distinct corps under General Grey at a place called Paniār. Those two battles broke down all opposition. The Gwālior State lay at the disposal of Lord Ellenborough to do as he pleased with it. He wisely refrained from annexation, contenting himself with disbanding the dangerous army, and making considerable arrangements for the better government of the State. Although the conflict might have been postponed, it is unlikely that it could have been avoided ultimately; and it was fortunate that, when the deadly struggle with the Sikhs began in 1846, the force

[1] Alī Murād of Khairpur, having supported the British, was allowed to retain territory, which is now the Khairpur State. The area is [illegible] square miles, and the State seems to be fairly prosperous. Sind was attached to the Presidency of Bombay.

[illegible]mpany had not to guard against the threat of the Gwālior [illegible] on their flank. The suppression of that army should not, [illegible] be reckoned among the sins of Lord Ellenborough. During [illegible]ny the Gwālior Contingent, as the reorganized forces of [illegible]ate were then called, mutinied, retook Cawnpore from [illegible] Windham, and exposed the British power to no small [illegible]. The princes of the Sindia family have continued to be [illegible]ly loyal; and the reigning Mahārāja has done notable [illegible] in the cause of civilization during the Great War.

[illegible]lition of slavery. The most important measure of internal [illegible] carried out in the time of Lord Ellenborough was the [illegible] of a law (Act V, 1843) prohibiting the legal recognition [illegible]very in India. The law of India was thus brought into [illegible]ent with that of England. The enactment was the work [illegible] Ellenborough's colleagues. The Indian legislature avoided [illegible] difficulties about emancipation or compensation, which [illegible]ttended the enfranchisement of the West Indian negroes, [illegible]ply refusing to recognize slavery as a legal status. The law [illegible] subject is now included in the Penal Code.

[illegible]ough Megasthenes, in the fourth century B.C., was led to [illegible]e that no slave existed in India, he was certainly misinformed. [illegible]clear that in most parts of the country slavery in various [illegible] existed from time immemorial. Even now the institution [illegible]rdly be said to be wholly extinct, although it has no legal [illegible]ion. Before 1843 there were many millions of slaves in India. [illegible]In 1819 the revenue authorities in the Malabar District of Madras [illegible]accustomed to sell the slaves of a revenue defaulter in the [illegible]way as his other property. If space permitted innumerable [illegible]s of the prevalence of slavery and the abuses inseparable from [illegible]stitution might be adduced.[1] The public conscience, however, [illegible]y among Europeans, gradually began to feel qualms about the [illegible]enance of slavery, and the Act of 1843 does not seem to have [illegible]d opposition or caused any excitement.

[illegible]tteries and police. The state lotteries in the presidency [illegible], the proceeds of which had been devoted to local improve[illegible], were also suppressed; and the Bengal police administration [illegible]made somewhat more efficient by the appointment of deputy [illegible]strates, and by improvements in the pay and promotion of [illegible] *dārōgas*.

[illegible]asons for recall of Lord Ellenborough. The published [illegible]spondence of Queen Victoria throws light upon the reasons [illegible]e appointment and recall of Lord Ellenborough. The [illegible], Sir Robert Peel, and the Duke of Wellington concurred [illegible] opinion that Lord Ellenborough, in spite of his 'tendency [illegible]y decisions', was 'better qualified than any man in England [illegible]

[illegible]ch painfully interesting information on the subject, derived chiefly [illegible]ficial documents, is collected in the work by Peggs, already cited, [illegible] *India's Cries to British Humanity*, Book V, 2nd ed., 1830; or [illegible], 1832. The Indian slave trade at various times and in many [illegible]ces was extensive.

for the office of Governor-general '. The directors, hostile liked him, and during his term of office he frequently of their constant hostility. That hostility was not without tion. The directors were offended and disgusted by the tone of his correspondence ; by his gasconading by his open contempt for the Civil Service ; by his love of display ; and by the aggressive bent of his policy.

The Queen, who always gave him her personal support his recall ; but, in my judgement, the directors acted in the interest of India by exercising the power which reserved to them at the last renewal of the charter.

CHRONOLOGY

Lord Melbourne (Whig) Prime Minister : Dōst Muhammad of Kābul . . . . . .
Lord Auckland Governor-general (March) ; Dispatch from Committee about Afghan affairs and Herat (June 25)
Accession of Queen Victoria (June) ; mission of Burnes to
Famine in northern India . . . . .
Tripartite treaty (June) ; Lord Auckland's Declaration (Oct.
New treaty forced on Ameers of Sind (Feb.) ; death of Ranjit (June) ; capture of Ghaznī (July) ; occupation of Kābul deposition of Rājā of Sātārā . . .
Risings of Afghan tribes ; surrender of Dōst Muhammad
Murder of Burnes (Nov.) ; murder of Macnaghten (Dec.)
General Elphinstone's treaty with Akbar Khān (Jan. 1) ; began (Jan. 6) ; Dr. Brydon reached Jalālābad alone (Jan. Lord Ellenborough Governor-general (Feb.) ; relief of bād ; reoccupation of Kābul ; restoration of Dōst Muhammad annexation of Karnūl . . . .
Battles of Miānī and Dabo ; annexation of Sind ; defeats of army at Mahārājpur and Paniār ; suppression of slavery and of state lotteries . . . . .
Mutinies of Bengal and Madras regiments in Sind ; recall of Ellenborough ; Sir Henry Hardinge Governor-general (Jan.

AUTHORITIES

The leading authority is the *History of the War in* J. W. KAYE (publ. in 1851 ; 4th ed., 3 vols., Allen, 1878) documented that little material change was made in the Next in importance is *The First Afghan War and its Causes* work by Sir HENRY MARION DURAND (Longmans, 1879). books written by other persons who took part in the used chiefly [Sir] H. HAVELOCK, *Narrative of the War* (2 vols., Colburn, 1840).[1] *The Earl of Auckland* (R. I. TROTTER is an excellent summary. *John Russell Colvin* (R. I., 1911), although not convincing as an *apologia*, gives tional facts. The controversy between Sir Charles Napier Outram elicited many books and pamphlets. I have

[1] Havelock then approved of Lord Auckland's

the Campaign in Sinde and Afghanistan in 1838–9 (Richard- publication regretted by the author ; *The Conquest of Scinde* and *History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration* Chapman & Hall, 1851), both by Major-General Sir WILLIAM *History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough* (London, 1874) gives the Governor-general's letters and Duke of Wellington without comment. THORNTON fully the dealings with Native States. MARSHMAN lays reforms. The blue book, *Correspondence relative to Sinde*, 1843), 516 pp., supplies the text of 475 documents. blue book of 1839 was garbled by the omission of important letters of Burnes. KAYE exposed the facts in 1851, and book was issued in 1859. See Kaye, ed. 4, vol. i, pp. 202–4.

CHAPTER 4

Hardinge : first Sikh War ; treaties of Lahore ; Lord second Sikh War ; second Burmese War ; annexations ;

(Lord) **Hardinge.** The British government, in Henry Hardinge to rule India, sent one of England's At Vimiera, Albuera, Ligny, and countless other Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns he had proved as a soldier and his capacity as a general. He had four times, losing his left hand at Ligny, and had had under him. In civil life he had served as a member for twenty years, and had held office as secretary for secretary for Ireland. Although, like Lord Hastings, years of age when he came out to India, the advance not quenched the fire of his youth or impaired his high command. In July 1844 he relieved his flighty who assured him that India was in a state of ' universal fault of two years of victories '. In December 1845 passed the Sutlaj, and so falsified the shortsighted Lord Ellenborough.

Administration. The new Governor-general, although the first to take precautions against the Sikh peril, a year and a half to devote much of his attention to in internal administration and to the suppression He took preliminary steps towards planning railway system of the future ; made progress in the the Ganges Canal ; supported education ; and took suppressing suttee and infanticide in the Native

Sikhs in the Panjāb the suttee murders were atrocious. with Ranjit Singh ; one, against her will, with Kharak Sing Nao Nihal Singh ; 310 (10 wives and 300 unmarried were sacrificed at the obsequies of Rājā Suchet Singh ; four wives of Jawāhir Singh were forced on the pyre

Human sacrifices. He also sanctioned systematic ments for the extinction of the horrible practices of huma prevalent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. The results of first in the Orissan operations during Sir Henry Hard were poor, owing to defects in the agency employed. years from 1847 to 1854 Lieut.-Col. (Major-General) J bell and other officers specially appointed succeeded in out the atrocious customs. The purpose of the sacrifi was to increase the fertility of the soil by burying bits of the victims in the fields. The cruel rites varied in localities. Campbell describes one which may be taken as

'One of the most common ways of offering the sacrifice in t is to the effigy of an elephant rudely carved in wood, fixed a stout post, on which it is made to revolve. After the pr the usual ceremonies, the wretched Meriah [consecrated victim to the proboscis of the elephant, and amidst the shouts and excited Khonds, is rapidly whirled round, when, at a given officiating " Zani ", or priest, the crowd rush in, seize the Meri their knives cut the flesh off the shrieking victim as long as He is then cut down, the skeleton burnt, and the horrid ce In several villages, I counted as many as fourteen effigies which had been used in former sacrifices.'

Between 1837 and 1854 no less than 1,506 Meriah vict rescued.

The Khond people gradually became convinced that t produced crops as good as formerly, and that sickn more prevalent. Animals were substituted for human it is believed that the Meriah horrors have been finally

Origin of the Sikh War. The main business, Sir Henry, or to call him by his later title, Lord Hardi Sikh War, forced upon him by the arrogance of the Khālsa.

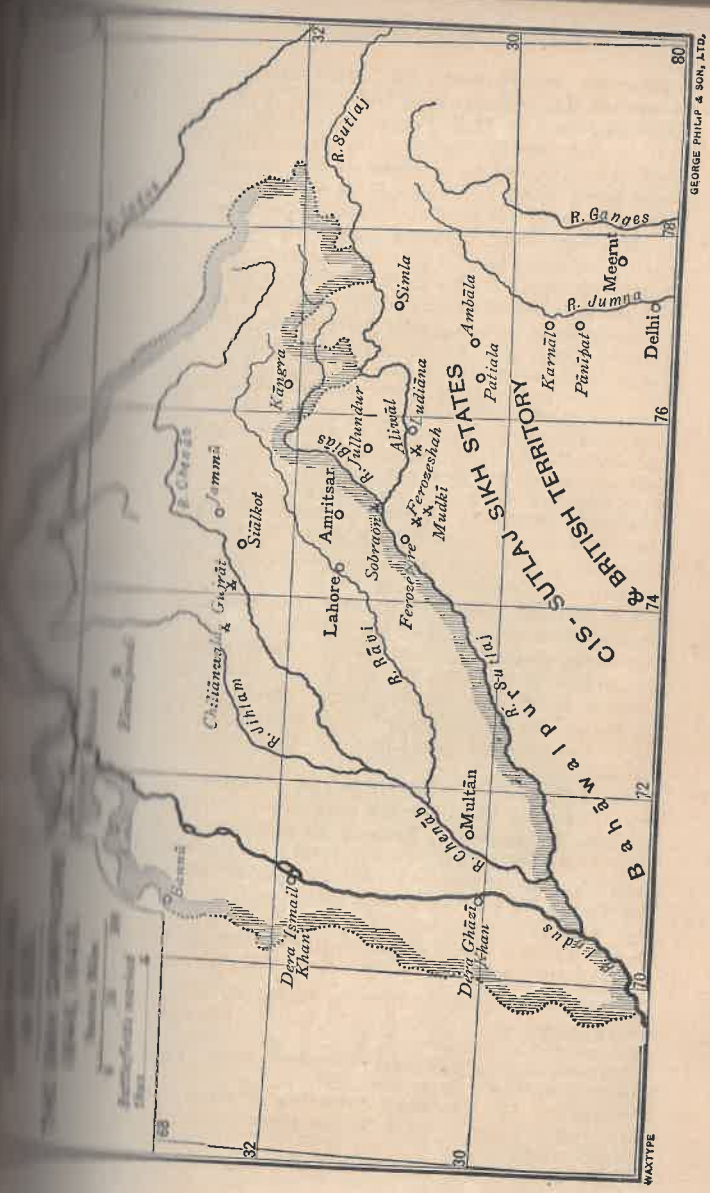
Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, when stopped by Lord M from pursuing his intended conquests to the south of the left free to do as he pleased to the north of the rive year 1820 his power may be said to have been com absolute throughout the whole Panjāb proper from t the Indus.' The city and province of Peshāwar, a the Afghans, became tributary to him in 1823; but never reduced the frontier to obedience, or extended it beyond the range of their forts. The possessions of th

by the soldiery; and, after Sobrāon, the widow of Sardā burnt voluntarily. Sir Lepel Griffin in 1895 described that last case in the Panjāb.

Infanticide was practised extensively in the Panjāb, Rāj Cutch, Kāthiāwār, and elsewhere.

[1] But Sir W. Lee-Warner, writing in 1904 (*Life of the* says: 'nor have cases of Meriah passed entirely out of the Indian crime.'

[2] He was allowed to retain certain lands south of the river acquired earlier.



at the time of his death in 1839 at the age of fifty-nine Kāngra and Kashmīr, as shown in the map.

Ranjit Singh, who had ruined his health by drink and [illegible] was struck with paralysis in 1834, and again in 1838, [illegible] which he met Lord Auckland. The general knowledge [illegible] death must soon occur, and that he had no heir fit to [illegible] weakened his authority in his latter days, and prepared [illegible] for the six years of misrule which ensued upon his [illegible]



MAHĀRĀJA RANJIT SINGH.

needless to detail the crimes which stained the Panjāb [illegible] evil time. The nature of the events is indicated [illegible] Sir Lepel Griffin's summary :

'The six years which followed were a period of [illegible] in which assassination was the rule, and the weak were ruth[illegible] under foot. The legitimate line—Kharak Singh, the [illegible] son of Ranjit] ; and his handsome, reckless, vicious son, [illegible] [a youth of eighteen]—was soon extinguished in blood. [illegible] turn of the impostors : Mahārāja Sher Singh, a drunken [illegible] pretended son of Ranjit], murdered together with his [illegible]

[illegible] and Dhulip [Dilīp] Singh, the son of the dancing girl, [illegible] could have been as swift and bloody as the others, had not [illegible] fortune and the collapse of the Sikh army allowed him a secure [illegible] unrequited generosity of the British Government.

[illegible] Singh had sown, so was the harvest. The fathers had eaten [illegible] and the children's teeth were set on edge. The kingdom [illegible] violence, treachery, and blood did not long survive its founder. [illegible] military and administrative genius of one man, it crumbled [illegible] when the spirit which gave it life was withdrawn ; and the [illegible] the Khālsa passed into the hands of the English, who will [illegible] all comers, if only they rule with the justice, beneficence, [illegible] which alone make empires enduring.'

[illegible] Sikh plundering bands had consisted almost wholly [illegible] cavalry. Foot-soldiers were of little account, and [illegible] did not exist. Ranjit Singh transformed the army of [illegible] Khālsa, or military order, into an essentially infantry [illegible] supported by powerful artillery, and moderately good [illegible] The principal officers were foreigners, mostly French or [illegible] Italian Generals Ventura and Allard, who had served [illegible] Napoleon, and the ferocious Neapolitan, Avitabile. In [illegible] 1845 the army comprised 88,662 men, of whom 53,756 were [illegible] infantry. The guns of all sorts amounted to 484, besides [illegible] camels.

[illegible] In 1845 the Khālsa, which had accepted as its nominal [illegible] a child five years of age named Dhuleep (properly, [illegible] Dalīp) falsely alleged to be a son of Ranjit, compelled the [illegible] mother of the child, and her counsellors, Lāl Singh and [illegible] Tej Singh, to authorize the invasion of British territory by crossing [illegible] the Sutlej. The soldiers hoped to take the authorities unawares [illegible] and share the plunder of Delhi. They numbered about 50,000 [illegible]

[illegible] declaration of war. No ruler of India could refuse to accept [illegible] the challenge. The Governor-general issued his declaration [illegible] on December 13, 1845, stating that

[illegible] Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the [illegible] territories.

[illegible] The governor-general must therefore take measures for effectually [illegible] protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British [illegible] Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers [illegible] of peace.

[illegible] The governor-general hereby declares the possessions of Muharaja [illegible] Dalīp Singh on the left or British bank of the Sutlej, confiscated and [illegible] annexed to the British territories.'

[illegible] The Governor-general in his anxiety to avoid war [illegible] at a serious risk, against the advice of the commander-in-[illegible] chief, from pushing large forces forward. The first [illegible] battle, Mudkī (Moodkee) between Lūdiāna and Fīrōzpur [illegible]

[illegible] Sikh notes a tendency to overrate the numbers of the Sikh [illegible] army, and proves the reality of the erroneous belief held by the Khālsa [illegible] that the English meditated an invasion of Sikh territory.

consequently was fought at a disadvantage and on the defen
but resulted in the defeat of the Sikhs. Three days later t
British army, having received reinforcements, attacked
invaders in their entrenchments at a village commonly
Ferozeshāh, about twelve miles from the Sutlaj.[1] The b
lasted for two days ; and, after a desperate struggle, in wh
British army lost 2,415 killed and wounded, the Sikhs were dr
from their entrenchments and compelled to retire. Five aide
camp of the Governor-general were killed, and four wou
The situation of the British force was extremely critical on
night of December 21, when the troops had to bivouac on
ground won. Fighting was renewed at dawn, and ended in
retirement of the Sikhs. It is impossible within the limits of
work to discuss the interesting military details, which may be
in the excellent account recorded by the Governor-general's
son, who attended his father as an aide-de-camp.

The third battle, fought close to the Sutlaj at Aliwāl to the
of Lūdiāna, on January 28, 1846, ended in the driving of the
across the river, in which many were drowned. Every enemy
to the number of fifty-two, fell into the hands of the victors.

Battle of Sobrāon. The final battle of the brief campaign
fought on February 10, 1846, in the Ferozepore (Fīrōzpur) Dis
on the eastern bank of the river, facing the village of Sob
on the opposite or Lahore bank. The Sikhs, numbering
30,000, with seventy guns, occupied strong entrenchments
nected by a good bridge with the opposite bank, where
reserve was posted. The position involved obvious risk.
British force carried the works with the bayonet alone, and
the Sikhs to retire on the bridge. The concluding act of the
is vividly described by the Governor-general's son and heir
was present :

'Compelled to retire, they gave way in such admirable order as to
the admiration of the British soldiers. At last the fire slackened, and
ensued a scene which defies description. Pressed on all sides by
vancing infantry, the enemy were hemmed in in one confused
the head of the bridge, there to be shot down or hurled into the
below. Happening to be an eye-witness of what then occurred, I
bridge at that moment overcrowded with guns, horses, and soldi
all arms, swaying to and fro, till at last with a crash it disappeared
running waters, carrying with it those who had vainly hoped to
the opposite shore. The river seemed alive with a struggling mass

[1] The name really is Phīrūshahr (Pheerooshuhur), or 'Phirū's
(Cunningham, *Hist. of the Sikhs*[2], p. 301 *n.*). The *I. G.* spells Phiro

[2] Gough (p. 119) notes a curious incident after Aliwāl : 'By
the Governor-general a royal salute was fired from the British
bands raised the National Anthem. The Sikhs on the opposite ba
to be outdone, followed suit with both ; and their bands were heard
"God save the Queen".' Gough puts the number of guns cap
67 ; the number in the text is as stated by Viscount Hardinge in his

[3] Properly Subrāhān, the plural of Subrah, the name of a tribe inha
the village (ibid., p. 320 *n.*).

artillery, now brought down to the water's edge, completed the slaugh-
Few escaped, none, it may be said, surrendered. The Sikhs met their
with that resignation which distinguishes their race.'

On the side of the conquerors
total number of killed amounted to 300, of wounded to 2,063. The
official estimate of the Sikh loss is 8,000.[1] The trophies of the
comprised 67 pieces of artillery and 200 camel-swivels. Prince
lemar [of Prussia] and his aides-de-camp were again present in the
As true soldiers, they were not satisfied with being distant spectators,
were continually under fire.'

Rewards. Great anxiety had been felt in England when the
of the battles of Mudkī and Aliwāl arrived. The accounts
the tactics pursued seemed to indicate a certain amount of
ness on the part of Sir Hugh Gough, the gallant commander-
chief ; so that plans for placing the Governor-general in supreme
itary command had been considered. The announcement of
final victory at Sobrāon, which closed the Sutlaj campaign by
destruction of the Sikh field army, dispelled all fears, and gave
cause for rejoicing. The war on the British side having been
ly defensive, no regrets tempered the joy of victory. Peerages
other rewards were conferred on the Governor-general and
mander-in-chief ; and all ranks shared in the honours and
ities which were distributed freely, as was right, considering
critical nature of the contest with the bravest and steadiest
y ever encountered in India by a British army.

Treaties of Lahore. The victory opened the way to Lahore,
h was promptly occupied by the Governor-general. The Sikhs
not in a position to contest the terms imposed, which required
ession of all lands on the British side of the Sutlaj, as well as
the Jullundur (Jālandhar) Doāb, between that river and the
the payment of half a million sterling, the cession of Kashmīr
Hazāra as the equivalent of a million, the surrender of many
and the limitation of the Sikh army to 20,000 infantry and
00 cavalry.

The government was to continue in the hands of the young
hārāja, with Lāl Singh as his minister, under the supervision
Sir Henry Lawrence, who was appointed Resident. A British
was to remain in occupation of Lahore until the close of the
but not longer. The arrangement did not work, and before
the more friendly Sikh leaders requested that the occupation
be prolonged for eight years until the Mahārāja should
of age. An amended treaty accordingly was executed in
mber 1846. Sir Henry Lawrence remained as the real ruler,
ominally as the president of a council of regency. He gathered
him a cluster of brilliant colleagues as assistants, including
other John, Herbert Edwardes, and many others well known
me in later years. Sir Henry Lawrence's attempt to conduct
dministration on more or less civilized lines was much disliked
the chiefs, and especially by the Queen Mother, who had to be

[1] Cunningham, as usual, was inclined to reduce the number.

deported. Meantime the Sikhs, who had managed to retain [illegible] guns, and still could muster a formidable force of fighting [illegible] were preparing for a fresh conflict. It did not break out [illegible] after Lord Hardinge's departure.

Makeshift arrangements. Lord Hardinge's arrangements [illegible] the administration of the Panjāb obviously were open to criti[illegible] and lacking in prospects of permanence. But at the time [illegible] tion was hardly possible, and the Governor-general rightly determined to avoid a subsidiary alliance of the old, obsolete [illegible] Annexation was dangerous, because the small European [illegible] had been much weakened by the casualties of the campa[illegible] and certain incidents had proved that full confidence could be reposed in the sepoy army. Lord Hardinge hoped rather believed that peace might be preserved because the Sikh mili[illegible] power had been so much weakened by the territorial cessi[illegible] enforced and by the losses suffered by the Khālsa.[1] The [illegible] of Kashmīr, with the neighbouring dominions of several [illegible] hill chiefs, was made over to Rājā Gulāb Singh, an upstart [illegible] chieftain of Jummoo (Jumū), on payment of three-quarters a million sterling. The modern Kashmīr State was thus establi[illegible] The British retained the Hazāra District, now (1918) includ[illegible] the North-West Frontier Province.

A Muhammadan leader tried to prevent Gulāb Singh from ta[illegible] possession of his new acquisitions, but was easily suppressed. [illegible] British force engaged in the operation was actually supported a contingent of 17,000 Sikhs who had been fighting in the campa[illegible] just concluded.

All the political arrangements were made by Lord Hardi[illegible] on his own responsibility, without the advice of the council Calcutta. He enjoyed the full confidence of the Home Governm[illegible] which warmly supported him in all his acts.

Close of Lord Hardinge's administration. Lord Hardi[illegible] in his anxiety to secure financial economy, somewhat hastily m[illegible] considerable reductions in the army, which seriously embarra[illegible] his successor. The old Duke of Wellington's blunt comment [illegible] never could understand why he was in such a damned hurry,' [illegible] a just, if unconventional criticism.

In January 1848 Lord Hardinge made over charge to his succe[illegible] Lord Dalhousie, to whom he expressed the rash assurance [illegible] so far as human foresight could predict, 'it would not be nece[illegible] to fire a gun in India for seven years to come.' The predict[illegible] like many others of its kind, was quickly falsified.

Subsequent career of Lord Hardinge. Viscount Hardi[illegible] after quitting India, continued to serve his queen and coun[illegible] to the end of his unsullied life, first as Master of the Ordna[illegible] and then as commander-in-chief. The military strength of [illegible] United Kingdom had been allowed to sink to a dangerously [illegible]

[1] He wrote to Henry Lawrence: 'I confess I think the probabili[illegible] against the continuance of a Sikh government' (*Life of Sir H. La[illegible]* p. 385).

during the long peace between the battle of Waterloo in 1815 [illegible] beginning of the Crimean War in 1854. No one man could [illegible] the neglect of two generations which resulted in the deplor[illegible] scandals of the campaign in the Crimea. Lord Hardinge, [illegible] did his best, has to his credit several valuable reforms, includ[illegible] an absolutely necessary increase of the artillery, the introduc[illegible] of the Enfield rifle, the foundation of the School of Musketry [illegible] the, and the purchase of the site for the camp and manœuvre [illegible] at Aldershot. In 1855 he was promoted to the rank of [illegible] Marshal, and on September 13, 1856, he died in his seventy-[illegible] year. The regrets of [illegible] grateful sovereign are [illegible] on his tomb.



LORD DALHOUSIE.

The Earl of Dalhousie. [illegible] chosen successor of the [illegible] Viscount Hardinge [illegible] a young Scots nobleman, [illegible] Earl of Dalhousie, only [illegible] five years of age. He [illegible] made a reputation as an [illegible] strious and able official [illegible] in the ministry as Pre[illegible] of the Board of Trade, [illegible] a time when the duties of [illegible] post were exceptionally [illegible] onous owing to the rapid [illegible] elopment of the railway [illegible] em, then a novelty. His [illegible] ointment was received [illegible] h general approval, but [illegible] had good reason for doubt[illegible] g his ability to stand the [illegible] ain of governing India. In [illegible] year following he wrote: [illegible] was broken down in health [illegible] n I started and had no business to come. I landed in Calcutta [illegible] invalid, almost a cripple.' During the whole eight years of his [illegible] of office he was never really well, and usually was suffering [illegible] acute pain. The day he quitted India he crawled on board [illegible] ship with the aid of crutches. Notwithstanding his physical [illegible] ability and almost incessant suffering, the marvellous strength [illegible] his will enabled him to perform an amount of work of the [illegible] best quality which exceeded the powers of most statesmen, even [illegible] n blessed with perfect health.

[illegible] The first four years of his government were largely occupied [illegible] the second Sikh and the second Burmese war. It will be con[illegible] ient to narrate in outline the history and results of those cam[illegible] gns before discussing Lord Dalhousie's manifold activities in [illegible] er fields.

Revolt of Mūlrāj. Dīwān Mūlrāj, who occupied a semi-indepen-

dent position as Governor of Mūltān, combining the busines
trade on a large scale with that of administration, was called
by the government at Lahore to render accounts. After some
he intimated that he preferred to resign. Two young offi
Vans Agnew of the Civil Service and Lieutenant Anderson,
then sent by the Resident to take over charge of the fortr
Mūltān and install the Sikh Governor who had been appoint
succeed Mūlrāj. In April 1848 both these officers were sudd
attacked and hacked to death. Mūlrāj, who rewarded the
derers for their deed, regained possession of Mūltān, which wa
too strong to be taken from him except after a regular
Lord Gough, the commander-in-chief, with whom Lord Dalh
reluctantly but resolutely concurred, decided that it would
unwise to attempt the siege of Mūltān during the hot weather
without adequate force or a suitable siege train. He there
in spite of all entreaty, deferred operations until the cold weat
He has been much blamed for that decision, but so far as I und
stand the matter he was right. The correctness of his judgme
is not impugned by the fact that during the hot season Lieute
Herbert Edwardes pressed Mūlrāj hard with a small force
raised, and compelled the chieftain to remain within the wall
his fortress.

The siege of Mūltān began in September 1848 ; but, after a
days, had to be raised, because the apparent success of Mūlrāj
tempted the Sikh troops to revolt, so that the besiegers soon
themselves in danger of being cut off by a hostile host.

Anticipating a little the order of time, it may be stated that
citadel of Mūltān, after a gallant defence, capitulated on Janua
1849. Mūlrāj was tried, convicted, and transported.

War. Lord Dalhousie immediately recognized that the out
at Mūltān necessitated a final war with the Sikhs. His deci
was announced in the famous phrase : ' Unwarned by prece
uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for
and, on my word, sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance.'[1]

Extensive preparations were made. The Governor-ge
moved up to the frontier, and Lord Gough, the commander
chief, crossed the Panjāb with 20,000 men and nearly 100
Another large force was brought up from Bombay.

Chiliānwālā. Before Mūltān fell the battle of Chiliān
had been fought by Lord Gough on January 13, 1846. The
entrenched themselves with their backs to the Jhelum river
they had done with their backs to the Sutlaj at the batt
Sobrāon in the first Sikh war. Lord Gough reached Chiliān
about noon, with the intention of reconnoitring the posi
encamping for the night, and fighting the next day. But when
enemy's guns suddenly opened fire, and the Sikhs in full
advanced from their entrenchments, all possibility of encamp

[1] The idiom ' with a vengeance ' has been sometimes misunderst
It simply means 'to extremity', or in French, *à outrance*, and has not
to do with ' vengeance ' in the sense of revenge.

ished, and Lord Gough was forced to fight at once. The firing
n about one o'clock in the afternoon, and consequently the
ight hours available at that season were few. The result of
ight was that the enemy was driven back to Tupai on the
bank, and if daylight had lasted would have been forced into
ater. But the coming on of darkness, combined with certain
s committed by subordinate commanders, especially the
handling of the cavalry on the British right, prevented the
ment of complete success. The Sikhs were even able to
er some of their guns during the night. The British force
ed severely, losing 2,338 men killed and wounded. Lord
gh also lost four guns and the colours of three regiments.
the other hand, twelve or thirteen guns were taken from the
my.

he news of the battle produced a painful impression in both
and England, the Sikh strength having been much underrated
ublic opinion, which had expected an easy triumph. The home
horities hastily ordered the recall of Lord Gough and his super-
ion by Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Sind.

March to Gujarāt. The battle of Chiliānwālā had been
sarily fought by Lord Gough with inadequate force. The
of Mūltān a few days later released a large body of troops, who
their way northwards by forced marches, and more than
ced the heavy casualties of the battle. The British now
me for the first time superior to the enemy in artillery. Want
upplies prevented the Sikh general from retaining his strong
renched position at Rasūl near Chiliānwālā. When he moved
wards to Gujarāt, a town near the Chināb, Lord Gough
ived that the right time for the final conflict had come.
using to be tempted into premature action by the enemy's
vocations, he marched slowly in February towards his chosen
ttle-ground, where he intended to deliver the decisive blow with
ntrated forces adequately supplied with guns.[1]

Battle of Gujarāt, February 21, 1849. The Sikh position
s established to the south of the town of Gujarāt, with the
nāb on their left. The battle began about 9 a.m. on February 21
a vigorous artillery duel which greatly weakened the Sikh
nce. The general advance of the British began at 11.30, and
hour later the whole Sikh army was in full flight. By one
ock the town, camp, and baggage of the enemy, with most
their guns, were in the hands of the victors.

The decisive victory was gained at the comparatively small
of 96 killed and 670 wounded. The fugitive army was hotly
ued as far as the Afghan frontier by an active force of 12,000
, and the conquest was completed by the occupation of
ōr war.

Lord Gough observed in his farewell orders that ' the tide of

[1] Lord Dalhousie's advice is entitled to some of the credit due for the
quate use of artillery preparation at the ' battle of the guns ', as
arāt has been called.

conquest, which heretofore rolled on the Punjaub from the west, has at length reached it and overcome it from the east; and that which Alexander attempted, the British Indian army has accomplished. The fierce controversy which has raged round Chiliānwālā and certain less important actions fought by Lord Gough found no room for its fires in the story of the battle of Gujarāt. The preparations for the final struggle were carefully thought out and successfully matured, while the conduct of the battle itself left no opening for hostile criticism. The news was received with intense pleasure at home, and fresh honours and rewards were gladly bestowed on everybody concerned, from the Governor-general and the commander-in-chief down to the rank and file.

Annexation. The Panjāb having twice become the prize of war, and two attempts at maintaining a Sikh administration having failed disastrously, Lord Dalhousie rightly decided on avoiding annexation. The decision was his alone, taken without reference either to the council in Calcutta or to superior authority in England. The Governor-general explained that

'there was no government in the Panjāb, and if I had ... proclaimed a distinct policy of one kind or another, I should have had the country in a month in riot and utter anarchy, and harm would have been done which years and years could not have made good. What I have done I have done as an act of necessity.'



SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

The boy Mahārāja Dhuleep Singh was required to resign for himself, his heirs and his successors, all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Panjāb, or to any sovereign power whatever.

Form of government. Lord Dalhousie, who did not see eye to eye with Sir Henry Lawrence the late resident, was unable either to dispense with the services of that able officer, or to entrust him with the control of the civil administration, a task for which his romantic temperament and unmethodical habits were thought to render him unsuitable.

As a temporary arrangement the provincial government was placed in the hands of a board, consisting of Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother John, and a civilian colleague from Bengal. As soon as opportunity offered Henry Lawrence was transferred to Rājputāna, the board was abolished, and John Lawrence was appointed chief commissioner. Whoever might be in local charge, the government was directed by the Governor-general, who insisted that his policy, not that of anybody else, must be carried out.

Organization of a new administration. The new government had everything to do. The administration of Ranjit Singh, even when he was at his best, had been of the rough-and-ready kind. He did not concern himself for a moment with the welfare of the people; concentrating his attention on the army, and the extraction of every rupee from the cultivators on which he could lay hands. No civilized rulers could possibly continue to govern on such principles. Lord Dalhousie selected the best men in the Indian services, civil and military, in order to construct a reasonably regular, though flexible and informal, machinery of government, and was rewarded by seeing that prosperity and contentment in the Panjāb resulted from his efforts. The Lawrences, Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Richard Temple, and many other officers whose names are more or less familiar, contributed to the organization of the model province; but they always worked under the eye of their indefatigable master, who, perhaps, deserves, no more than his brilliant subordinates, the credit for the results obtained.

Reforms in all departments. External security was provided by a chain of forts and cantonments and the constitution of the Mobile Frontier Force, including the Corps of Guides; while internal order was assured by general disarmament and the establishment of civil and military police. Ranjit Singh had been accustomed to take as land revenue in kind half of the gross crop produce. The new government was content with a moderate cash assessment. Communications, which had been wholly neglected, were rapidly improved, and all possible steps were taken to encourage the people to settle down to peaceable occupations. Village schools were founded, and an informal judicial system was brought into operation. The province was divided into convenient districts, administered by picked officers, of whom about half were military and half civil servants. Care was taken not to crush the newly conquered people under the weight of the Bengal Regulations, the administration being organized on the more elastic non-regulation pattern. By those measures and many others equally efficient the Panjāb quickly became not only prosperous but loyally contented, and the men who had fought the British bravely in 1849 willingly stood shoulder to shoulder with them in 1857. The old ruling classes, however, for whom Henry Lawrence had warm sympathy, had some reason to complain of the heavy hand of his brother John.[1]

[1] Lord Dalhousie, in acting thus promptly, followed the advice of Sir H. Lawrence. Henry thought annexation inexpedient.

The fundamental differences of temperament and opinion between the Lawrence brothers are expounded at length in the *Life of Sir Henry*

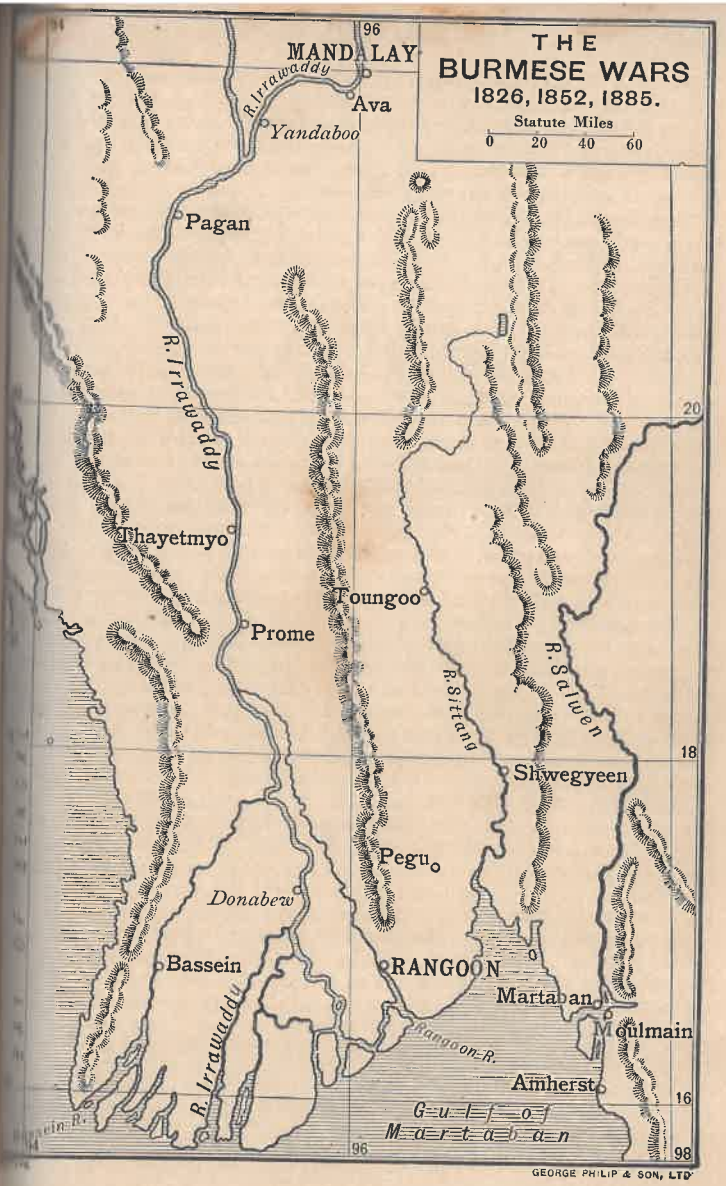
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Second Burmese War. The war with Burma, although [illegible] volving consequences not much inferior in importance to [illegible] of the Sikh War, was of less military interest, and may be [illegible] sufficiently in few words. The humiliations inflicted on and [illegible] losses endured by Burma in 1826 had not lowered the pride [illegible] the court of Ava, which never missed an opportunity of expressing its contempt for Europeans or for insulting the representative of the Governor-general, who had to be withdrawn in 1840. Certain acts of oppression on British merchants in 1851 were brought to the notice of Lord Dalhousie, who required reparation and the payment of a trifling sum as damages. No satisfaction having been obtained, Commodore Lambert was sent to Rangoon to demand redress. That officer, contrary to his orders, seized one of the king's ships. The Burmese then fired, the Commodore returned the fire, and so hostilities began, more by accident than by design.[1] But, even if the naval officer had been less hasty, war could not have been long postponed, because the Burmese Government declined to abate its arrogance, or to deal on friendly terms with the Government of India. The operations were brief and successful. The great pagoda of Rangoon was gallantly stormed on April 14, 1852; Prome was occupied by General Godwin in October, and the whole of the Pegu province in November. Dalhousie declined to obey instructions from England to advance to Ava, contenting himself with the annexation of Pegu, the inland boundary on the river being fixed at Meaday, above Prome. The king having resolutely refused to sign a formal treaty, the entire province was annexed by proclamation. The brilliant success of the second Burmese War was mainly due to the Governor-general himself, who avoided all the errors of Lord Amherst, and attended personally to every detail of the equipment of the troops. He also visited the country, and organized the administration, as he had done in the Panjāb.

Results. The Government of India thus acquired control, direct or indirect, of the entire eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal from Chittagong to Singapore, while the Burmese kingdom was absolutely shut out from access to the sea except through British territory. Such a condition could not last indefinitely, and the third Burmese War in the time of Lord Dufferin was the natural and inevitable consequence of the second. Pegu, for the most part an alluvial plain of extraordinary fertility, now constitutes the Pegu Division, comprising five Districts. The population increases rapidly, and British administration has brought [illegible]

Lawrence, by Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale (Smith [illegible] 3rd ed., 1873).

[1] 'There is no doubt that Lambert was the *immediate* cause of the [illegible] by seizing the King's ship, in direct disobedience of his orders from [illegible] I accepted the responsibility of his act, but disapproved and censured [illegible] He replied officially that he had written home, and he was sure Palmerston would have approved!' (*Private Letters*, July 23, 1853, p. 260). Lambert was promoted.



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enormous growth of material prosperity. Prome is connected with Rangoon by railway.

Until 1862, when Sir Arthur Phayre became the first chief commissioner, British Burma was administered under the Government of India by two commissioners, one of Pegu (Sir Arthur Phayre), and the other of Tenasserim.

Sikkim. A third annexation of foreign territory on a very small scale had been effected in 1850, when a portion of the Sikkim State situated between Nepāl and Bhutān was taken from the Rājā as a penalty for his treacherous seizure in the previous year of Dr. Campbell, the frontier political officer, and Dr. (Sir Joseph) Hooker, the eminent botanist.

Annexation by lapse. We now turn to the much debated question of Lord Dalhousie's action in relation to the Native States, and the numerous cases in which the doctrine of lapse to the paramount power on failure of heirs was enforced. The doctrine was no new thing, and in every case the annexations actually effected were approved by the Home Government.

The test case is that of Sātārā, the little Marāthā principality in the Western Ghāts created by Lord Hastings in 1819. The Rājā appointed by the Marquess having been deposed in 1839 for treasonable practices, his brother was substituted, and ruled well until his death without heirs in 1848.[1] The Rājā, immediately before his death, had adopted a son without the consent of the paramount power. Everybody was agreed that the son so adopted should inherit the private estate of the deceased. The question whether or not he should succeed to the Rāj was quite a different matter. As far back as 1834 the directors had laid down that the recognition of an adoption as securing a political succession was an indulgence, and that such an 'indulgence should be the exception, not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation'. The principle thus enunciated was extended in 1841 by the decision of the court 'to persevere in the one clear and direct course of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue, while existing claims of right are at the same time scrupulously respected'. The case of Sātārā obviously came within those rules, and the only issue was whether or not it was expedient to apply them.

Lord Dalhousie and almost all the leading officials in India who were consulted concurred in holding that no sufficient reason existed for treating Sātārā as an exception to the rule. The Court of Directors confirmed the action of the Governor-general, saying:

'We are fully satisfied that by the general law and custom of India a dependent principality like that of Sātārā, 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.'

That clear ruling places on the shoulders of the Home Government the full responsibility for all the cases of annexation by reason of lapse effected by Lord Dalhousie. In one instance only, that of Karauli in Rājputāna, was his recommendation disallowed; the reason being that Karauli was an ancient Rājpūt principality. Lord Dalhousie, although personally in favour of annexation, did not press his opinion, and expected it to be overruled. He declared that he was 'very well content' with the final decision in the matter.[1]

Pension of the ex-Pēshwā. The two other principal cases of annexation by lapse, namely those of Nāgpur and Jhānsī, as well as several minor instances, like Jaitpur in Bundēlkhand and Sambalpur in Orissa (now in Central Provinces), were all covered by the principle by the Sātārā ruling. The annexation of Oudh in 1856 and the stoppage of the pension of the ex-Pēshwā, after his death in 1852, had nothing whatever to do with the doctrine of lapse. Dhondhū Pant, the adopted son of Bājī Rāo, and afterwards infamous as the Nānā Sahib, was allowed to inherit without question the enormous treasure accumulated by the ex-Pēshwā, and was given a *jāgīr* besides. The extravagant pension of eight lakhs of rupees a year secured by Sir John Malcolm to Bājī Rāo unquestionably was merely a personal allowance for his lifetime. His adopted son's claim to continuance of it was baseless and unreasonable.

Annexation of Oudh. The annexation of Oudh was ordered directly and peremptorily by the Home Government in a mode more drastic than that recommended by Lord Dalhousie, who was then on the eve of departure. He had not time to take all the precautions needed to ensure the safety of the transaction. The refusal of Lord Canning, his successor, to enforce disarmament in Oudh had serious consequences. Dalhousie, who had not been afraid to disarm the Panjāb, would not have shrunk from a similar operation in Oudh, on which he had actually resolved.[2]

Sleeman's opinions. Sir William Sleeman, resident at Lucknow from 1849 to 1856, while convinced that the persistent misgovernment of Oudh should not be allowed to continue, held strong opinions adverse to direct annexation. His words are:

'If our Government interpose, it must not be by negotiation or treaty, but authoritatively on the ground of existing treaties and obligations to the people of Oudh. The treaty of 1837 gives our Government ample authority to take the whole administration on ourselves, in order to secure what we have so often pledged ourselves to secure to the people; but if we do this we must, in order to stand well with the rest of India, honestly and distinctly disclaim all interested motives, and appropriate the whole of the revenues for the benefit of the people and royal family of Oude. . . . Were we to take advantage of the occasion to *annex* or *confiscate* Oude, or any part of it, our good name in India would undoubtedly suffer; and that good name is more valuable to us than a dozen Oudes. . . . We suffered from our conduct in Scinde; but that was a country distant and little known, and linked to the rest of India by few ties of sympathy. . . . It will be otherwise with Oude. Here the giant's strength is manifest, and we cannot

[1] Lee Warner, ii. 173.

[2] *Private Letters*, February 12, 1858, p. 401.

"use it like a giant" without suffering in the estimation of all India. Annexation or confiscation are [*sic*] not compatible with our relations with a little dependent state. . . . I shall recommend that all establishments, military, civil, and fiscal, be kept entirely separate from those of our Government, that there may be no mistake about the disinterestedness of our intentions towards Oude. . . . By adopting a simple system of administration, to meet the wishes of a simple people, we should secure the goodwill of all classes of society in Oude, and no class would be more pleased with the change than the members of the royal family themselves who depend upon their stipends for their subsistence, and despair of ever again receiving them under the present Sovereign and system. . . . We have only the right to interpose to secure for the suffering people that good Government which their Sovereign pledged himself to secure for them but has failed to secure. . . . The native States I consider to be breakwaters and when they are all swept away we shall be left to the mercy of the native army, which may not always be sufficiently under our control.

Sleeman appears to have desired that the Government of India should arrange to manage the country by European agency in perpetuity, leaving the surplus revenue to the royal family. He suggested as an alternative that the European management might last only during the minority of the heir apparent, then about eleven years of age, who should be bound on coming of age to govern in accordance with the advice of the resident.[1]

Dalhousie's action. The annexation was actually effected by Sir James Outram, who had succeeded Sleeman as resident early in 1856. Lord Dalhousie, being anxious to secure the appearance of the king's consent, availed himself of the discretion as to the method of procedure allowed by the directors' orders, to offer a treaty, with the intimation that, if it should not be accepted within three days, the resident would assume the government of Oudh. The treaty propounded vested the government of the country in the Company for ever; guaranteed the royal title to the king and his lawful heirs, with allowances amounting in all to fifteen lakhs of rupees (then 1,500,000 pounds sterling); and a limited jurisdiction in the palace and royal parks. On February the king definitely refused to sign the treaty. The annexation was then effected by proclamation without opposition. The trouble which ensued was of later date.

Space fails to justify the decision of the British Government by adducing proofs of the frightful and increasing misrule in Oudh. The ghastly picture is faithfully exhibited in Sleeman's famous book describing his tour in 1849–50. Outram's reports fully confirmed the statements of his predecessor. Nobody who knows the facts can deny the necessity for taking over the administration, but it would have been wiser to follow Sleeman's advice without modification as to the method of effecting the necessary change. Lord Dalhousie certainly made a mistake in trying to extort an ostensible consent from the king, who was right in refusing to set his signature to a sham 'treaty'. The Governor-general

[1] *A Journey*, Private Correspondence. vol. ii, pp. 377–93.

should have proceeded, 'not by negotiation or treaty', but authoritatively', as Sleeman rightly advised him.

Berār and the Carnatic. Two other transactions in connexion with the Native States require passing mention. Incessant troubles about the Nizam's payments for the support of the Hyderabad Contingent were settled for a time by an arrangement made in 1853, which assigned Berār with certain adjoining districts, estimated to pay a revenue of fifty lakhs, in order to provide for the maintenance of the force. The arrangement did not work as smoothly as was expected, and required modification some years later. Difficulties continued to be experienced, and in 1902 the Nizam agreed with Lord Curzon to assign Berār to the Government of India under a perpetual lease, so that it is now, all but in name, part of British India, and is attached to the Central Provinces.

The death of the titular Nawāb of the Carnatic in 1855 gave an opportunity for the revision of the rank and allowances of his family. Careful investigation in England and India satisfied the responsible authorities that the rank of Nawāb, which carried with it a semi-sovereign position, had been held since 1801 by each Nawāb as a purely personal honour, and that Government was not bound to continue it after the death of the holder. Lord Dalhousie, concurring with the Government of Madras, therefore decided on the abolition of the rank of Nawāb, and the abatement of many attendant evils. The present representative of the family is known as Prince of Arcot, and is officially recognized as the premier nobleman in the presidency.

Administration. A large volume would be needed to describe with particulars Lord Dalhousie's incessant, almost feverish activity in supervising every department of the state, and introducing innovations or improvements. He made the machinery of the Supreme Government more workable by getting rid of antiquated survivals in procedure and by arranging the work on a sensible departmental basis. The absurd arrangement by which the Governor-general in person, or in his absence the next senior member of council, administered the provincial government of Bengal, was terminated, and a lieutenant-governor was appointed (1854). A particularly inefficient body called the Military Board, which was supposed to look after public works, was suppressed, and the Department of Public Works (P.W.D.) was constituted nearly in its existing form. The expenditure on public works, which had been on the most niggardly scale, was enormously increased, and works of great magnitude, such as the Grand Trunk Road, were undertaken. Due attention was paid to irrigation canals, especially the Ganges Canal. Lord Dalhousie utilized his English experience as president of the Board of Trade to sketch a well-considered plan of trunk and branch railways, which forms the basis of the existing railway system. The earliest line, a short one from Bombay to Thāna, was opened in 1853. A year later Calcutta was connected with the Rānīganj coal-fields, and a few miles of rails were laid in the Madras presidency. Various

difficulties prevented Lord Dalhousie from seeing any [illegible] open, but preliminary operations on a large scale were [illegible] when he retired.

The Governor-general also founded the electric [illegible] system, with the help of a clever medical professor of [illegible] named O'Shaughnessy, for whom he obtained a knighthood [illegible] much difficulty, because the gentleman was not a member [illegible] the army or the covenanted civil service. The expedients [illegible] O'Shaughnessy was reduced in order to circumvent the [illegible] able obstacles in his path were very strange. The utterly [illegible] postal arrangements which had satisfied 'John Company' [illegible] boldly swept away, and the uniform half-anna postal [illegible] introduced. Before Dalhousie's reforms it cost a rupee [illegible] a letter from Calcutta to Bombay. During several years [illegible] Dalhousie's administration the North-Western Provinces, [illegible] Agra Province, were well governed by Mr. James Thomason, [illegible] was lieutenant-governor from 1843 to 1853. Thomason [illegible] supported and in part anticipated the Governor-general's [illegible] policy of extensive public works, the promotion of education, [illegible] reform of the jail administration, and every other form of [illegible] proper to a government claiming to be civilized. The [illegible] education dispatch sent out by Sir Charles Wood (Lord [illegible]) in 1854, which laid the foundation of the existing system [illegible] cular schools, was thoroughly in accordance with the [illegible] both Dalhousie and Thomason. The Governor-general [illegible] time in giving the fullest possible effect to the instructions [illegible] from England, which had been prepared with the help of [illegible] Marshman, and other capable advisers.

Last, but not least, the subject of army organization [illegible] mentioned. Lord Dalhousie prepared nine elaborate minutes [illegible] question, which were put on one side at the India House, and [illegible] noticed. In fact, two of them were mislaid and could not [illegible] Hunter was of opinion that if the advice recorded in these [illegible] documents had been heeded, it is possible that the Mutiny [illegible] not have occurred. But the validity of that opinion is [illegible] doubtful.

Renewal of Charter, 1853. In 1853 the charter of the [illegible] India Company was renewed for the last time, not for any [illegible] period, but during the pleasure of Parliament. The constitution of the Court of Directors was improved, the covenanted civil service was thrown open to competition, and power was taken to create a separate provincial government for Bengal.

Lord Dalhousie's achievement. No summary [illegible] a reasonable space can do justice to the manifold activities of Dalhousie, who never allowed ill health and pain to hinder him from giving all his boundless energy to the service of India. Many of his actions aroused hostile criticism, often drawing on his head unmerited abuse. He felt painfully the wounds inflicted by the darts of unfair calumny, but was not [illegible] the smart to swerve from the path which he had marked

[illegible] saying of his quoted by Hunter has, as that author [illegible] 'the ring of a great soul'.

[illegible] these papers;" he wrote hastily on one case in [illegible] successfully insisted on justice being done at the risk [illegible] "they are an instance of the principle that we [illegible] what is right without fear of consequences. To fear [illegible] have no other fear is a maxim of religion, but the truth [illegible] wisdom of it are proved day by day in politics." '

[illegible] Dalhousie always sought to do what he considered [illegible] his point of view, which did not always command the [illegible] seen by others, who were not affected by his limitations. [illegible] masterful man, and had some of the defects inseparable [illegible] type of character. When it was suggested that he should [illegible] the ministry at home after leaving India, he explained [illegible] confidential correspondent that various reasons prevented [illegible] accepting any official position, and added: 'Moreover, [illegible] another reason. I should never act with other men. [illegible] hope and believe) that I arrogantly insist on my own [illegible] but I can't take the same views as other fellows seem to [illegible] I suppose I am crotchety.' The writer of the last [illegible] not do himself justice. It is, however, true that he was [illegible] work smoothly with colleagues, and a man with [illegible] so autocratic was bound to make enemies and develop [illegible] official business. His intellectual power is undeniable; [illegible] shipped efficiency a little too zealously, and sometimes [illegible] even inefficient people have sentiments which need [illegible] An unmethodical sentimental person like Sir Henry [illegible] irritated his practical mind intensely. No criticism can [illegible] that Lord Dalhousie must always be allowed a place [illegible] rank of the Governors-general, by the side of Warren [illegible] Wellesley, and the Marquess of Hastings.

[illegible] of the question as to how far his policy provoked [illegible] will be undertaken more conveniently in the next

CHRONOLOGY

[illegible] Hardinge Governor-general (July)	1844
[illegible] War began; battles of Mudkī and 'Ferozeshah'	
[illegible]	1845
[illegible] Aliwal (January) and Sobrāon (February); treaties of	
[illegible]	1846
[illegible] operations in Hill Tracts of Orissa	1847–54
[illegible] Governor-general (January); revolt of Mūlrāj;	
[illegible] Sikh War; annexation of Sātārā by lapse	1848
[illegible] Chillianwala and Gujarāt; annexation of the Panjāb	1849
[illegible] annexation of part of Sikkim	1850
[illegible] Burmese War; annexation of Pegu	1852
[illegible] Railway opened; renewal of charter	1853
[illegible] Wood's education dispatch	1854
[illegible] many reforms	1854–6
[illegible] of Lord Dalhousie; Lord Canning Governor-general;	
[illegible] annexation of Oudh; death of Lord Hardinge	1856

AUTHORITIES

Viscount Hardinge (R. I., 1900) by the second Viscount Hardinge, who was on his father's staff, contains much matter previously unpublished, and ranks as a primary authority. The standard work on the [Sikhs] generally is *A History of the Sikhs* by J. D. CUNNINGHAM (1st ed., suppressed; 2nd ed., 1853, written largely from the Sikh point of view. It should be read with *Ranjit Singh* by Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN (R. I., a brilliant and wise little book, which gives the best account of the Maha... Further light is thrown on both the Sikh Wars in *The Sikhs and the Wars* by General Sir CHARLES GOUGH and A. D. INNES (Innes & 1897); and in the *Life and Campaigns of Hugh Gough, Field Mar... first Viscount*, by R. S. RAIT (1903). The story of the suppression of Khond horrors is told by Major-General JOHN CAMPBELL in the Narr... *of his Operations in the Hill Tracts of Orissa for the Suppression of the Sacrifices and Female Infanticide* (London, Hurst & Blackett; printed private circulation, 1861).

MARSHMAN devotes much space to the time of Lord Dalhousie. Sp... books dealing with the subject are: *The Marquess of Dalhousie* (R... 1905) by Sir W.W. HUNTER; the large *Life* by Sir W. LEE WARNER (... *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, ed. by J. A. BAIRD (Black... 1910); and *The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British I...* by EDWIN ARNOLD (2 vols., Saunders & Otley, 1861). The second Bur... War is treated by Colonel W. F. B. LAURIE in *Our Burmese Wars ... Relations with Burma* (Allen, 1880).

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CHAPTER 5

Lord Canning; the Mutiny; the Queen's Proclamation and the pass... of the East India Company.

Viscount Canning. Viscount Canning, son of Mr. Geo... Canning who had been Prime Minister in 1827, was in his fou... fourth year when he relieved Lord Dalhousie on the last day ... February 1856, and had had considerable political experie... as a member of Parliament and a minister, his last office ha... that of postmaster-general. Lord Dalhousie, although rath... more guarded in his farewell utterances than some of his pre... cessors had been, was disposed to believe that all was well in Ind... and that his successor would enjoy a peaceful time. Even t... dangerous annexation of Oudh had been effected quietly with... any serious opposition.

No prevision of the Mutiny. The outgoing Governor-gene... certainly had not the slightest prevision of the storm that was ... break the next year in May, and had not made any arrangeme... to meet it. Although Lord Dalhousie had displayed anxious ... thought in the preparations for the Burmese War, and had organi...

...irably the supply and transport services, he was not a military ...ius. His minutes on army organization, which have been ...tioned, were mainly directed to the purpose of maintaining in ...ia an adequate proportion of European troops. He deplored ...resisted as far as he could the orders from home which required ... to send a considerable portion of his small European garrison ...China and Persia. So far his views were perfectly sound, but ...must share with his predecessors the censure due for permitting ...continuance of a most dangerous military situation in India. ...had not taken any precautions to protect the enormous store ...munitions at Delhi, which was left in the hands of the native ...y, or to secure the es...tial strategical position ...Allahabad. Whatever ...ught was devoted to ...itary preparation in India ...s directed to the Panjāb. ...erywhere else the old hap...ard distribution of the ...ops continued, and no...dy in authority, mili...y or civil, seems to ...ve realized the obvious ...ils incurred.



LORD CANNING.

Crimean, Persian, and Chinese Wars. Those perils ...re much aggravated by ...e wars in which Great ...itain was involved in 1856. ...e Crimean War came to ...s end in March, but in the ...sing months of that year ...dia was drawn by Palmer...nian policy into a con...xion with two wars which ...d not properly concern ...r, and both of which were ...ecessary. Under orders from the Home Government, which ...d taken alarm at the occupation of Herat by Persia, an expedi...on under Sir James Outram was sent from Bombay to the ...rsian Gulf in October, and did not return until March 1857. ...e high-handed action of the representatives of Great Britain ...China brought on hostilities over a trifling incident in November, ...hich lasted with certain interruptions until 1860. British troops ...ceeding to India were then ordered to go round by China, and ...lp in the operations at Canton. The knowledge that the English ...re engaged in so many wars, and that the proportion of European ...ops in India was dangerously low, while the most important ...ategical points in the interior were in sepoy hands,[1] fostered

[1] The Delhi arsenal contained not less than 300 guns and mortars, ...,000 stands of arms, 200,000 shot and shell, and an enormous quantity

the unrest which then prevailed in the native army, and to a considerable extent among the general population. The circumstances of the time were favourable to designs of rebellion against foreigners, who seemed to be weaker than usual.

Discontent in native army. Long before 1856 Lord William Bentinck had denounced the sepoy army as being the most expensive and inefficient in the world. Many incidents proved its deterioration, and the constant extension of frontiers involved the service of the men in strange countries which they disliked. When serving in such places they expected extra allowances, and whenever difficulty was experienced in satisfying their claims mutiny occurred. At least four mutinies are recorded during the thirty years preceding the great explosion; the regiments concerned being the 34th N.I. in 1844, the 22nd N.I. in 1849, the 66th N.I. in 1850, and the 38th N.I. in 1852. Lord Canning in his first year of office directed that all recruits for the Bengal army should be attested, like the Madras sepoys, with an obligation to serve wherever required. Although the change did not directly affect the men already in the ranks it was unpopular, because the service was to a large extent hereditary and movements by sea endangered caste.

Strength of army. On May 10, 1857, the strength of the Company's army in India, including Pegu, was 238,002 of all ranks, of whom 38,000, or 19 per cent. (including officers of the native army), were Europeans, the remainder 200,002 being natives of the country. The strength of the Bengal Army, which alone revolted to a serious extent, was 151,361, comprising 22,855 Europeans and 128,663 Indians. About 40,000 troops were in the Panjāb beyond the Sutlaj, including 8,631 Europeans, besides 11,049 in the Cis-Sutlaj districts, including 4,790 Europeans. Thus 13,421 Europeans were concentrated in the Panjāb and Cis-Sutlaj territories.[1]

The proportion of British troops in the region now called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was extremely small, while the strategical points and most of the guns were left in the hands of the native army. No European force existed in Bengal and Bihār, except at Calcutta and at Dinapore near Patna. It is astonishing that successive Governors-general and commanders-in-chief should have been content to allow the continuance of such a dangerous distribution.

Lax army discipline. The state of discipline in the native army, and especially in the Bengal army, had sunk very low, largely owing to the inveterate Bengal practice of promoting both British and Indian officers by strict seniority and retaining them long

of other material. The only Europeans employed were a few officers and non-commissioned officers of the Ordnance Department. The palace enclosure was inhabited by about 12,000 discontented dependants of the titular emperor. The key position of Allahabad was treated with similar carelessness.

[1] The figures are given by G. D. (see Authorities *post*), p. 731.

they had become useless.[1] General Godwin, for instance, who commanded in the second Burmese War, was seventy years of age, and Sūbadārs of forty or even fifty years' service were not uncommon. About 40,000 of the men came from Oudh, and with the native officers formed close family parties subversive of discipline. The large percentage of Brahmans recruited fostered the caste spirit to a mischievous extent. Other causes contributed to the laxity of discipline, which it would be tedious to expound. The fact of the laxity is certain.

Unrest of civil population. It is equally certain that the minds of the civil population of all classes and ranks, Hindu and Muhammadans, princes and people, were agitated and disturbed by feelings of uneasiness and vague apprehension. The disturbance of sentiment was not manifested by insurrections, as the discontent in the army had been signalled by mutinies, but events showed clearly that men's minds had been long unsettled. The ruling chiefs were rendered uneasy by the numerous escheats and annexations. They knew nothing about subtle distinctions of 'dependent' or 'subordinate' states, and the like, which filled so large a space in the correspondence between the Government of India and the Home authorities. They simply saw that principality after principality was escheated and annexed for one reason or another, so that no ruler of a native state felt safe. Every one of the escheats, lapses, and annexations which marked the eight years of Lord Dalhousie's rule could be justified by sound arguments on the general principles enunciated by the Government in England; but the pace was too fast, and the cumulative effect of the transactions was profoundly unsettling. The introduction of British law and the revenue settlements with village zemindars diminished everywhere the authority of the classes accustomed to rule their villages and chieftainships as petty autocrats; and the establishment of general internal peace threw multitudes out of employment. The annexation of Oudh, in particular, let loose swarms of unemployed men in various ranks. When Outram was obliged to take leave the chief commissionership at Lucknow unfortunately was given by Lord Canning to Mr. Coverley Jackson, a man of violent and overbearing disposition, who quarrelled incessantly with his colleagues, especially with Mr. Gubbins, the equally hot-tempered judicial commissioner. The administration took little heed of the susceptibilities of the great landholders, and Lord Canning's refusal to disarm Oudh left abundance of weapons in every village.

Both the army and the civil population were pervaded by fear that the Government intended to make everybody Christians, as the old Muhammadan governments had often manufactured 'converts' wholesale.[2] The Indian people, as a rule, do not

[1] In Madras and Bombay the native officers were promoted by selection.

[2] 'Never were the natives more grievously mistaken than they have been in adopting the notion foisted on them by designing and ambitious men—that their religion was at stake; for that notion I believe to have

bother about doctrines. They recognize as a Muhammadan [illegible] circumcised person, who is willing to repeat the short Mu[illegible] formula and to submit to the external conditions of Muslim [illegible] Hinduism, of which caste is the essential institution, does [illegible] trouble about any man's beliefs, but public opinion insists [illegible] every man should follow the *dharma*, or Law of Duty, of his [illegible] Christians had no caste, and no regard for the rules of cerem[illegible] purity and diet, whether Muslim or Hindu. Popular opi[illegible] regarded as a *Kristān* (Christian) anybody who was prepared [illegible] eat beef or pork indifferently, and consume strong drink wit[illegible] scruple, while disregarding all the conventions about ablut[illegible] and ceremonial which Hindus and Muhammadans, each in [illegible] own way, hold dear. Many circumstances conduced to [illegible] widespread apprehension that the people were to be made Chr[illegible] tians. Missionary activity was largely increased and ope[illegible] favoured by powerful officials, especially in the Panjāb. [illegible] introduction of European improvements, railways, telegra[illegible] and the like, which now are accepted as part of the natural [illegible] of things, was a shock to the people of the middle of the nineteen[illegible] century, and seemed to portend a general Europeanization, wh[illegible] was considered to be much the same thing as general Christian[illegible] tion. It would be easy to elaborate the subject at much gre[illegible] length, and to adduce other causes which contributed to fill [illegible] powder magazine in which the sepoy mutiny of May 1857 explo[illegible]

Greased cartridges. The introduction of the Enfield ri[illegible] one of the necessary reforms effected by Lord Hardinge, wh[illegible] commander-in-chief in England, led directly to the explos[illegible] An ill-considered regulation directed the sepoys to bite the end [illegible] the cartridge, and in January 1857 reports were made that t[illegible] sepoys believed the cartridges to be greased with cows' and pi[illegible] fat for the express purpose of destroying their caste and mak[illegible] them all Christians. At first the alarm was believed by the Ind[illegible] authorities to be wholly unfounded, but subsequent inquiry pro[illegible] that the fat of cows or oxen really had been used at Woolwich, a[illegible] that in consequence the men would have lost caste by bit[illegible] cartridges so greased.[1] The regulation demanding that the end [illegible] the cartridge should be bitten was rescinded, directions w[illegible] given that ready greased cartridges should not be issued, liber[illegible] being allowed to the men to make their own arrangements, a[illegible] elaborate explanations and assurances were freely promulgate[illegible] But it was all of no use. The terror had seized the minds of t[illegible] whole army, and the men would not believe the assurances of th[illegible] officers or the Government.

Chupatties and lotus-flowers. The general unrest w[illegible] indicated by the mysterious *chupatties*, or griddle-cakes, wh[illegible] began to circulate from village to village about the middle of 18[illegible]

been at the root of the late rebellion' (Baboo Ramgopal Ghose, quoted [illegible] G. D., p. 612).

[1] 'On this inflammable material, the too true story of the cartrid[illegible] fell as a spark on dry tinder' (Sir C. Aitchison, *Lord Lawrence*, p. 76).

[illegible] similar circulation of lotus-flowers which went on at the [illegible] time, but among the regiments only.

[illegible] messenger would come to a village, seek out the headman or village [illegible] give him six chupatties and say: "These six cakes are sent to you; [illegible] will make six others, and send them on to the next village." The [illegible] man accepted the six cakes, and punctually sent forward other six [illegible] had been directed.'

[illegible] could say where the transmission of the *chupatties* began. [illegible] witnesses opined that it started near Delhi; others, perhaps [illegible] greater probability, thought the arrangement originated in [illegible]. The process continued for many months.

[illegible] was a common occurrence for a man to come to a cantonment with [illegible] flower, and give it to the chief native officer of a regiment; the [illegible] was circulated from hand to hand in the regiment; each man took [illegible] at it, and passed it on, saying nothing. When the lotus came to [illegible] man in the regiment, he disappeared for a time, and took it to the [illegible] military station. This strange process occurred throughout nearly [illegible] military stations where regiments of the Bengal native army were [illegible].'[1]

[illegible] exact meaning of the symbols used for such cryptic messages [illegible] never divined. The Indian Government of those days had [illegible] organized secret service or intelligence department; but even [illegible] an institution had existed probably it would have been [illegible]. All the resources of modern detective agencies were unable [illegible] explain the 'tree-daubing' mystery which accompanied the [illegible] killing agitation in the eastern districts of the United Provinces [illegible] my own time. I often tried to obtain a reasonable explanation, [illegible] without success.

Beginning of the Mutiny. On January 23, 1857, the troops [illegible] Dumdum near Calcutta openly displayed their aversion to the [illegible] cartridges. On March 29, at Barrackpore, the adjutant of the [illegible] N.I. was cut down on the parade-ground by a Brahman [illegible], his comrades looking on without stirring, except one, [illegible] Muhammadan named Shaikh Paltū, who gallantly ran to defend [illegible] officer. The necessary punishments followed. Meantime the [illegible] wing excitement among the sepoys was marked by numerous [illegible] incendiary fires at Barrackpore. During March and April twenty-[illegible] similar fires occurred at distant Umballa, on the border of [illegible] Panjāb. At Meerut the men of the 3rd Cavalry refused the [illegible] cartridges, and on May 3 the 7th Oudh Infantry mutinied at [illegible] Lucknow. Eighty-five of the cavalry mutineers at Meerut having [illegible] been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, their sentences [illegible] were promulgated at a special parade on Saturday, May 9. Next [illegible] day, Sunday, while evening service was being held, the cavalry [illegible] and two infantry regiments broke open the jail, released their [illegible] comrades, burnt the officers' houses, murdered every European [illegible] whom they could lay hands, and hurried off to Delhi. The [illegible] beginning of the Mutiny is usually counted from that day, May 10.

G. D., pp. 35, 36.

General Hewitt, the imbecile officer commanding at Meerut, did nothing, although he had 2,200 European soldiers at his disposal. He made no attempt to pursue the mutineers, who reached Delhi early on Monday morning, and soon made themselves masters of the city and palace. All Europeans whom the rebels could find—men, women, and children—were ruthlessly massacred. Happily a gallant telegraph operator was just in time to telegraph the news to Lahore, and so warn the authorities in the Panjāb. Lieutenant Willoughby, the officer in charge of the magazine, supported by eight brave comrades, defended the position against a raging mob for several hours, and, when it was impossible to hold out longer, blew up the place. The tremendous explosion killed large numbers of the assailants, and destroyed a considerable part of the munitions, but unfortunately much remained. The mutineers, who were quickly joined by other regiments and by all the disorderly elements in the city and neighbourhood, proclaimed the restoration of the Mogul Empire, and placed the aged titular emperor, Bahādur Shāh, on his throne. They showed him little respect, and no government as existed appears to have been administered by the military leaders. The disorders rapidly spread over the North-West Province, then known as the North-Western Provinces, which soon became 'a sea of anarchy', from which all control had vanished. Murder, burning, and plundering raged unchecked in almost every district. The presence of six hundred European troops enabled the lieutenant-governor, Mr. John Colvin, who had succeeded Mr. Thomason, to retain possession of the fort at Agra the capital.

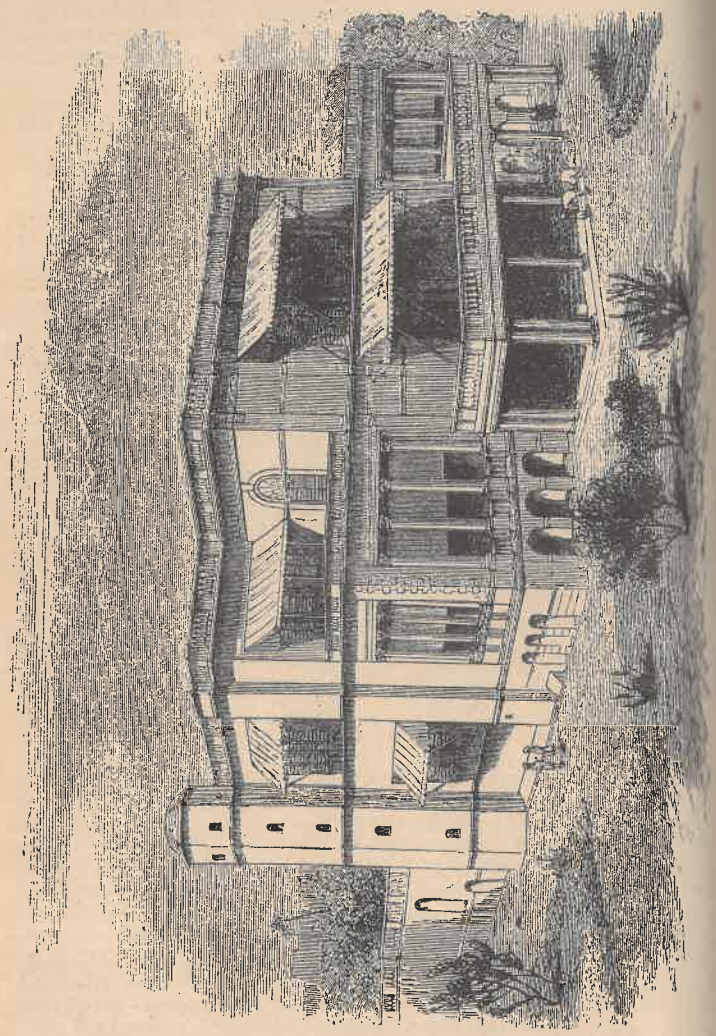
On June 8 a few thousand troops from Umballa, reinforced by Meerut, took up a position to the north of Delhi on the Ridge, a low and narrow eminence of sandstone rock which is the northernmost spur of the Āravalli Range, running along the western face of the city, and beyond it in a direction slightly east of north until it reaches the bank of the Jumna. Lack of numbers and of heavy artillery rendered the capture of Delhi impossible until the arrival of additional troops and a siege train from the Panjāb, collected by the skill and energy of Sir John Lawrence and his colleagues, gave reasonable hopes of success. On September 14 the Kashmir gate was blown in. In the course of a few days the whole city was occupied and the rebels were driven forth in headlong flight. The joy of the victors was marred by the death of John Nicholson, the most renowned of the many heroes of the siege and storm. All India had watched breathlessly for the fate of the ancient capital. Its fall was the turning-point of the Mutiny. From that date the ultimate success of the British Government was no longer in doubt, and the waverers, who had held back while the issue was doubtful, hastened to render aid to the Government. Much hard fighting had to be done and much suffering endured before peace and order could be fully restored. That end was not attained until late in 1859. The Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs and their retainers gave gallant and loyal help in the retaking of Delhi and afterwards

Five areas of operations. The military operations during the Mutiny years, 1857–9, which took place in several distinct areas, do not admit of brief relation in a continuous narrative. The serious fighting was mostly confined to the North-Western Provinces, in which Delhi was then included, and to Central India with Bundēlkhand. Within those limits five areas may be distinguished, namely: (1) Delhi, where the capture of the city was the end of operations on a large scale; (2) Lucknow; (3) Cawnpore; (4) Rohilkhand; and (5) Central India with Bundēlkhand.

Lucknow. At Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence, who had replaced Mr. Jackson as chief commissioner, was obliged to retire at the beginning of July into the residency with all the European and Christian population, and a small force of loyal sepoys. Sir Henry Lawrence having been killed early in the siege, the command was taken over by Brigadier Inglis. The defence was maintained with extraordinary courage and resource against swarms of assailants until September 25, when Outram and Havelock forced their way in after desperate fighting, bringing a much needed reinforcement and rendering possible an extension of the position. The final relief was deferred until November 15–17, when Sir Colin Campbell, who had been sent out from England, as commander-in-chief, succeeded in overcoming fierce opposition, and in entering the city. On November 23 the British evacuated Lucknow, which could not be held by the small numbers available. In March 1858 three weeks of incessant conflict made Sir Colin Campbell master of the city. The back of the Oudh rebellion was thus broken. The remnants of the rebel regiments in the province were gradually surrounded by Lord Clyde (Sir Colin Campbell) during the autumn of 1858, and driven across the frontier into Nepāl, where most of them perished miserably.

Cawnpore. At Cawnpore, General Sir Hugh Wheeler commanding the station, who was seventy-five years of age, made a grievous mistake by refusing to occupy the strong magazine, which was easily capable of effective defence.[1] He relied with astounding folly on a weak entrenchment about two hundred yards square, constructed in an open parade-ground, and enclosing two barracks, one of which was thatched. The rampart, 'a fence not high enough to keep out an active cow', as Trevelyan observes, was a mere field dike four or five feet in height made of loose earth, which had not been consolidated. Behind such a mockery of defences the gallant garrison, consisting of about four hundred men capable of bearing arms, and a multitude of women, children, and helpless people, in all nearly a thousand, held out with astonishing endurance for twenty days from June 7 to 27, when a capitulation was arranged. Bājī Rāo's adopted son, Dhondhū Pant, commonly called the Nānā Sahib, who resided in a palace at Bithūr, near Cawnpore, and had always pretended to be on the most friendly terms with his European neighbours, had assumed the

[1] Trevelyan, p. 115. The magazine was blown up by the rebels when evacuating Cawnpore (ibid., p. 354).



mand of the rebels. He promised solemnly to convey the rison safely to Allahabad, but shamelessly and pitilessly ssacred the whole, save a very few who escaped in various ways. t of them were shot down at the river side, where boats had been fected on pretence of conveying the victims to Allahabad. ut two hundred women and children were confined in a small ilding known as the Bībīghar, and hacked to death on the night July 15 by express orders of the Nānā and his colleague Tantia pi. The relieving force under Havelock, which entered Cawn- re on the 17th and drove the Nānā out, was just too late to event one of the most atrocious crimes on record. The justly



THE WELL AND BĪBĪGHAR, CAWNPORE.

furiated troops took terrible vengeance. The bodies of the women d children had been all cast into a well close to the house of ughter. That well, transformed beyond recognition, is now closed by an elaborate stone screen and surrounded by a carefully pt garden. The inscription records that the monument is cred to the perpetual memory of a great company of Christian ople, chiefly women and children'. The exact number of the reat company' never can be known.[1]

The Nānā, who had proclaimed himself as Pēshwā, deliberately med at the extermination of all Europeans and Christians, th their friends and associates. His savage slaughter of women

[1] Trevelyan states the number confined in the Bībīghar as 206, including men. The *I. G.* (ii. 512) gives the tale of women and children butchered 125. Shepherd provides incomplete lists of names. One lady was ried off alive. The five men were killed separately.

and children was an essential feature of his policy. During the few days of rule at Cawnpore numerous other murders were committed besides the two massacres on a large scale above mentioned. The horrors of Cawnpore, a 'memory of fruitless valour and unutterable woe', surpass by far those which occurred at any other station.

The military operations at and about Cawnpore, which were closely associated with the movements for the relief and capture of Lucknow, were too complicated to admit of summary description. The Gwālior Contingent, which had rebelled, defeated General Windham and occupied Cawnpore on November 27 and 28. Sir Colin Campbell recovered the town on December 6.

Rohilkhand. At Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkhand, the sepoys mutinied on the last day of May 1857. Khān Bahādur Khān, a grandson of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, slain in the Rohilla War with Warren Hastings, was proclaimed governor under the title of Nawāb Nāzim. He retained power for nearly a year until the city was reoccupied by the British under the command of Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde) in May 1858. During the interval several rebel chiefs, including for a time the Nānā, had taken refuge in Bareilly. The Nawāb of Rāmpur, notwithstanding his kinship with Khān Bahādur, and the purely Muhammadan character of the local rebellion, maintained throughout unswerving loyalty to the British Government. His services received due recognition after the suppression of the disturbances.

Central India and Bundēlkhand. The operations in Central India and Bundēlkhand were protracted and difficult, executed throughout in country which presented obstacles of every kind. The task of clearing the enemy out of that region was entrusted to Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), a general of division of the Bombay army, supported by a distinct force from Madras under Brigadier Whitlock. The brilliant operations of the small army under Sir Hugh Rose, only about 4,500 strong in all, including four sepoy regiments, were summarized by Lord Derby in the words:

'In five months the Central India Field Force traversed 1,085 miles, crossed numerous large rivers, took upwards of 150 pieces of artillery, an entrenched camp, two fortified cities, and two fortresses all strongly defended, fought sixteen actions, captured twenty forts; and never sustained a check against the most warlike and determined enemy, led by the most capable commanders then to be found in any part of India.'

The merit of that wonderful record is enhanced when it is remembered that most of the operations were conducted in extreme heat, deadly to the European soldier, and distressing to men of any race. Sir Hugh Rose himself experienced sunstroke five times. Although the fighting on several occasions was desperate, the heat probably caused losses to the Field Force greater than those inflicted by the enemy.

The Rānī of Jhānsī. At the beginning of June 1857 the native troops had mutinied at Jhānsī. On the 7th of that month they

committed a perfidious massacre of the Europeans, men, women, and children, comparable in wickedness with the slaughter at Cawnpore, but on a smaller scale. Three days later Rānī Lakshmī Bāī, a young woman twenty years of age, principal widow of the late Rājā Gangādhar Rāo, was proclaimed ruler of the state which Lord Dalhousie had annexed as a lapse. The Rānī was supported by Gangā Bāī, another consort of the deceased prince. It is uncertain whether or not Lakshmī Bāī was privy to the massacre which preceded her assumption of authority. When she had been compelled, she certainly proved herself to be a resolute and bitter enemy of the British Government, earning from Sir Hugh Rose the compliment that she was the 'best and bravest' of the rebel leaders. She showed courage far superior to that of Tantia Topi, Nānā's general, with whom she co-operated. She was left undisturbed until 1858, when Sir Hugh Rose advanced to attack Jhānsī.

Tantia Topi. Leaving Indore at the beginning of 1858 he advanced northwards, fighting his way, and early in February relieved the garrison of Sāgar (Saugor), which had held out for more than seven months. After a siege lasting a fortnight Jhānsī was taken in April; a large force under Tantia Topi which attempted to relieve the fortress having been beaten off. Kālpi, the principal arsenal of the rebels, fell in May. The Rānī and her ally then marched on Gwālior. By a bold stroke they occupied that important stronghold, and compelled Sindia, who had remained loyal, to take refuge at Agra. In June the Rānī, wearing male attire and fighting bravely, was killed by a Hussar, and Gwālior was recovered by a specially gallant feat of arms. Tantia Topi became a hunted fugitive, until, in April 1859, his career was ended on the gallows. Although he stoutly denied that either he himself or his chief the Nānā was responsible for the Cawnpore massacres, the guilt of both was established by a mass of testimony. During the year 1858 order was gradually restored.

The leading military events of the Mutiny campaigns have been recounted in the foregoing pages, but many subsidiary operations took place in Rājputāna and elsewhere. A rising in Bihār is remembered for the glorious defence of a small house at Arrah by a few Englishmen and loyal Sikhs against a host of rebels. The Bombay Presidency, under the competent rule of Lord Elphinstone, kept quiet on the whole; although in the Marāthā country the excitement was dangerous, and at Kolhāpur (Kolapore) developed into open mutiny, which was quickly suppressed. In the Madras Presidency no serious disturbance occurred.

The Native or Protected and friendly States. The rulers of all the larger native or protected states remained faithful, even when their troops showed signs of disaffection or revolted. Intelligent ministers able to read the signs of the times and to appreciate the reserves of strength at the disposal of the Government preserved from ruin the states under their administration. The services of Dinkur Rāo at Gwālior and Sir Sālār Jang at Hyderabad were

particularly memorable. Jung Bahādur, the powerful [ruler] and real ruler of independent Nepāl, declared openly for the [British] and sent troops who gave effective help in the restoration of [order]. The inestimable aid given by the Sikh chiefs has been already mentioned. Dōst Mohammad, the Amīr of [Kabul], adhered to his treaty obligations, and resisted the temptation to regain Peshāwar.



SIR JUNG BAHĀDUR.

Reserves of British strength. The Home Government showed no reluctance in sending out reinforcements, which were collected from every quarter, including China. Some came by the overland route across Egypt, but many had to come round the Cape. The close of the foolish little war with Persia fortunately enabled the Government of India to utilize the troops set free from the Persian adventure. The defence of the empire was materially simplified by the long lines of telegraph constructed under Lord Dalhousie's orders. The few miles of railway in existence at the beginning of the disturbances were not of much military use; but before the troubles came to an end, important lines had been constructed up-country which facilitated the extinction of the smouldering embers of rebellion. The sepoys, and even the Nawābs and some other people who should have known better, were silly enough to imagine that they could destroy the British Empire in India by massacring all Europeans or Christians within their reach. They wholly failed to understand the latent strength of a great European nation holding command of the sea, and in their ignorance rushed blindly upon destruction. The rebel proclamations conclusively prove the intensity of the delusions cherished by the insurgents.

Partial popular rebellion. The rising, although primarily a military mutiny of the Bengal army, immediately provoked by the greased cartridges, was not confined to the troops. Discontent and unrest, as has been explained, were widely prevalent among the civil population, and in several places, as, for instance, at Sahāranpur and Muzaffarnagar, the populace rose before the sepoys at those stations mutinied. The vague fear that the

[Government] meditated the forcible conversion of the people to [Christianity], as they understood the term, had penetrated into [the] villages and disposed men's minds to rebellion. The disorderly elements in the population naturally took advantage of the disturbances caused by the dread of interference with religion, and utilized the opportunity for mere pillage. In a large [part] of the North-Western Provinces, in the districts where Mohammadans are numerous and the influence of the Delhi court was strongly felt, the revolt took a Muslim colour, and assumed to some extent, especially at Bareilly, the character of a holy war against the infidel. Persons whose experience was confined to that region often erroneously assumed that the rebellion was the result of a Muhammadan conspiracy. But elsewhere the revolt was more Hindu than Muhammadan. The Nānā, who had long desire to become a subject of the Pādshāh, proclaimed himself Pēshwā, and sought to restore the Hindu Marāthā empire. During the first few days of his brief rule at Cawnpore he even ventured to put off the hands of a Muhammadan butcher who had slaughtered cows in the course of his business, and by that act forfeited all hopes of cordial Muhammadan support. The Rānī of Jhānsī seems to have fought as a strict Hindu for her own hand. The special circumstances of Oudh caused a general rebellion in that province, without distinction of creed. Very few of the large landholders remained loyal. The jealousy between Hindus and Muhammadans, the political rivalry between Pēshwā and Pādshāh, and innumerable animosities of various kinds so divided the rebels everywhere that they never were able to combine effectually for the execution of a well-considered plan. The campaigns degenerated into a bewildering maze of local risings, massacres, sieges, attacks, and [ambushes], indescribable except by means of interminable detail. No leader of considerable capacity arose among the rebels, who never had the remotest chance of ultimate success against the forces of an organized government.

Good and evil. The two years of disturbance were marked by many deeds of horror, by infinite suffering, and not a few acts on both sides which it is painful to recall. On the other page of the account may be reckoned uncounted deeds of heroism, and numerous instances of loyalty, kindness, and unselfish devotion which do honour to human nature.

The last of the Moguls. Bahādur Shāh, the aged titular emperor, was throughout only a tool in the hands of his sons and the leaders of the rebel soldiery, powerless for good or evil, and not really responsible for the acts of the men who professed to be his subjects—the mere shadow of a king. On September 21, after the fall of Delhi, he was arrested by Lieutenant Hodson, head of the Intelligence Department, with the promise that his life would be spared. In January 1858 he was brought to trial, and after two months' investigation was condemned to exile.

The old man was sent down to Calcutta, and thence to Rangoon, where he died in 1862, at the age of eighty-seven. On the day

after the surrender of the emperor, his two sons and a grand[son] were arrested at the same place, Humāyūn's mausoleum. [A] promise to spare their lives was given. Hodson, who had [only] a small force with him, carried them off in the face of an [excited] mob, and on the way shot them dead with his own hand. [The] act has been the occasion of much bitter controversy. The evidence seems to point to the conclusion that in all probability it would



BAHĀDUR SHĀH II.
(The last of the Moguls.)

have been feasible to prevent a rescue and to carry the prisoners safely to Delhi for formal trial. If that view be correct, and it is open to dispute, Hodson's passionate action was at the least unnecessary and unseemly. His victims undoubtedly had been concerned in the massacre of Europeans, and if they had been arraigned certainly would have forfeited their lives.

Thus ended the dynasty of Akbar.

The slayer of the princes was killed at Lucknow in March 1858.

The Delhi territory. The recovery of Delhi having been [mainly] due to the unremitting exertions of John Lawrence and his [brilliant] officers, the Governor-general deemed it fitting that the [imperial] city with the surrounding territory should be placed under [the] government of the man who had reclaimed it from the grasp [of] the rebels. The Delhi territory accordingly was transferred, [in] February 1858, from the control of the government of the [North]-Western Provinces to that of the Panjāb. Since the beginning of 1912, when the official capital of India was moved from [Calcutta] to Delhi, the group of ancient cities, enlarged by the [addition] of a new imperial city, and associated with a small adjacent district, has been committed to the charge of a chief commissioner [directly] subordinate to the Government of India.

The Mutiny a fortunate occurrence. Sir Lepel Griffin [declared] to affirm that 'Perhaps a more fortunate occurrence [than] the Mutiny of 1857 never occurred in India'. The saying, [which] may seem to be a hard one, suggests so much that it might [be] made the text on which to build a treatise. If we can place [ourselves], so far as may be, in the attitude of a general who [unwillingly] sends thousands of men to their death, counting their [lives] well bestowed to serve a worthy cause, and can close our [eyes] to the horrors of Cawnpore and a hundred other scenes, the [grand] saying may be understood and accepted as true. The ultimate [explanation] of the Mutiny and partial rebellion of the people, [expressed] in general terms without regard to specific grievances, is [that] the movement was a revolt of the old against the new, of [Asian] conservatism against aggressive European innovation. [The] conflict between the old ideas and the new had to be fought [out] somehow; and the inevitable fight, if it had not been begun [in] 1857 on the issue of the greased cartridges, was bound to have [been] started a year or two later on some other pretext. A conflict [so] momentous could not be decided without infinite suffering and [copious] shedding of blood.

The Mutiny, to continue the quotation,

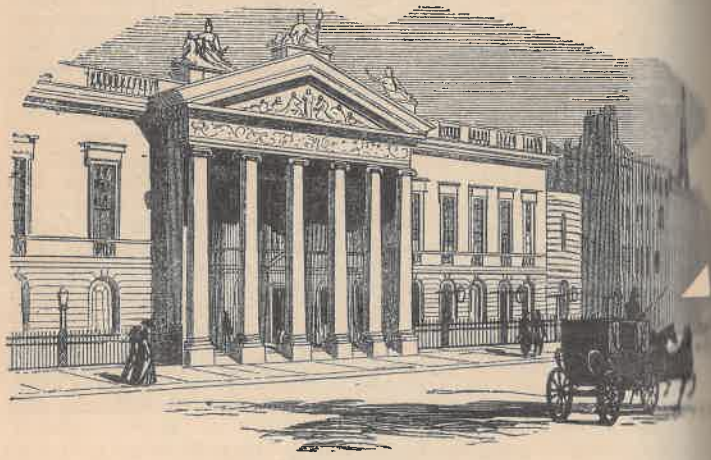
> [cleared] the Indian sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy, pampered [army], which, though in its hundred years of life it had done splendid [service], had become impossible; it replaced an unprogressive, selfish, and [commercial] system of administration[1] by one liberal and enlightened; [and] it attached the Sikh people to their rulers, and made them what they [are] to-day (1898), the surest support of the Government. Lastly, it [taught] India and the world that the English possessed a courage and [moral] spirit which made light of disaster, which never counted whether [the] odds against them were two or ten to one; and which marched consistently to victory, although the conditions of success appeared all but [hopeless].'

The death of the Company. The shock of the news of the [revolt], which brought sorrow and mourning into so many homes, [stirred] the Government and people of England to a sense of their [responsibility] for British rule in India, and gave the deathblow

[1] Rather a harsh description of the Company's administration after 1833.

to the antiquated system which interposed the mechanism of the East India Company between the Crown and the Indian Empire. The day for that mechanism, which had done good work in its appointed time, was past. In January 1858 the Company put the case for their administration before Parliament and the nation by means of a petition expressed in stately, dignified language, which produced little appreciable effect upon public opinion. Another equally able document followed in April, and a third in June, without result. The directors put their claims to favourable consideration on high ground, boldly averring

'that your petitioners . . . do not seek to vindicate themselves at the expense of any other authority; they claim their full share of the responsibility of the manner in which India has practically been governed. That responsibility is to them not a subject of humiliation, but of pride. They are conscious that their advice and initiative have been, and have deserved to be, a great and potent element in the conduct of affairs in India. And they feel complete assurance that the more attention is bestowed, and the more light is thrown upon India and its administration, the more evident it will become that the government in which they have borne a part has been not only one of the purest in intention, but one of the most beneficent in act, ever known among mankind; that during the last and present generations in particular, it has been, in all departments, one of the most rapidly improving governments in the world; and that, at the time when this change is proposed, a greater number of important improvements are in a state of rapid progress than at any former period. And they are satisfied that whatever further improvements may be hereafter effected in India, can only consist in the development of germs already planted



EAST INDIA HOUSE, 1858.

in building on foundations already laid, under their authority, and in great measure by their express instructions.'

well-phrased periods fell on deaf ears. The Bill finally approved the Conservative Cabinet easily passed through both Houses, spite of the opposition of Lord Ellenborough, and on August 2 ived the royal assent as 'An Act for the Better Government India' (21st and 22nd of Victoria, cap. 106). On the first day eptember the Court of Directors held 'its last solemn assembly', the East India Company issued 'its last instructions to its ants in the East'; and offered to its Sovereign an empire in touching words, worthy of a great occasion:

Let Her Majesty appreciate the gift—let her take the vast country the teeming millions of India under her direct control; but let her forget the great corporation from which she has received them, nor lessons to be learned from its success.' [1]

Compliment to the services. The generous language in which ancient Company took leave of its servants deserves quotation:

The Company has the great privilege of transferring to the service of Her esty such a body of civil and military officers as the world has never seen re. A government cannot be base, cannot be feeble, cannot be wanting in ion, that has reared two such services as the civil and military services the Company. To those services the Company has always been just, always been generous. In those services lowly merit has never been ected. The best men have risen to the highest place. They may have from obscure farmhouses or dingy places of business; they may been roughly nurtured and rudely schooled; they may have landed the country without sixpence or a single letter of recommendation in trunks; but if they have had the right stuff in them, they have made way to eminence, and have distanced men of the highest connections most flattering antecedents.' [2]

The Act established the Government of India in its still existing m (1918). The President of the Board of Control was replaced the Secretary of State for India, and the expert advice formerly ained from the directors was provided for by the establishment of Council of India, a body consisting largely of retired high officials. The East India Company continued as the shadow of a great ne to retain a formal existence until 1874 for the purpose of ncial liquidation in accordance with the Charter Act of 1833.

The Queen's proclamation. The transfer of the government the Crown was announced on November 1, 1858, to the princes peoples of India by a proclamation read at Allahabad and other cipal stations. The manifesto, which was admirably drafted, some of its merits to suggestions made by Her Majesty. text is as follows:

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great ain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof

[1] The full text of the documents is printed by G. D. in his Appendix, [2] a careful abstract of the provisions of the Act. G. D., p. 575.

in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all the subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgement of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by

reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we solemnly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty

should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

VISCOUNT CANNING'S PROCLAMATION

Issued at Allahabad, November 1, 1858

Her Majesty the Queen having declared that it is her gracious pleasure to take upon herself the government of the British territories in India, the Viceroy and Governor-General hereby notifies that from this day all acts of the government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone.

From this day, all men of every race and class who, under the administration of the Honourable East India Company, have joined to uphold the honour and power of England, will be the servants of the Queen alone.

The Governor-General summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to his opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious will and pleasure of the Queen, as set forth in her royal proclamation.

From the many millions of her Majesty's native subjects in India, the Governor-General will now, and at all times, exact a loyal obedience to the call which, in words full of benevolence and mercy, their Sovereign has made upon their allegiance and faithfulness.

LEADING DATES OF MUTINY PERIOD

Viscount Canning Governor-general (Feb.); end of Crimean War (March); general service order; circulation of symbols 1856
Persian War 1856–7
War in China 1856–60
Local mutinies and incendiary fires (Jan.–April); outbreaks of mutinies at Lucknow, Meerut, and Bareilly (May); massacre at Jhānsī; occupation of the Ridge (June); massacres at Cawnpore (July); recapture of Delhi, and slaughter of the princes (Sept.); reinforcement of Lucknow garrison (Sept.); final relief of Lucknow; and defeat of Windham at Cawnpore (Nov.); recovery of Cawnpore by Sir Colin Campbell (Dec.) . 1857
Relief of Sāgar (Saugor); trial of the titular emperor (Jan.–March); recovery of Lucknow (March); recovery of Jhānsī (April); recovery of Bareilly and Kālpī (May); Rānī of Jhānsī killed; Gwālior reoccupied, and Sindia restored (June); Act for the Better Government of India (August); Queen's Proclamation (Nov.) 1858
Execution of Tantia Topi (April); gradual restoration of order . 1859
Death of Bahādur Shāh, titular emperor 1862

Four volumes in the R. I. series deal with the Mutiny, namely, *Earl Canning* (1903) by Sir H. S. Cunningham, moderately good; *Lord Lawrence* (1905), excellent, by Sir C. U. Aitchison; *Clyde and Strathnairn* (1904), a lucid military narrative with little biographical matter, by Owen T. Burne; and *John Russell Colvin* (1912), by Sir Auckland Colvin, describing affairs at Agra. *The History of the Indian Revolt*, &c., C. D., is a valuable illustrated chronicle, coming down to November 1858, and published by Chambers in December of that year. The book includes many dates, details, statistics, and documents not to be found readily elsewhere. It seems to be accurate. The best book on the subject for most readers is the compact one-volume *History of the Indian Mutiny*, by T. R. E. Holmes (publ. Allen, 1883; 4th ed., 1891). The huge work by Kaye and Malleson, 6 large vols., is too big and detailed for most people. The bibliography is complicated. The whole was published by Allen. Vols. i–iii, entitled *A History of the Sepoy War, 1857–8*, are by J. W. Kaye, who died in 1876. The remaining vols. are by G. B. Malleson. But his first vol. deals with the same period as Kaye's third, seen from a different point of view. Malleson's other two vols. finish the story. Details are: vol. i, 9th ed., 1880; ii, 5th ed., 1881; iii, 4th ed., 1880. Vol. iv (=vol. i of Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 2nd ed., 1878=vol. iii of Kaye); vol. v, 1st and 2nd ed., 1879. Malleson's 3rd vol., completing the work, is dated 1880. In the same year F. Pincott added an *Analytical Index* to the whole, in a separate volume. The large *History of the Indian Mutiny* by Sir G. W. Forrest (vols. i, ii, 1904; vol. iii, 1912) corrects certain errors in earlier writers; but lacks unity, a large part consisting of reprints of treatises previously published. For Cawnpore, the rare book, *A Personal Narrative*, &c., by W. J. Shepherd, 2nd ed., Lucknow, 1879, is a valuable original authority. I have also used G. O. Trevelyan, *Cawnpore* (Macmillan, 1865). The multitude of publications on the Mutiny is legion. I have looked into many of them. Numerous incidents are the subject of controversy, and the evidence often is conflicting.

BOOK IX

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN; THE VICEROYS FROM 1858 TO 1911

CHAPTER 1

Lord Canning continued; reconstruction; Lord Elgin I; Lord Lawrence; Lord Mayo; and Lord Northbrook; from 1858 to 1876, a period of almost unbroken peace.

Policy of Lord Canning. The policy of Lord Canning during the trying times of the Mutiny period was exposed naturally and legitimately to keen criticism, which too often degenerated into coarse abuse. The European business community of Calcutta, especially, pursued him with rabid hostility until near the close of his career. A petition was sent to the Queen praying for his recall, and averring that the calamities of the country were 'directly attributable to the blindness, weakness, and incapacity of the Government'. The Governor-general desired to temper stern punishment with mercy, and to restrain within reasonable limits the bloodthirsty proposals of panic-stricken people, who felt that their lawful business was interrupted by the long-continued disturbances. Queen Victoria rightly refused to act on the hostile petition, and subsequently expressed the warmest opinion of the Viceroy's 'admirable administration'.[1] Even Calcutta opinion veered round towards the end, and probably everybody would now accept the view of his Finance Minister that Lord Canning was 'a nobleman who never, in the midst of the greatest peril, allowed his judgement to be swayed by passion, or his fine sense of honour and justice to be tarnished by even a passing feeling of revenge'. That just appreciation is not weakened by the admission that the Viceroy was human and made some mistakes. In 1861 he went home, worn out by his public labours and domestic sorrow, to die a few weeks after his arrival in England.

The Oudh proclamation. One of the Viceroy's errors was the preparation of a draft dispatch and proclamation confiscating, with a few exceptions, the whole land of Oudh, as a penalty for the almost universal rebellion of the landholders and people of that province. Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, disapproving strongly of the terms of the document, most improperly published it in substance with his censure before his communication could reach India. His action almost

[1] *Letters*, cr. 8vo ed., iii. 453. The title of Viceroy conferred by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 has not yet been recognized by statute.

caused a Cabinet crisis, which was avoided by his resignation. He never held office again. The proclamation, although not officially published in its original too drastic form, was not cancelled or withdrawn. The application of the principles of general confiscation and regrants to suitable persons were wisely left to the discretion of Mr. Montgomery, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh. The province was 'settled' on terms sufficiently satisfactory to the great landlords, but adequate arrangements for the protection of under-proprietors and tenants were left to a later time. The Oudh cases differ materially from those of the Agra Province. During the course of 1860 Oudh was thoroughly pacified. Since that time the province has enjoyed unbroken peace.[1]

Army reorganization. The Bengal army was almost completely destroyed during the two years of disturbances, about 120,000 out of 128,000 men having mutinied. Probably most of the officers were killed in battle, executed, or done to death in the adjacent jungles of the Nēpāl border. The annihilation of the Nēpāl Native army was reason enough for a radical military reorganization, which was necessary also on other grounds. The problem naturally divided itself into two main branches concerning respectively the Native or Indian army, and the European troops, which again comprised Queen's regiments and Company's regiments. The abolition of the Company necessarily involved the dissolution of the Company's army. All troops, whatever administrative arrangements might be adopted, became soldiers of the Queen. The experience of the Mutiny led to the decision that in the Bengal Presidency, including the Panjāb, the proportion of British to native troops should normally be one-half. In the Madras and Bombay armies the proportion of one-third Europeans was considered sufficient. Nearly all the artillery was made over to the charge of Europeans. The British officers of the whole native army were organized as three presidential Staff Corps. That arrangement has been cancelled, and the Native army is now designated as the Indian Army. The fine services rendered by that army in France, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine, and East Africa are fresh in the memory of all readers, and will not be forgotten quickly. Many experienced persons, including Lord Canning, wished to retain a local European army. The Home Government overruled that recommendation and decided on complete amalgamation of the Queen's and the Company's forces. About 10,000 out of 16,000 men in the Company's army took their discharge rather than continue to serve under the changed conditions. Some of the men displayed a mutinous spirit. So far as I can judge the policy of amalgamation was right. It is useless to go into details of the reformed army organization. Innumerable changes have since been effected from time to time, and no man can tell what further developments may follow the present War and its endless surprises.

[1] The author served for a considerable time in Oudh both as Deputy Commissioner and as Commissioner.

Indigo disputes. In 1859 and 1860 disputes between European indigo planters and the Bengal peasantry became acute; and in some districts, especially in Nuddea (Nadia), serious disturbances occurred. The planters endeavoured to enforce the cultivation of indigo against the will and interests of the tenantry. A commission which was appointed to investigate the complaints of the ryots found them to be substantiated. The Secretary of State rightly refused to sanction a proposal that a tenant should be liable to criminal prosecution for refusal to fulfil a civil contract to grow indigo. The Bengālī drama by Dīnabandhu Mitra, entitled *Nīl Darpan*, or *The Indigo-planting Mirror*, published in 1860, gives, as already mentioned, a painfully realistic picture of the oppression practised by some of the planters and their agents. The play aroused angry passions, and the translation of it into English was fined and imprisoned for libel.[1]

Legal changes. The useful work of codification, for which preparations had been made many years before by eminent legal experts, actually assumed definite shape in Lord Canning's time. The Penal Code, enacted in 1860, has required wonderfully little substantial change since. The first edition of the Criminal Procedure Code appeared in 1861, and in the same year the old Supreme Courts and the *Adālats* of the Company were replaced by Chartered High Courts.[2] The appointments reserved ordinarily for members of the Civil Service of India were scheduled about the same time, but power has been taken by the Secretary of State to depart from the schedule for adequate reason. Changes were made in the constitution of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Governor-general, which have been much developed in later years and are still (1918) in progress.

The Rent Act X, of 1859, applicable to Bengal, Bihār, the Agra Province, and the Central Provinces, but not to the Panjāb or Oudh, attempted to protect the tenantry against tyrannical eviction by enacting the arbitrary rule that twelve years' continuous occupation of a particular field, not of an entire holding, should confer tenant-right or 'a right of occupancy' in that field. The hard and fast rule thus laid down did not accord with the more vague customs of the country. The Act, since replaced by later provincial legislation, did some good, but at the cost of an enormous mass of litigation, to which no end is in sight. The problem of 'tenant-right' is one of immense difficulty.

Famine of 1861. A grievous famine, the result partly of two seasons of deficient rainfall and partly of the Mutiny disturbances, desolated portions of the Agra Province, the Panjāb, Rājputāna, and Cutch in the year 1861. The distress was worst in the tract between Agra and Delhi. The mortality was estimated at $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population in the districts most affected. The Government expended considerable sums on relief measures, and the administrative arrangements for the emergency showed an advance on the methods used in dealing with earlier famines.

[1] Grierson, *I. G.* (1908), ii. 433.

[2] 'The Indian High Courts Act of 1861 closed the series of constitutional statutes consequent on the transfer of the government of India to the Crown. Such Acts of Parliament as have since then been passed for India have done little more than amend, with reference to minor points, the Acts of 1858 and 1861' (Ilbert).

Finance. The Mutiny had not only destroyed the Bengal army, it had shaken the old system of government to its foundations and utterly discredited the crude methods of finance which had come down from early times. The long-continued military operations had necessarily produced an enormous deficit. Lord Canning accordingly applied for and obtained the services as Finance Minister of Mr. James Wilson, an experienced English official who had been Financial Secretary to the Treasury. When he died in 1860, after only nine months' work in India, he was succeeded by Mr. Samuel Laing. Those two ministers filled up the deficit by introducing an income tax and other new imposts, and by enforcing large economies in military expenditure. The system of financial administration also was much improved. Mr. Laing came to the conclusion that 'the revenue of India is really buoyant and elastic in an extraordinary degree', an opinion confirmed by more recent experience. In railways, canals, and other public works India possesses assets of enormous capital value, and there is no reason to be uneasy about the financial stability of the country. Unfortunately the Indian Government is prone to panic on the subject, and far too ready to resolve on short-sighted petty economies whenever it finds itself slightly embarrassed. Such an artificial panic occurred in 1911, without any substantial justification.

Education. The comprehensive dispatch on education sent out by Sir Charles Wood (Lord Halifax) in 1854, and warmly welcomed by Lord Dalhousie, had borne fruit at once by the rapid development of vernacular schools in the villages. The application of the principles of the dispatch to the higher branches of education had to be deferred for a short time. The revolt of the Bengal army and the resultant disturbances were not allowed to interfere with the evolution of educational policy. In 1857, the first year after the Mutiny, the three universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras had been founded, their constitution being modelled on that of the University of London, at that time a purely examining institution. At a later date additional universities were established at Lahore and Allahabad. It is impossible to foretell how many universities ultimately may be needed to satisfy the wants of the Indian Empire. The formation of new administrative areas, such as the Province of Bihār and Orissa, separated in 1912; the growing desire for provincial autonomy, so that each of the larger governments may be equipped completely with its own High Court, University, and all the other departments of a fully organized administration; the marvellous development of education and administrative skill in the more advanced Native or Protected States, are factors which render inevitable a large increase in the number of Indian universities.

The Nizam, the ruler of the premier Protected State, has recently decided on the establishment of a Hyderabad University, in which [Urdu] will be the primary language of instruction, although a knowledge of English will be compulsory on the students. A special and well-paid staff of translators is now (1918) engaged in preparing the necessary Urdu text-books. The Urdu language, which resembles English in the simplicity and flexibility of its syntax, and in the extraordinary wealth of its vocabulary, drawn from Western [sources], Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, English, and other sources, should be capable of expressing ideas on any subject, literary, philosophical or scientific. The Hyderabad experiment, which is being conducted by capable hands, may be expected to result in a marked improvement in the Urdu language, and the formation of a recognized authoritative literary form of the tongue.

Even the small Hindu State of Travancore, in the extreme south of the peninsula, desires to be independent of Madras [in educational] strings and to possess a university of its own.

Each of the larger provinces and sub-provinces, such as Burma, eastern Bengal, and Bihār with Orissa, has either obtained a provincial university, or will obtain such an institution in the course of a few years.

There is no necessity that Indian universities should be modelled on one type. Plenty of room exists for diversity of type and function, while all may be fitted to supply the necessary stream of educated officials and members of the learned professions. England finds its advantage in the differentiation between the [ancient] universities of the south, with their store of venerable traditions, and the vigorous, practical, yet truly educational modern institutions of the north. The Indian Empire requires variety of education still more.

Effect of the universities. It is impossible to measure or estimate the effect of the foundation of the three original Indian universities. Whatever hostile criticisms might be justly directed against their constitution or administration, the absurdity of their early choice of books for study, and the comical results of imperfect acquaintance with the English language exhibited in the utterances, oral or written of the first generations of graduates, there can be no question that the new institutions acted as a powerful stimulus both to thought and to the acquisition of knowledge. Notwithstanding the mistakes made, the universities served as a bridge between East and West which could not have been provided in any other way. Many of the defects which disfigured the administration of the universities in their earlier days have been removed, although much remains to be done, and room for improvement will always exist.

The Government of India before the Mutiny was little more than a continuation of the old Mogul administration, somewhat more orderly and systematic, but deeply saturated with old-world prejudices and habits. A shock of no ordinary violence was needed to wake up the sleepy hollows both at the India House and at the

Council Chamber in Calcutta. The Mutiny administered that awesome and indispensable shock. The foundation of the three universities in the very year of the Cawnpore massacres and the fall of Delhi symbolized the birth of a new India. The old fogies, many of them men of renown, but still old fogies so far as all questions of reform were concerned, could not have conceived the idea of the establishment of institutions where all the wisdom of the West would be offered to and eagerly accepted by the East. Could they have believed that in a few years the possession by native-born graduates of an absolutely perfect command over the English language, and familiar intimacy with the best European ideas on literature and science would become accomplishments so widely diffused as no longer to attract special notice. Both the Indian Government and large sections of the population are now in touch with the outer world so closely that they have become acutely sensitive to every breath of western thought and feeling, in the political, social, intellectual, and ethical provinces. On the other hand, the influence exercised by India on Europe and the United States of America is no longer negligible. East and West have met for good or evil, and cannot remain apart. The meeting is largely the work of the Indian universities.

Lord Elgin I. Lord Canning's successor, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, commonly called Lord Elgin, took over charge in March 1862. Previous service as Governor-general of Canada and Special Envoy to China seemed to mark him as a person well qualified to conduct the government of India. But in November he died of heart disease, and was buried at Dharmsāla in the Panjāb. The only noticeable event of his brief term of office was the 'Umbeyla campaign' on the north-western frontier, considered necessary by an outburst of Muhammadan fanaticism in the west of the Indus. The expeditionary force met with strenuous resistance, and at one time was in danger of destruction, but vigorous action brought the campaign to a tolerably satisfactory conclusion before the close of 1863. The government was carried on by two acting officers until the appointment of a permanent successor could be arranged.

Sir John Lawrence. The justifiable dissatisfaction of the Home Government with the conduct of the Umbeyla campaign had much to do with the selection as Governor-general of Sir John Lawrence, the saviour of the Panjāb. His special services and his intimate acquaintance with frontier politics were considered to outweigh unfamiliar and sound objections to the appointment of a member of the Civil Service as Governor-general. He was not raised to the peerage until after he had left India. Ministers would have been ill advised if they had conferred the higher rank upon him at the beginning of his term of office, and so elevated him above his colleagues.

Peaceful administration. The heaviest part of the task of reconstruction necessitated by the mutiny storm had been accomplished by the government of Lord Canning. The process was

continued by Sir John Lawrence, who made it his business, in the words of the Queen's Proclamation, 'to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer government for the benefit of all Her Majesty's subjects.' The story of the government of Sir John Lawrence consequently is almost wholly concerned with matters of internal administration.



SIR JOHN LAWRENCE.

War with Bhūtān. A little war with Bhūtān, a small and backward state on the hill frontier of Bengal and more or less dependent on Tibet, was occasioned by the misconduct of the Bhūtān in kidnapping Mr. Ashley Eden, who had been sent to negotiate on the subject of frontier raids. The business, which had been mismanaged by the Government of Bengal, was patched up in 1865 by a treaty which enforced the cession of a strip of territory about a hundred and eighty miles long and twenty or thirty broad.

Withdrawal of doctrine of lapse. Sir John Lawrence, who had been at one time a disciple of Lord Dalhousie's annexation policy, changed his attitude in consequence of the events of the Mutiny, which had proved the inestimable value of loyal Native States. In 1859 Lord Canning, with the full approval of Sir John Lawrence, announced the withdrawal of the doctrine of lapse, and informed all concerned that in future the adopted son of a chief would be allowed to succeed to the state as well as to the private property of his adoptive father.

Relations between the Crown and the Protected States. The assumption by the Queen of the direct government of British India, previously administered by the East India Company in trust for the Crown, did not effect any formal legal change in the relations between the Sovereign and the Protected States. The Proclamation of 1858, on the contrary, sharply distinguished between the people of the States and Her Majesty's subjects. The relevant passages are :

'We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East

India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.'

This language clearly maintains the position of the chiefs of the Protected States as allies of the Paramount Power. It does not convert either them or their people into subjects of the Crown. The Act of 1876, in virtue of which the Queen assumed the title of Empress of India with effect from January 1, 1877, undoubtedly changed the legal relation, and brought the Protected States inside the boundary of the Indian Empire. The practical difference between the position in 1858 and that brought about in 1877 is not great. From the earlier date every ruling chief had become conscious of a definite personal subordination to the Queen of England, not dependent on formal treaties made between his ancestors and the East India Company. The formulae of international law, although still embodied in state documents and officially recognized to some extent, obviously had ceased to be applicable to the new state of facts. The Supreme Government no longer felt any scruple about interfering in the internal affairs of a Protected State for adequate reason, or even in changing the ruler, when such a drastic course should be necessary. Nobody, however, desired to make a change of ruler the pretext for the annexation of the principality and its absorption into British India. The conviction so strongly held by Lord Dalhousie and the Home Government of his day that the administration of any ordinary British district must necessarily be superior to that of any Native State, so that absorption or annexation could not fail to be beneficial to the population concerned, was no longer prevalent. The grounds for that conviction were disappearing daily; and during the half-century following the Mutiny they ceased to exist. At the present day (1918) the administrative machinery of the best governed Protected States, adapted from the British model, is all that can be reasonably desired; and the actual administration, it is believed, gives little cause for complaint. A sentiment of strong personal loyalty, supported in many cases by close personal friendship, now binds the leading chiefs to their Sovereign, who on his part esteems and trusts them as supporters of his throne and pillars of the Empire.[1]

[1] Ilbert, after enumerating the restrictions on the full sovereignty of the Protected States, observes that 'the result of all these limitations on the powers of the Native Indian States is that, for purposes of international law, they occupy a very special and exceptional position. "The principles of international law", declared a resolution of the Government of India in 1891 (*Gazette of India*, No. 1700 E., August 21, 1891), "have no bearing

Afghan policy. Sir John Lawrence rigorously acted on his decision to abstain from interference in any degree with the internal affairs of Afghanistan. When the Amīr Dōst Muhammad died in 1863 at an advanced age, the Governor-general deliberately allowed his relatives to fight out their claims to the succession among themselves for years, and openly proclaimed his readiness to recognize any competitor who should emerge victorious from the strife. After much contest, Shēr Ali, a younger son of the late Amīr, won the prize in 1868 and became ruler of the whole territory. The Government of India then recognized him as Amīr without hesitation, as it had recognized one of his rivals at an earlier stage of the struggle. That policy, sometimes described by its admirers as 'masterly inactivity', had the advantage of being cheap and cautious. On the other hand, it seemed to the Afghan chief rather cold-blooded and selfish, and made it difficult to establish really friendly relations between the Governor-general and the Amīr.

In those days the Russian power was making rapid advances across the Khanates of Central Asia, and ambitious Muscovite generals sometimes permitted themselves to dream dreams of the conquest of India. Neither the Home Government nor the Government at Calcutta could regard with indifference movements which seemed at the time really to threaten the safety of the empire. Sir John Lawrence, while willing to safeguard the independence of the actual ruler of Afghanistan, whoever he might be, against foreign aggression, whether Russian or Persian, refused to enter into a binding alliance with the Amīr, preferring to retain in his own hands perfect freedom of decision as to the methods by which aggression should be repelled. When Shēr Ali had finally established his power, the Governor-general helped him to maintain it by a modest gift of arms and cash.

The Orissa famine. The famine resulting from the early failure of the rains in 1865 and the consequent destruction of the main rice crop due to be harvested in December is commonly mentioned as the Orissa famine of 1866. But in reality famine conditions extended along the whole of the eastern coast from Calcutta to Madras, and penetrated far inland. The Districts of Mānbhūm and Singhbhūm in Chutiā Nāgpur, as well as the Ganjām Division of Madras, suffered severely. The Madras Government of Lord Harris dealt effectively with the distress under its jurisdiction. The Bengal administration and the Government of India failed disastrously. The isolated province of Orissa was affected so terribly that probably nearly a million of persons

upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen-Empress on the one hand, and the Native States under the sovereignty of Her Majesty on the other. The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter." ' Roughly speaking it may be affirmed that the inhabitants of a Native State are aliens as regards British India, and are British subjects as regards foreign powers.

died within its limits. The failure of the rains in that region was immensely aggravated in September 1865 by floods from the rivers which overwhelmed a thousand square miles of low-lying country, and submerged for many days the homes and fields of a million and a quarter of people.

Famine policy. In the great majority of cases, where the distressed region is connected by passable means of communication with more favoured countries, sound famine policy dictates absolute non-interference with private trade in grain. The Government should abstain from prohibition of export, from commandeering stocks, from fixing prices, and from importing food through its own agents. Provided that communication with better supplied districts is physically possible and that considerable reserve stocks exist in the grain-pits of the stricken region, that policy is absolutely sound, although it will always be unpopular. Sleeman, disregarding loud clamour, civil and military, acted on those principles in the Sāgar and Narbadā territories during the famine of 1833 with complete success.[1]

But when stocks have been depleted, practicable communications are lacking, and private enterprise is unable to work at a profit, the policy of non-interference is no longer applicable. The Bengal Government, forgetting that obvious distinction, failed to realize the fact that in Orissa 'the people, shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles, and an impracticable sea, were in the condition of passengers in a ship without provisions'.

Sir John Lawrence, who had seen the necessity of importing rice as early as November 1865, permitted himself to be talked over by the members of his council and the Bengal Government, who blindly relied upon private enterprise. He should have used his powers as Governor-general and overruled his council. When the attempt to import food was made it was too late. Inadequate measures to prevent suffering in 1865 and 1866 were followed by extravagant expenditure in 1867 and 1868. The record of the famine administration, taken as a whole, has been rightly characterized as having 'left a deep stain on the reputation of the Bengal authorities'; nor can Sir John Lawrence be acquitted of failure to exercise timely and effective control.

Competent expert opinion offers the assurance that 'so far as human foresight can judge, it is not possible for such a spectacle to recur. . . . There is now no difficulty in respect to communications', by means of railways, roads, and navigable canals; while irrigation, not needed in ordinary years, has been provided for by costly works, which, although they do not pay directly, are effectual as insurance.[2]

The failure to meet the emergency in Orissa stimulated the Government of Sir John Lawrence to increased exertion in the construction of public works of various kinds in other provinces.

[1] *Rambles and Recollections*, ed. V. A. Smith, 1915, pp. 149–60 (Oxford University Press).

[2] C. W. Odling, *Orissa*, a paper read before the Victoria Institute, 1907.